

Treading a Tightrope: A Rhetorical Study of the Tension between the Executive and  
Collective Leadership of the African National Congress (ANC): From Nelson Mandela to  
Thabo Mbeki

Thesis Presented for the Degree of  
**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN RHETORIC STUDIES**  
in the Centre for Film and Media Studies  
**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**  
June 2014

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Distinguished Professor Philippe-Joseph Salazar, for his tireless and invaluable tutelage. Throughout the project, he gave me unwavering support. Indeed, he is the one who sowed the seeds for the love and indispensability of Rhetoric Studies in me. To him, I say: *Je vous remercie, Prof, du fond de mon cœur. Vous avez toute ma reconnaissance.*

I am equally grateful to Prof Ian Glenn, Professor of Media Studies and Acting Director, the Centre for Film and Media Studies (CFMS), for his professional guidance during the final stages of my dissertation.

I am also indebted to a number of people who have, in various ways, instilled in me the significance and the attendant contentment in the never-ending quest for knowledge. Without giving an exhaustive list of these individuals, credit should go – in no particular order – to Prof Erik Doxtader, Dr Charles Villa-Vicencio and Prof Dominique Darbon. To all those that I have not mentioned by name, you have paved the way and thank you very much, indeed.

To the apple of my eye, Umi, I hope you will derive inspiration from the modest achievement that your dad has made, my baby girl. To my gorgeous and better half, Busi Cele, you have been my pillar of strength, *ngiyabonga ngiyanconcoza, Ndos!*

To my mother, Ntombazana Mercy Ngesi, thanks for comprehending your son's insatiable quest for knowledge! To all my siblings, together we stand, divided we fall!

Last but not least, the financial assistance provided by the Parliament of South Africa is acknowledged and appreciated. I am deeply grateful to Berenice Paulse and Carmine Rustin for approving my application for financial assistance and offering words of encouragement. A big thank you should equally go to Ms Thea Louw of the Inter-Library Loans (ILL) section of Parliament for her invaluable cooperation. She always ensured that the required data was provided.

*I dedicate this thesis to my late grandmother and grandfather from my mother's side, grandmother and grandfather from my father's side and father, without whom I would not have been in the world of the living. Bo Nondaba abahle!*

## ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
ANC	African National Congress
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa
AU	African Union
AWB	Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BMR	Bureau for Market Research
CEC	Central Executive Committee
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CP	Conservative Party
DA	Democratic Alliance
EU	European Union
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GCIS	Government Communication Information System
GNU	Government of National Unity
HNP	Herstigte Nasionale Party
IES	Income and Expenditure Survey
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LRA	Labour Relations Act
MERCOSUR	<i>Mercado Común del Sur</i>
NA	National Assembly
NCOP	National Council of Provinces

NDR	National Democratic Revolution
NEC	National Executive Committee
NEDLAC	National Economic Development and Labour Council
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NFA	National Framework Agreement
NP	National Party
NWC	National Working Committee
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PAGAD	People Against Gangsterism and Drugs
PWV	Pretoria- Witwatersrand-Vereeniging
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UDF	United Democratic Front
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UNISA	University of South Africa
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organisation
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union –Patriotic Front

## **ABSTRACT**

### **Treading A Tightrope: A Rhetorical Study of the Tension between the Executive and the Collective Leadership of the African National Congress (ANC): From Nelson Mandela to Thabo Mbeki**

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29 November 2013

This thesis endeavours to look at the rhetorical techniques or tropes employed by Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki in their capacities both as the Presidents of the African National Congress (ANC) and South Africa. In this regard, the speeches of the respective former Presidents are analysed from a rhetorical perspective. Not all their speeches are studied, but those that have a bearing on the study.

One of the hallmarks of the ANC has been the reference to “collective leadership” and the party maintains that when it comes to decision-making, “collective leadership” is of paramount. It should also be borne in mind that the ANC is in alliance, known as the Tripartite Alliance (Alliance), with the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The study then seeks to ascertain how an ANC President – who is equally South Africa’s President – strikes a balance, if any, between the dictates of “collective leadership” and upholding the constitutional obligation of ensuring that the interests of all South Africans are safeguarded.

The thesis attempts to examine how the relations within the Alliance have played themselves out as the ANC metamorphosed from a liberation movement into a ruling party. What is the role of the Tripartite Alliance in the formulation of the policies pertaining to the country’s social, economic and political transformation? Is there any role played by the Alliance partners (SACP and COSATU) that are “technically” outside Government in this process or is this role the exclusive preserve of the ANC? Where there is an engagement between Government (ANC) and the Alliance partners or where there are disagreements, how are they handled or managed and what rhetorical arguments are advanced? On the part of the ANC, who is in charge or has the final say? Is it the ANC National Executive Committee? Is it the President or the “top six” (the ANC National Working Committee and the most politically influential leadership collective in the country, comprising the ANC President, Deputy President, Secretary-General, Deputy Secretary-General, National Chairperson and Treasurer-General)? Can one talk about “collective leadership” without a leader of the “collective”?

The rhetorical study of the speeches of both Mandela and Mbeki reveals that there is a concerted effort on the part of the ANC Presidents to ensure or, at least, to create the impression that there is “collective leadership” within the ruling party or the Alliance. Equally, there have been instances where there was a deviation from “collective leadership”.

“Many in the international community, seeing from afar how our society defied the prophets of doom and their predictions of endless conflict, have spoken of a miracle. You who have been closely involved in the transition as it affected the economy, will know that it has been the product of human decisions.”

(Nelson Mandela, 26 May 1999)

## Introduction

The alliance between the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) – known as the Tripartite Alliance (hereinafter referred to as the Alliance) – has been depicted by Raymond Suttner as being “without precedent on the African continent and with few parallels elsewhere in the world”.<sup>1</sup> The rationale behind the formation of the Tripartite Alliance was to provide “a central vehicle” for the country’s political, economic and social transformation.<sup>2</sup> The glue that held the Alliance together, under the umbrella of the ANC, was the opposition to apartheid. All the Alliance members were firmly convinced that the liberation of South Africa could only be attained through a collaborative and coordinated effort. The Alliance was therefore viewed as that mechanism.

The concept of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) guided the ANC and its Alliance partners through the political negotiations of the early 1990s to a settlement that included significant compromises.<sup>3</sup> The critical question at the

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<sup>1</sup> Shafiq Morton, “The State of the Tripartite Alliance”, Centre for International Political Studies, University of Pretoria (19 August 2008); [http://www.cips.up.ac.za/files/conference/papers/THE\\_STATE\\_OF\\_THE\\_TRIPARTITE\\_ALLIANCE.pdf](http://www.cips.up.ac.za/files/conference/papers/THE_STATE_OF_THE_TRIPARTITE_ALLIANCE.pdf). (Accessed 3 April 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Nontando Ngamlana, “Woes of the Tripartite Alliance”: <http://www.afesis.org.za/Local-Governance-Articles/woes-of-the-tripartite-alliance>. (Accessed 3 April 2012).

<sup>3</sup> Anthea Jeffery gives the genesis of the NDR as follows:

“The ANC’s NDR has its roots in Lenin’s theory of imperialism, as articulated in 1917. According to Lenin, the living standards of the working classes in industrialised Europe were then improving rather than deteriorating [...] solely because the imperial powers were able ruthlessly to exploit the brown and black masses in their colonies”. See Anthea Jeffery,

conclusion of the negotiations was whether a programme for the fundamental transformation of society was possible, given the nature of the negotiated settlement. This question brought the role of the state in the South African transition onto the centre stage of political and ideological debate. The compromises made in the political settlement and the limited role assigned to the state as a result of the impact of globalisation, among other things, posed the first challenge for the Alliance in relation to transformation.<sup>4</sup>

It is worth noting that the Alliance had in the past subscribed to the Freedom Charter of 1955 which, *inter alia*, envisaged the immediate nationalisation of South Africa's mineral resources, banks and industrial monopolies, followed by a redistribution of agricultural land.<sup>5</sup> The policy choices made by the ANC were therefore not supported by all in the Tripartite Alliance.

The divergence of views grew as Government elaborated and adopted some controversial economic and social policies. Alliance partners argued that although globalisation limited the policy options available to a state that wanted to adopt a developmental agenda, there was, nonetheless, space to develop a sovereign agenda. What was needed, the SACP argued, was an interventionist state that would drive a development agenda in the place of a state that subjected the logic of development to the imperatives of private capital. The expectation of some Alliance partners was that a democratic state would have a privileged relationship with the working class resulting in an alteration of the balance of forces in South African society in favour of those willing to challenge the hegemony of global neo-liberalism.<sup>6</sup>

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"Research and Policy Brief: The National Democratic Revolution (NDR): Its Origins and Implications" (31 May 2012): <http://www.sairr.org.za/sairr-today-1/research-and-policy-brief-the-national-democratic-revolution-ndr-its-origins-and-implications-31st-may-2012>. (Accessed 4 April 2014).

<sup>4</sup>Saki Macozoma, "From a Theory of Revolution to the Management of a Fragile State" <http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/theory%20of%20revolution.pdf>. (Accessed 4 April 2014).

<sup>5</sup>M. L. Truu, "Wanted: An Economic System for South Africa" (1997): [http://www.dspace.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/4969/Truu\\_Wanted\(1997\).pdf?sequence=1](http://www.dspace.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/4969/Truu_Wanted(1997).pdf?sequence=1). (Accessed 4 April 2014).

<sup>6</sup> Saki Macozoma, *ibid*.

While the ANC is entrusted with leading the Alliance, each component thereof is an autonomous entity.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the 1995 Tripartite Alliance Summit re-affirmed that “[t]he unity of the alliance needs to be deepened, based on a common strategic programme [...] and a mutual respect for the specific roles, constituencies and autonomy of the three partners”.<sup>8</sup> These sentiments were echoed in the 2002 Alliance Summit which stated:<sup>9</sup>

The Alliance consists of separate and independent organisations, with their own objectives, identities, policy-making mechanisms and internal arrangements. Each component respects the independence of its allies. The components are united, nonetheless, by their common commitment to the NDR [National Democratic Revolution].

It is this complex, diverse yet complementary nature of the Alliance that has led to it being dubbed “the broad church”.<sup>10</sup> The notion of a “broad church” denotes that the ANC is made up of various components which include, *inter alia*, the liberals, communists, nationalists and so forth. It also comprises the “Robben Island graduates,” “the exiles,” the generation of activists from the mid-1980s who gave birth to the United Democratic Front (UDF), the independent labour union leadership grouped within COSATU, the rural poor and the professionals. Besides these formations, there are church leaders, traditional leaders, as well as civic organisations that are also the strands of the ANC. The pluralistic or the “multi-class

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<sup>7</sup>African National Congress, “52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference: Resolutions” (2007): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2536>. (Accessed 3 April 2012).

<sup>8</sup> South African Communist Party, “Tripartite Alliance Document: The Need for an Effective ANC-led Political Centre”, *African Communist* 142, 3 (1995): <http://www.sacp.org.za/pubs/acomunist/1995/issue142.html#Alliance>. (Accessed 3 April 2012).

<sup>9</sup> African National Congress, “2002 Alliance Summit: Consolidated Report of Commission Discussions on the NDR, Balance of Forces and Building the Alliance” (2002): [http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2689&t=Tripartite Alliance](http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2689&t=Tripartite+Alliance). (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>10</sup>S.J. Terreblanche, “The Ideological Journey of South Africa: From the RDP to the GEAR Macro-Economic Plan” (1999): [http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/confer/me99/procs/pro\\_terr.htm](http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/ricsa/confer/me99/procs/pro_terr.htm). (Accessed 13 April 2012).

nature” of the ANC was aptly captured by Nelson Mandela’s predecessor as the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, when he argued:<sup>11</sup>

The ANC was born as a parliament of the people. The delegates at its founding conference in 1912 represented the entire spectrum of the South African, and the southern African, indigenous population, including the kings or paramount chiefs of the day, the intellectuals, workers, peasants, women, and so on. In time, the ANC has developed toward where it is becoming the parliament of all the oppressed people and the democratic forces of our country, without distinction of race or colour. Our people regard and speak of the ANC as the “mother body” of the liberation movement of South Africa.

Tambo continued:<sup>12</sup>

It is in this context that we must understand the ideology of the alliances it enters into. Our ideology is reflected in the Freedom Charter. One of our tasks as a political organisation is to popularise the demands contained in the Charter, to unite the people of South Africa in struggle for the realisation of those demands. To the extent that various individuals and sections of our community hold communist, Christian, Moslem, or other views, should one therefore expect to find that the Freedom Charter is supported by communists, Christians, Moslems, etc., and similarly that all these people are united with the ANC by the fact that they are fighting for a common cause [...]

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<sup>11</sup>Oliver Tambo, “Interview with Africa Report” (1 March 1981): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4389>. (Accessed 2 November 2012).

<sup>12</sup> Oliver Tambo, *ibid.*



Over time, the ANC embraced the principle of gender equality as one of the central features of national liberation and contended that the view of gender equity had to be reinforced with equitable representation of women at all levels of the movement.<sup>13</sup>

It may be expected that out of this melting pot will emerge a culture of a robust and vibrant debate which is a fertile ground for the contention of various schools of thought. In fact, this view was expressed by the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC) – the party’s highest organ and highest decision-making body between National Conferences which is entrusted with leading it – which stated:<sup>14</sup>

Healthy debate within the alliance is critical for the development of our democracy and social transformation. Indeed, out of such debate will emerge a cross-pollination of ideas which will enrich South African politics.

People with a diverse ideological make-up have a propensity to view issues from various perspectives. It is only those who have the ability to argue their point(s) of view persuasively or convincingly who stand a better chance of winning the hearts and minds of their interlocutors. This is the crux of deliberative rhetoric. As Mandela once remarked:<sup>15</sup>

Debates leading up to this conference included rigorous debates within branches and at regional level on policies which formed the basis of the debate at this Conference. The discussions within the plenary and in the commissions were remarkable for their frankness. Criticisms were given and taken in a debate organised to facilitate such a process.

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<sup>13</sup>African National Congress, “Challenges of Leadership in the Current Phase” (1 July 1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=307>. (Accessed 18 June 2012).

<sup>14</sup> African National Congress, “Statement of the National Executive Committee on the 85<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC” (1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=63>. (Accessed 27 July 2012).

<sup>15</sup>Nelson Mandela, “Closing Address to National Conference” (1991): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=105>. (Accessed 18 July 2012).

Whether this is actually the case within the ANC structures – especially today – is open to discussion. Be that as it may and despite the various schools of thought or ideological leanings of the ANC's constituents, the common denominator or the "unifying objective" is, in the Alliance parlance, the attainment of "a better life for all" South Africans.<sup>16</sup> The concept of "a better life for all" was the promise that heralded the birth of democracy in South Africa. Its origin(s) may arguably be traced back to the birth of the Freedom Charter in 1955. Regarded as the lifeblood of the liberation movement, the Freedom Charter proclaimed, among other things, that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white".<sup>17</sup> Perhaps more importantly, the promise of the realisation of a "better life for all" gained prominence during the 1964 Rivonia Trial. On that occasion, Mandela asserted:<sup>18</sup>

I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

These words were eventually incorporated in the preamble to the South Africa's Constitution which declares boldly that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity". The Constitution further makes a commitment to improving "the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person".<sup>19</sup> Indeed, "a better life for all" has become a rallying point for the Tripartite Alliance and has been repeatedly employed by the Alliance leadership from the inception of a democratic dispensation to this day. This has been prompted by the realisation on the part of the

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<sup>16</sup>African National Congress, "The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework" (1994): <http://www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/rdp/rdpall.html#PREFACE>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>17</sup>African National Congress, "The Freedom Charter":<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=72> : (Accessed 18 June 2012).

<sup>18</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Statement from the Dock at the Opening of the Defence Case in the Rivonia Trial, Pretoria Supreme Court" (20 April 1964): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3430>. (Accessed 18 July 2012).

<sup>19</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*: 1.

ANC and its allies that democratic consolidation will, to a large extent, hinge on an improvement in living standards and conditions of the country's inhabitants.

The relations between the Alliance partners have, however, not always been plain sailing. Occasionally, the allies have been at loggerheads, with the alleged abandonment of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) by the ANC Government and the adoption of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy being a major source of tension. This was brought to the fore as the Alliance engaged in what may be viewed as some introspection. Critiquing its state of affairs at the time, the Alliance observed:<sup>20</sup>

Our generally good policy visions and clear popular mandate are being eroded and dissipated by our own tendencies to become excessively departmental, provincial, and/or sectoral. Likewise, comrades in positions of authority at all levels, often feel isolated from ANC-led political centre. Too often, they push ahead with policies and implementation that is informed by non-ANC specialists.

Proceeding with the diagnosis of what had, in its view, become a *modus operandi* within the ANC-led Government, the Alliance Summit concluded:<sup>21</sup>

One of the major weaknesses in our movement [...] has been a tendency for ANC ministers to move ahead with major transformation programmes without having run these effectively through ANC, and alliance constitutional structures.

These challenges have prompted certain political commentators to predict the demise of the Alliance.<sup>22</sup> Many of these predictions have been presented as a transition

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<sup>20</sup> South African Communist Party, "Tripartite Alliance Document", *African Communist* 142, 3 (1995): <http://www.sacp.org.za/pubs/acomunist/1995/issue142.htm#Alliance>. (Accessed 22 June 2012).

<sup>21</sup> South African Communist Party, *ibid.*

towards "normalised" political activity where a liberation movement transforms itself into a political party and sheds some of the "socialist baggage" of its earlier days. Contrary to this oft-held view, the Tripartite Alliance continues to campaign together and hold overlapping membership. In effect, Nelson Mandela conceded that divergent perspectives between Alliance partners were practically impossible or inevitable. This presupposes an appreciation of and equally an invitation to open and frank debate where various views will be canvassed. It therefore becomes incumbent upon a speaker to advance his/her views with an intention to gain the adherence of his/her audience. In his closing remarks to the 49<sup>th</sup> Congress of the ANC, Mandela contended:<sup>23</sup>

Comrades are bound to differ on numerous issues that come before the Executive. Differences of opinion among comrades, honestly held and expressed in a disciplined manner within the structures of the organisation, should be encouraged rather than discouraged. They are healthy, they lead to vigorous debate and to an examination of problems from all angles. Unfortunately, some comrades do not always welcome opposition, even from their comrades and tend to sideline, and even slander, comrades who have independent views.

Mandela's words were reminiscent of the views he had expressed in November 1994. Speaking to the then Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) 5<sup>th</sup> Provincial Conference, Mandela had told the delegates:<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Patrick Laurence, "Withdrawal from the ANC Alliance in the Offing", *Focus* 43 (2006): <http://amadlandawonye.wikispaces.com/Scrambled+Egg,+HSF+focus+43,+Patrick+Laurence>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Closing Address at the 49<sup>th</sup> National Conference of the African National Congress – Bloemfontein" (22 December 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2423>. (Accessed 5 April 2012).

<sup>24</sup>Nelson Mandela, "Speech to the PWV 5<sup>th</sup> Provincial Conference" (5 November 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3696>. (Accessed 5 April 2012).

The ANC values self-criticism. Those who come out against us cannot come out with credibility. That is why we are so powerful. The ANC's decisions are only taken after broad consultation not only within our structures but beyond that to other organisations and groups.

Addressing the 1997 Tripartite Alliance Summit, Mandela maintained that the Alliance partners were/are likely to relate in three ways:<sup>25</sup>

- Firstly, there are issues on which they will agree;
- Secondly, there are issues on which they “will start from different angles” but because of their concerns “for unity” and “harmony as comrades [...] will compromise, and come out with a uniform position”; and
- Finally, there are instances where Alliance partners will not agree at all.

From a rhetorical point of view, Mandela made use of what Perelman refers to as the *practical* attitude.<sup>26</sup> This is the approach of the practical person who does not want to commit him/herself than is necessary. It is aimed at keeping, as long as possible, all the freedom of action that circumstances will permit. This allows one to adjust to the unexpected and future experience. Mandela was therefore a visionary and a pragmatist. He was mindful of the fact that the Alliance partners could not always see eye to eye.

Viewed from another angle, Mandela's argument has the elements of a *diplomatic* approach. Akin to the *practical* approach, as far as the *diplomatic* approach is concerned, procedures are invented for postponing the moment of decision until a more convenient time.<sup>27</sup> According to Mandela, there is no hard and fast rule pertaining to how the Alliance partners have to relate to each other. Stated

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<sup>25</sup>African National Congress, “Report on the Tripartite Alliance Summit” (1 September 1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2454>. (Accessed 3 April 2012).

<sup>26</sup>Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 59.

<sup>27</sup>Chaïm Perelman, *ibid.* 59.

differently, there is no prescription as to how the allies have to approach issues. On the contrary, they deal with them as they arise, but the guiding principle is to always strive to ensure that the unity of the Alliance is safeguarded.

It is contended that what has enabled the Alliance to weather the storms during the turbulent and trying times has been its ability to “manage” the differences that it has.<sup>28</sup> This stems from the fact that by virtue of being the governing party, the ANC has a constitutional obligation to take care of the interests of all South Africans. As it strives to do that, the ANC may find that, at times, this puts it at loggerheads with its allies whose primary responsibility is (ought) to ensure that the interests of their respective constituencies are advanced. The ANC therefore needs to strike a delicate balance between advancing and protecting the interests of all South Africans, on the one hand, and not alienating its allies, on the other hand.

This thesis seeks to establish how the Alliance has managed to survive since the ANC’s ascendancy to power. Put differently, it attempts to examine how the relations within the Alliance have played themselves out as the ANC metamorphosed from a liberation movement into a ruling party. What is the role of the Tripartite Alliance in the formulation of the policies pertaining to the country’s social, economic and political transformation? Is there any role played by the Alliance partners (SACP and COSATU) that are “technically” outside Government in this process or is this role the exclusive preserve of the ANC?

Where there is an engagement between Government (ANC) and the Alliance partners or where there are disagreements, how are they handled or managed and what rhetorical arguments are advanced? On the part of the ANC, who is in charge or has the final say? Is it the ANC NEC? Is it the President or the “top six” (the ANC National Working Committee (NWC) and the most politically influential leadership collective in the country, comprising the ANC President, Deputy President, Secretary-General, Deputy Secretary-General, National Chairperson and Treasurer-General)? Can one talk about “collective leadership” without a leader of the “collective?

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<sup>28</sup>Jacob Zuma, “Tripartite Alliance Summit: Closing Remarks” (2002): [http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2693&t=Tripartite Alliance](http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2693&t=Tripartite+Alliance). (Accessed 5 April 2012).

The ANC is the ruling party in South Africa and therefore the ANC processes directly or indirectly have implications for the entire South African population. Although the party's share of the vote declined slightly during the 2009 general elections (down from 69.69% in 2004 to 65.90% in 2009), it remains a dominant political force and will arguably continue to be one of the measure players in the country's political landscape in the foreseeable future.<sup>29</sup> As one ANC stalwart and a renowned academic, Ben Turok, succinctly puts it:<sup>30</sup>

The ANC may not rule forever, but it has made a huge impact on South Africa in every dimension of its existence, hence its history and present-day work merit special recognition.

It is therefore imperative to try and understand how the ANC arrives at decisions that have a bearing on the lives of the South Africans and where there are intra- or inter-Alliance differences or disagreements, how these are handled or managed.

### **Definition of Rhetoric**

It should be emphasised right at the outset that the study will be from a rhetorical perspective. In this regard, it is therefore vital to spell out what is meant by rhetoric. This is so given the pejorative or derogatory sense in which this term has been and is often used. Many people understand rhetoric as an "empty" or a "mere" speech, misleading arguments and/or "[...] the stringing together of hollow words, hackneyed expressions and mere platitudes".<sup>31</sup> On the contrary, Chaïm Perelman depicts rhetoric as an art of persuasive language, the psychological technique which

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<sup>29</sup> Independent Electoral Commission, "22 April National Election: Results Report" (25 April 2009): <http://www.elections.org.za/NPEPWStaticReports/reports/ReportParameters.aspx?catid=7>. (Accessed 5 April 2012).

<sup>30</sup>Ben Turok (ed.), *Readings in the ANC Tradition: Volume I: Policy and Praxis* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2011): vii.

<sup>31</sup>Richard Nordquist, "Pejorative Language": <http://grammar.about.com/od/pq/g/Pejorative-Language.htm>. (Accessed 5 April 2012).

acts upon the hearer's will in order to obtain his or her adherence. It is the art of speaking well – *l'art de bien parler* – or writing persuasively.<sup>32</sup> Similar to Perelman, Aristotle defines rhetoric as “an ability, in each [particular case], to see the available means of persuasion”.<sup>33</sup> Aristotle divides the “means of persuasion” into three main categories. These are *ethos* (persuasion through personality and stance), *pathos* (persuasion through the arousal of emotions) and *logos* (persuasion through reasoning).<sup>34</sup>

In line with Perelman and Aristotle, Corbett defines rhetoric as:<sup>35</sup>

The art or the discipline that deals with the use of discourse, either spoken or written, to inform or persuade or motivate an audience, whether that audience is made up of one person or a group of persons.

This is therefore the context in which rhetoric should be understood and will be employed in this piece of work. This definition, as well as the proper understanding of rhetoric, is vital for a number of reasons. Indeed, Corbett elucidates:<sup>36</sup>

[...] *rhetoric is an inescapable activity in our lives*. [emphasis added]. Every day, we either use rhetoric or are exposed to it. A parent constantly uses rhetoric on a child; a teacher, on his or her students; a salesperson, on customers; a supervisor, on workers; a preacher, on his/her congregation. During every half hour that we spend in front of a television set, we are subjected to three or four times to somebody's efforts to get us to buy something. During

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<sup>32</sup>Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 153.

<sup>33</sup>Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civil Discourse*, Translated with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 37.

<sup>34</sup>Robert Cockroft and Susan Cockroft, *Persuading People: An Introduction to Rhetoric* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 4.

<sup>35</sup>Edward P.J Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 3.

<sup>36</sup>Edward P.J Corbett, *ibid.* 29.



election time, we are bombarded by candidates' appeal for our vote. Even when we are driving on the streets and highways, our eyes are constantly assaulted by sales pitches on huge billboards.

The list is endless. Given all this, there is consequently a dire need for us to understand the techniques used by these people if we are to judge correctly the importance or validity of what they say.

### **“Collective Leadership” in the ANC’s Context**

While there have arguably been many outstanding individual leaders in the ANC, one of the hallmarks of the party has been a constant reference to “collective leadership”. According to Raymond Suttner, the concept of “collective leadership” commenced in the 1950s, with Walter Sisulu as the then party’s Secretary-General. In this regard, Suttner maintains:<sup>37</sup>

The importance of collective then was that an individual did not decide, but that it was more democratic. See, collective has been referred to as having a number of different potentialities. On the one hand, in war situations, it restricts what you can do. But in the context of the ANC of that time, when it started, to have collective leadership made it much more democratic than to have individual leadership. But it also meant that having discussed it fully, the collective would abide by that decision until individuals had persuaded others to depart from it. So this was a democratisation of the ANC.

The underlying assumption here is that “the whole” is greater than “the part”. This then translates into a propensity where those entrusted with the ANC leadership often speak in the third person, employing a pronoun “we” or “our” which, at times, raises a question as to whether the views expressed are those of the speaker or he/she

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<sup>37</sup>Polity, “Models of ANC Leadership” (2010): <http://www.polity.org.za/article/models-of-anc-leadership-2010-08-20>. (Accessed 18 June 2012).

is speaking on behalf of the entire organisation. Until or unless this impression is categorically refuted, the assumption is that the speaker is a spokesperson of the collective.

Interestingly, in its “State of Organisation: From Resistance to Reconstruction & Nation-Building” document, the ANC depicts Mandela as “an embodiment of all the fine qualities of ANC leadership [...] a tower of strength and an inspiration to all”.<sup>38</sup> In 1997, the ANC once again reflected on the features that those at the highest echelons of the party should possess. The discussions centred on the new challenges that the party faced as it was then in power. This paradigm shift had implications for the character and leadership of the organisation, with new emphasis on building the capacity to govern and implement programmes to transform the country. The success or otherwise of the ANC hinged on how it performed on this front. After much deliberation on the issue, the party resolved, regarding its membership, in general, and the members of the NEC, in particular, that:<sup>39</sup>

- ANC NEC member should understand ANC policy and be able to apply it under all conditions in which s/he finds her/himself. This includes an appreciation, from the NDR [National Democratic Revolution] standpoint, of the country and the world we live in, of the balance of forces, and how continually to change this balance in favour of the motive forces of change.
- An NEC member should constantly seek to improve his/her capacity to serve the people. S/he should strive to be in touch with the people all the time, listen to their views and learn from them. S/he should be accessible and flexible and not give her/himself the status of being the source of all the wisdom.

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<sup>38</sup>African National Congress, “State of Organisation: From Resistance to Reconstruction & Nation-Building, Bloemfontein” (17-21 December 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2410>. (Accessed 18 June 2012).

<sup>39</sup>African National Congress, “Challenges of Leadership in the Current Phase” (1 July 1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=307>. (Accessed 18 June 2012).

- An NEC member should win the confidence of the people in their day-to-day work. Where the situation demands, s/he should be firm, and have the courage to explain and seek to convince others of the correctness of decisions taken by constitutional structures, even if such decisions are unpopular. S/he should not seek to gain cheap popularity by avoiding difficult issues, making false promises or merely pandering to popular sentiment.
- An NEC member should be above reproach in his/her political and social conduct – as defined by our revolutionary morality – and through force of example, act as a role model to ANC members and non-members alike. Leading a life that reflects commitment to the strategic goals of the NDR includes not only being free of corrupt practices. It also means actively fighting against corruption.

This is the normative definition of what constitutes a leader of the ANC. It prescribes rules that should be followed by everyone who occupies a leadership position.<sup>40</sup> By virtue of being at the helm of the ANC NEC, the ANC President is expected to embody all the aforementioned qualities. This, however, does not prohibit an ANC President from having a leeway or taking an initiative provided that this is done in the interest and within the confines of the constitutional structures of the party.<sup>41</sup> As Mandela asserted:<sup>42</sup>

There are times when a leader must move out ahead of the flock, go off in a new direction, confident that he is leading his people the right way.

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<sup>40</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 61.

<sup>41</sup> Richard Stengel, *Mandela's Way: Lessons on Life* (London: Virgin, 2010): 69.

<sup>42</sup> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (London: MacDonald Purnell, 1995): 514.

In its discussion document titled “Through the Eye of a Needle? Choosing the Best Cadres to Lead the Revolution”, the ANC NWC expanded on Mandela’s view on leadership and argued:<sup>43</sup>

A leader should seek to influence and to be influenced by others in the collective. He should have the conviction to state his views boldly and openly within the constitutional structures of the movement; and – without being disrespectful – not to cower before those in more senior positions in pursuit of patronage, nor to rely on cliques to maintain one’s position.

Again, in his closing address on the 1997 State of the Nation Address, Nelson Mandela made the following remarks on leadership:<sup>44</sup>

Leadership means leadership. It implies sometimes moving ahead of one’s constituency and – not seldom – taking unpopular decisions in the interests of the country and all its people.

Moeletsi Mbeki, a brother to former President Thabo Mbeki, concurs with Mandela in this regard. Reflecting on leadership, Mbeki argues:<sup>45</sup>

A leader is someone who identifies political and/or economic opportunities that can lead to the solution of overwhelming social problems or challenges facing his or her community and successfully persuades others to work with him or her to implement those solutions.

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<sup>43</sup> African National Congress, “Through the Eye of a Needle? Choosing the Best Cadres to Lead the Revolution”, *Umrabulo* 11 (June-July 2001): <http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/anc/2001/eye-needle.htm>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

<sup>44</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Closing Address on the State of the Nation Address, 12 February”, *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1997): 141-149.

<sup>45</sup> Moeletsi Mbeki, *Advocates for Change: How to Overcome Africa’s Challenges* (Johannesburg, Picador Africa, 2011): 1-2.

Mbeki's definition of a leader underlines the centrality of deliberative rhetoric as he argues that while a leader should exercise some discretion, it is incumbent upon him or her to persuade his or her followers of the advantage(s) that will accrue to them if they choose to initiate a particular course of action for the future. A leader does not have to impose his/her views on his/her followers. On the contrary, he/she has to argue his/her point of view persuasively always bearing in mind that "[n]o single person is a leader unto himself or herself, but a member of a collective".<sup>46</sup> From an organisational perspective, when a person has a view on how to improve things or rectify mistakes, he/she should state them within organisational structures and seek to win others to his/her own thinking.

## Methodology

In an endeavour to undertake this study, I will study, *inter alia*, the arguments – in the form of speeches – advanced by Nelson Mandela both in his capacity as the ANC President and of South Africa. This stems from the fact that the ANC President is also the President of the country. Where possible (depending on data availability), I will equally look at how the Alliance partners respond to the arguments advanced. In a similar vein, Thabo Mbeki's speeches will be scrutinised. Another important source of data will be the ANC Policy Discussion Documents and where, relevant/applicable, those of the Alliance partners in response to the former. Attention will also be paid to the Alliance Summits. It should, however, be highlighted that not all of Mandela's or Mbeki's speeches, ANC's and/or Alliance's documents will be studied. The focus will be solely on those that have a direct bearing on the study.

Why is this study pertinent? one may ask. After the Second World War, democracies had to reconstruct themselves in France, Germany and Italy, just to mention major continental powers. Chaïm Perelman, a French-speaking scholar and

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<sup>46</sup> African National Congress, "Through the Eye of a Needle? Choosing the Best Cadres to Lead the Revolution", *Umrabulo* 11 (June-July 2001): <http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/anc/2001/eye-needle.htm>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

pioneer in modern rhetoric studies, reflected on this situation and resolved to reattach rhetoric to democracy because the democratic state was in the process of reconstructing a citizen who had to partake in the decisions pertaining to how he/she was governed, as opposed to an authoritarian or a fascist regime in which he/she had no active role to play.<sup>47</sup>

A parallel can be drawn between this transformation era in Europe and the South African case. Prior to democracy in South Africa, participation in decision-making fell outside the realm of the citizen. However after 1994, the interaction between the democratically elected Government and the citizen emerged. Knowing how to argue became, undoubtedly, a dire need. The study therefore seeks to establish how this phenomenon unfolds or pans out. It should be underlined that the rhetorical analysis will largely draw from Chaïm Perelman's work.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part One looks at the rhetorical arguments under Nelson Mandela's presidency. Part Two focuses on rhetorical arguments under Thabo Mbeki's presidency. The thesis has four Chapters. Chapter 1 is on Mandela's presidency, from 1994 to 1999. Chapter 2 is centred on Mbeki's first term of his presidency, from 1999 to 2004. Chapter 3 pays attention to Mbeki's second term of office, from 2004 to September 2008, September 2008 being the time of his "recall" by the ANC NEC.<sup>48</sup> Chapter 4 makes some conclusions that can be drawn from the study.

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<sup>47</sup> Renato Barilli, *Rhetoric*. Translation by Giuliana Menozzi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989): 103-104.

<sup>48</sup> African National Congress, "ANC: Zuma: Statement by the President of the ANC on behalf of the ANC National Executive" (22 September 2008): <http://www.polity.org.za/article/jacob-zuma-on-the-recall-of-president-thabo-mbeki-and-the-way-forward-22092008-2008-09-23>. (Accessed 14 November 2013).

# CHAPTER 1

## 1.1 Mandela's Presidency at a Glance

The traits of Mandela's commitment to "collective leadership" can be traced back to the assumption of his presidency. Announcing the ANC victory after the first ever democratic general elections held in 1994, he said:<sup>49</sup>

I am your servant, I don't come to you as a leader, as one above others. We are a great team. Leaders come and go but the organisation and the collective leadership that has looked after the fortunes and reverses of this organisation will always be there. And the ideas I express are not the ideas invented in my own mind. They stem from our fundamental programme, policy document the Freedom Charter; from the decisions; the resolutions of the National Conference and from the decision of the National Executive Committee. That is the nature of our organisation.

Similarly, in his speech to the people of Cape Town during his inauguration as State President, Mandela told his audience that "[t]oday we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa".<sup>50</sup> He went further to say that "[t]he struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community or gender among South Africans".<sup>51</sup> Mandela reiterated these sentiments in 1994 during a debate in Parliament when he acknowledged the role

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<sup>49</sup>Nelson Mandela, "Speech Announcing ANC Election Victory" (2 May 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3658>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

<sup>50</sup>Nelson Mandela, "Address to the People of Cape Town, Grand Parade, on the Occasion of his Inauguration as the President" (9 May 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3131>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>51</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 275.

that had been played by various political formations in the fight against apartheid and in giving birth to a democratic South Africa. In this instance, he argued:<sup>52</sup>

It is the resolve of the organised democratic formations of the youth, women, labour, civics, professionals, traditional leaders, the religious and educational sectors, sporting and cultural fraternities and many others which is being celebrated in the fruits of an emerging democratic order. It is the political organisations of the people which led the way towards the destruction of apartheid and the emergence of this new democratic order: the ANC, the SACP, Cosatu, the Patriotic Front, the PAC, the United Democratic Front, Azapo and others.

Acknowledging the contributions that individual leaders of the anti-apartheid movement had made, he maintained that it was people in their collective capacity who had brought about the end of apartheid:<sup>53</sup>

Together with the struggles of the people there were the contributions, in various ways and over a very long period of time, by a variety of other persons and institutions. As has been said here, men and women like Lilian Ngowe [sic], Helen Joseph, Moses Kotane and J B Marx, Drs Dadoo and Naicker, George Peak and Alex la Guma, Adv Bram Fischer and Michael Hamon Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko, Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo. Above all, however, it was the operations of uMkhonto weSizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army, as well as the international community that brought apartheid crashing down to its knees.

The names that Mandela invoked were those of leaders who were perceived in anti-apartheid circles as leaders par excellence. These are viewed as leaders in their own

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<sup>52</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Response to the Debate on the State of the Nation Address, 27 May", *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 274.

<sup>53</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op. cit.* 275.



right and the role they played in the emancipation of South Africa cannot be doubted. Mandela cited them to give concrete meaning to “collective leadership”. There could be no doubt in the mind of Mandela’s interlocutors that what he was saying was true. The technique used in this regard can, according to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, be viewed as the argumentation by illustration.<sup>54</sup>

By making use of argumentation by illustration, Mandela invited his audience to emulate the actions of the leaders he was invoking. What this type of argument seeks to achieve is to strengthen adherence to a known and acceptable rule.<sup>55</sup> Mandela’s role in the fight against apartheid could hardly be questioned by any of his interlocutors. He had, however, to invoke the names of other struggle icons in order to demonstrate the veracity of his assertion that the liberation came about as a result of a collective effort and not as a result of a single individual.

Viewed differently, when Mandela invoked the names of the erstwhile heroes and heroines, including the various anti-apartheid formations, he had recourse to the commonplace of testimonial. The commonplace of testimonial seeks to influence opinion, action or acceptance. The testimonial does not have to come from an impartial, expert source in order to be persuasive.<sup>56</sup> At times, the persuasive force of a testimonial stems from the esteem people have for the person or the achievements of the one offering the recommendation. In rhetorical terminology, the testimonial has “ethical appeal” – the kind of appeal which Perelman says is often more effective in persuading an audience than an appeal to emotions.

Similarly, Mandela underlined the importance of “collective leadership” in an interview with Vuyo Mbuli – a presenter of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) 2 of *Morning Live* programme – in 2002 when he stated:<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 357.

<sup>55</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 231.

<sup>56</sup> Edward P.J Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 126.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted in Martin Kalungu-Banda, *Leading Like Madiba: Leadership Lessons from Nelson Mandela* (Cape Town: Double Storey Books, 2006): 36.

I would have been happier if my speeches were simply among the great speeches that were made by our country's eminent personalities such as Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Walter Sisulu, among many others. By so doing, we would be painting the right picture of our country's history. [...] *the reality of our struggle is that no individual among us can claim to have played a greater role than the rest* [my emphasis].

Rhetorically, Mandela's contention qualifies as an argument of inclusion. This argument is predicated on the principle that "what is true of the whole is true of the part".<sup>58</sup> Usually, the relation of the whole to its parts is dealt with quantitatively: the whole includes the parts and is consequently more important. Very often, the value of the part will be considered to be proportional to the fraction of the whole which it constitutes.

Likewise, in an interview with Oprah Winfrey, an American media proprietor, talk show host, actress, producer and philanthropist, Mandela asserted:<sup>59</sup>

It was the men and women in the struggle that brought about the end of apartheid. The African National Congress is a mass movement. The liberation of the country was a product of a concerted effort. If there is any significant role that I played, it was that of being a vessel through which the struggle was presented to the nation and the world. The great men and women of the struggle chose that I be that symbol. If this was a good thing, praise must go to those who made the choice.

Nelson Mandela is synonymous with the struggle against apartheid. As his successor, former President Thabo Mbeki attested:<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *op. cit.* 231.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted in Elleke Boehmer, *Nelson Mandela: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008): 173.

<sup>60</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Mbeki's Letter to the ANC" (31 October 2008): <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mbeki-s-letter-to-the-anc-1.422603>. (Accessed 2 November 2012).

In the context of the global struggle for the release of the political prisoners in our country, our movement took a deliberate decision to profile Nelson Mandela as the representative personality of these prisoners, and therefore to use his personal biography [...] dramatically to present to the world and the South African community the brutality of the apartheid system.

Mandela was imprisoned for 27 years and was, indeed, “prepared to die” for the liberation of the people of South Africa, black and white.<sup>61</sup> After having so suffered and sacrificed, he would have easily claimed to have been *the* (key) player in the struggle. On the contrary, he told Oprah Winfrey that credit had to go to the “great men and women of the struggle” who had chosen him as “that symbol”.

Challenging – if not refusing – to be perceived as a messiah or dispelling the myth that he single-handedly brought apartheid to its knees, Mandela used *pathos* and argued that “praise must go to those who made the choice”.<sup>62</sup> Mandela’s modesty might have appealed to his interlocutors. On the other hand, Mandela’s assertion can be characterised as an appeal to *ethos* as he himself gave Oprah the context in which he became the “symbol” of the fight against apartheid. If anything, he was the most authoritative source on the subject matter.

It is worth noting that Mandela was prepared to acknowledge not only the role played by the formerly oppressed, but also those who were on the other side of the political divide before the democratic dispensation. This was illustrated in his address delivered in the Union Buildings on 10 May 1994 in which he paid tribute to the last President of the apartheid system, F.W. de Klerk. In that address, Mandela stated:<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Martin Meredith, *Nelson Mandela: A Biography* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998): 268.

<sup>62</sup> Martin Meredith, *ibid.* 182

<sup>63</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Statement of the President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, at his Inauguration as President of the Democratic Republic of South Africa, Union Buildings, Pretoria” (10 May 1994): [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles\\_Gen/Inaugural\\_Speech\\_17984.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Inaugural_Speech_17984.html). (Accessed 4 April 2012).

We deeply appreciate the role that the masses of our people and their political mass democratic, religious, women, youth, business, traditional and other leaders have played to bring about this conclusion. Not least among them is my Second Deputy President, the Honourable F.W. de Klerk.

Commenting on the release of Mandela from prison and un-banning of the then banned political organisations, on the occasion of celebrating twenty years of a democratic South Africa, Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu opines that de Klerk narrowly averted a civil war that would have been severely detrimental to the country and plunged it into further political turmoil.<sup>64</sup> As the last President of the National Party (NP) Government, de Klerk's presidency was dominated by the negotiation process, mainly between the then NP and the ANC, which culminated in the democratisation of South Africa.

Mandela's acknowledgement of de Klerk's contribution to the birth of a democratic South Africa could be viewed as a typical case of what could arguably be regarded as the twin pillars of his presidency, namely, nation building and reconciliation. Perhaps more importantly, he wanted to lend credence to the assertion that he had made to his Cape Town audience during his inauguration as the President that "[t]he struggle for democracy has never been a matter pursued by one race, class, religious community or gender among South Africans".<sup>65</sup> His reference to an Afrikaner poet, Ingrid Jonker, during his first State of the Nation Address is another case in point. On that occasion, he said:<sup>66</sup>

The time will come when our nation will honour the memory of all the sons, the daughters, the mothers, the fathers, the youth and children who, by their

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<sup>64</sup> The F.W De Klerk Foundation in conjunction with the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, "Looking Back, Looking Forward: 20 Years after 2 February 1990" (2010): [http://www.fwdeklerk.org/cause\\_data/images/2137/AnniversaryPublication.pdf](http://www.fwdeklerk.org/cause_data/images/2137/AnniversaryPublication.pdf). (Accessed 5 July 2012).

<sup>65</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> Nelson Mandela, "State of the Nation Address, 24 May", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 3.

thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans, that we are Africans and that we are citizens of the world.

He proceeded and argued:<sup>67</sup>

*The certainties that come with age [my emphasis] tell me that among these we shall find an Afrikaner woman who transcended a particular experience and became a South African, an African and a citizen of the world. Her name is Ingrid Jonker. [...] In the dark days when all seemed hopeless in our country, when many refused to hear her resonant voice, she took her own life [my emphasis].*

In this passage, Mandela made use of what Chaïm Perelman refers to as an argument from authority (*argumentum ad vericundiam*) as he talked about “the certainties that come with age”.<sup>68</sup> This line of argument presupposes that old people, due to the experiences that they have accumulated earlier on in their life, know better. The younger people – if they subscribe to this generally-held view – will be therefore discouraged from challenging the views expressed by their elders and the argument advanced will have a persuasive effect on them.

It may therefore be argued that by having recourse to this argument, Mandela stood a better chance of having the adherence of his interlocutors who happened to be younger than him. Put differently, his argument had an ethical appeal. His audience could buy into the argument that he was advancing thanks to his age. On the contrary, if they did not believe in this assertion, the argument could not be persuasive but it demonstrated that the orator (in this case, Mandela) had the

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<sup>67</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 3.

<sup>68</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 94.

complete grasp of his art because he was able to discover the available means of persuasion.<sup>69</sup>

The fact that Ingrid Jonker had to sacrifice her life for a democratic South Africa would appeal to freedom-loving South Africans and propel them to embark on a course of action proposed by their interlocutor. Mandela's audience would be inspired and persuaded to emulate Ingrid Jonker because human beings generally have a propensity to sympathise or empathise with those who have died for a noble cause. The argument advanced by Mandela – which can be rhetorically categorised as either an argumentation by model or as an argumentation by sacrifice – had the potential of luring even those South Africans who might have had reservations about what the new order had in store for them into readily embracing the “new” South Africa and did what he appealed to them to do.<sup>70</sup>

Indeed, the thread of Mandela's first State of the Nation Address and/or his presidency was a clarion call for the involvement of as many role-players (people who wielded influence in various walks of life or those who were regarded as leaders in various circles) as possible in the decision-making process and bringing about a “new” South Africa. He urged them to contribute to the building of a “new nation”, what he dubbed “the new patriotism”.<sup>71</sup> More importantly, Mandela stated categorically that he did not expect his interlocutors to kowtow. He encouraged them to express themselves without let or hindrance. His words during the closing debate on the 1996 State of the Nation Address bear testimony to this. On that occasion, Mandela told his audience:<sup>72</sup>

What I would like to say very briefly is that I am very excited because of the speeches that were made here by many gifted speakers from both sides of the House. It is very clear to me that the leaders of this country are always there

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<sup>69</sup>Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, “Aristotle's Rhetoric”: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-rhetoric/>. (Accessed 2 May 2012).

<sup>70</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *ibid.* 110.

<sup>71</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Closing Address: Debate on the State of the Nation, 15 February”, *Joint Sittings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 166-174.

<sup>72</sup> Nelson, Mandela, *ibid.* 166.

when we are dealing with an important matter such as this one. And those leaders come from both sides. [...] *Leaders from different political parties are showing determination to speak the truth irrespective of the parties to which they belong and that is very important* [emphasis added]. It is clear that this country for which we are fighting will achieve success.

However, Mandela pointed out that nation building was not the exclusive preserve of the leaders. Accordingly, he argued:<sup>73</sup>

Indeed, we politicians may well be far behind the ordinary men, women and children of our country. It is they who are leading us towards becoming one nation, at a pace beyond all expectations.

It can be argued that Mandela seized the opportune or right moment (*kairos*) to outline what he wanted to be the defining features of his presidency. He took advantage of the euphoric mood that characterised the early days of his presidency. Put differently, he made use of the honeymoon period to entrench reconciliation and nation building. While under no illusion with regard to the enormity of the challenges that still lay ahead as a result of what had transpired during the apartheid dispensation – when one race had been pitted against each other – he assured all South Africans that their destiny was intrinsically intertwined”.<sup>74</sup>

And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burden, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

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<sup>73</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op. cit.* 168.

<sup>74</sup> Nelson Mandela, “State of the Nation Address, 24 May”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 4.

Mandela's first State of the Nation Address can largely be viewed as an amplification of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). In effect, he stated unequivocally that:<sup>75</sup>

The things we have said constitute the true meaning, the justification and the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, without which it would lose all legitimacy.

Mandela's assertion was unsurprising given that the RDP was a blueprint for securing a political and programmatic commitment by the ANC Government to meeting the basic socio-economic needs of the ANC's most important constituencies, namely, the poor and the workers. The RDP therefore became a reference point or, rhetorically speaking, a commonplace for the ANC. Put differently, it became common practice for the ANC leadership to make reference to the RDP whenever it sought adherence to the arguments that it advanced.

The RDP gave a diagnosis of the distortions and injustices that characterised the pre-democratic South African society. It analysed nationwide living standards and proposed ways to improve Government services and basic living conditions for the poor. It identified five major policy programmes that had to be implemented in an endeavour to redress the unbearable conditions to which the majority of the country's inhabitants had been subjected. These ranged from programmes to meet the basic needs of the poor, programmes to develop the neglected human resources of mainly Africans, programmes to bring about a "fundamental restructuring" of the economy, programmes to democratise the state and society to programmes for the successful implementation of the RDP.<sup>76</sup> The millions of organised workers and unemployed – who had provided the ANC with both its political and organisational power – looked to the RDP promises to create millions of jobs, provide massive

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<sup>75</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*5.

<sup>76</sup>African National Congress, "The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework": <http://www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/rdp/rdp.html#PREFACE>. (Accessed 7 May 2012).



increases in infrastructure, meet basic social needs and redistribute large amounts of white-owned land.<sup>77</sup>

The RDP outlined the democratic mechanisms that had to be put in place, fostered and implemented so that South Africa could deal with the socio-economic challenges that it was confronted with. Commenting on the RDP, Munslow and Fitzgerald observe:<sup>78</sup>

It is hard to overestimate the symbolic importance of the RDP and the consensus it created. This forms an important part of nation building and healing process following the deep divisions of the past. The RDP is now an icon of the new South Africa and almost all sectors of society have given it their support.

After various intra-Alliance workshops and meetings with civil society, the RDP emerged publicly in early 1994.<sup>79</sup> It was hailed by the Alliance leadership as the new “people’s programme” and rapidly achieved the status of an electoral manifesto on which the ANC subsequently rode to victory.<sup>80</sup> When the ANC assumed power, therefore, a concerted effort was made to market the RDP in order to have the programme supported by as many sectors of the South African population as possible. This was so because the ANC and its allies were mindful of the gravity and

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<sup>77</sup> Dale T. McKinley, “Democracy and Social Movements in South Africa”, (2004), Paper for UKZN School of Development Studies Conference: ‘Reviewing the First Decade of Development and Democracy in South Africa, 22-24<sup>th</sup> October’: <http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/MCKINLEYCONF50.PDF>. (Accessed 9 July 2012).

<sup>78</sup> Barry Munslow and Peter Fitzgerald, “The Reconstruction and Development Programme”, in P. Fitzgerald, A. McLennan and B. Munslow, eds. *Managing Sustainable Development in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1995): 42.

<sup>79</sup> African National Congress, *ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Dale T. McKinley, “Democracy, Power and Patronage: Debate and Opposition within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance since 1994”, in R. Southall, (ed.) *Opposition and Democracy in South Africa* (London: Cass, 2001): 186.

the extent of the challenges that existed as a result of apartheid and colonialism. This was aptly stated in the RDP document where it was stated:<sup>81</sup>

Our history has been a bitter one dominated by colonialism, racism, apartheid, sexism and repressive labour policies. The result is that poverty and degradation exist side by side with modern cities and a developed mining, industrial and commercial infrastructure. Our income distribution is racially distorted and ranks as one of the most unequal in the world – lavish wealth and abject poverty characterise our society.

The economy was built on systematically enforced racial division in every sphere of our society. Rural areas have been divided into underdeveloped bantustans and well-developed, white-owned commercial farming areas. Towns and cities have been divided into townships without basic infrastructure for blacks and well-resourced suburbs for whites.

Segregation in education, health, welfare, transport and employment left deep scars of inequality and economic inefficiency.

The diagnosis of the state of affairs revealed, in the ANC's view, that the ANC Government had inherited a racially-skewed society and multi-faceted interventions were a *sine qua non* of addressing the country's challenges. This task could not be confined only to the ANC-led Government and its allies as they were not the panacea for all the country's ills. The Alliance was under no illusion of the magnitude of the challenges that the country faced and readily acknowledged that it could not arrogate to itself all the wisdom. Mandela's address to the COSATU is telling in this regard:<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> African National Congress, *ibid.*

<sup>82</sup>Nelson Mandela, "Speech at the Sixth National Congress of COSATU" (1997): [http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3149&t=Tripartite Alliance](http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3149&t=Tripartite+Alliance). (Accessed 12 May 2012).

Nor should we forget that the Alliance has a mission to lead not only its own constituencies but the whole of society in the building of a new nation *founded on a partnership of all social sectors* [my emphasis]

As many role-players as possible were required to provide solutions to the country's bequeathed ills. This was stated unequivocally by Mandela when he conceded that:<sup>83</sup>

The ANC and its Alliance partners have principles and policies to which we are deeply committed, *but we will not close our ears to other viewpoints* [emphasis added]. Democracy will have little content, and indeed, will be short lived if we cannot address our socioeconomic [sic] problems within an expanding and growing economy. The ANC is committed to carrying out these programmes with the support of its allies and our people.

Evidently, what the ANC said in 2005 was indicative of its commitment to "collective leadership":<sup>84</sup>

Yet, the challenges facing the country require not only for the ANC to be united and cohesive, but for it to continue to broaden the base of those forces united in the effort to transform South Africa into a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic nation.

The clarion call for broader participation was further made as Mandela contended:<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> African National Congress, "The Reconstruction and Development Programme: A Policy Framework" (1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=235>. (Accessed 24 July 2012).

<sup>84</sup> African National Congress, "Unity and Diversity: The ANC's Experience of Diversity, Cohesion and United Action", *ANC Today* 5, 6 (2005): <http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2005/at06.htm>. (Accessed 12 May 2012).

<sup>85</sup> Nelson Mandela, "State of the Nation Address, 24 May", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 6.

This Government is equally committed to ensure that we use this longer period properly to bring organs of civil society fully into the decision-making process.

This will include the trade union movement and civic organisations, so that the Government should at no time become isolated from the people.

Mandela re-emphasised the centrality of organised labour, of which COSATU was the major player and an Alliance partner, as an equally key player in redressing the legacy of apartheid. The role that COSATU had to play during the democratisation or transformation of the country had to be clarified as the ANC's trade union partner faced a dilemma. As an ally, COSATU had to choose between being a conveyor belt for Government or retaining its independence and militancy and continue to fight for the aspirations of the working class. In this regard, Mandela maintained:<sup>86</sup>

The Government is also convinced that organised labour is an important partner whose co-operation is crucial for the reconstruction and development of our country.

Indeed, COSATU undertook to give an unwavering support to ensure that the ANC-led Government did succeed in bringing about a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic country. Addressing the COSATU's delegates, the trade union's then Secretary-General, Sam Shilowa, reminded his audience:<sup>87</sup>

In the 1994 National Congress we have said much of our focus should be to ensure that the RDP is implemented to the full. [...] *The RDP is a product of COSATU and the alliance* [emphasis added]. We therefore cannot pay lip

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<sup>86</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 10.

<sup>87</sup>Sam Shilowa, "Address on the Occasion of COSATU's 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary" (1995): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=716>. (Accessed 12 May 2012).

service to implementation. We need to go to our communities and play our role. [...] We should defend its implementation.

COSATU did not view the RDP as the ANC programme, but saw itself as a key stakeholder. By its own admission, COSATU was part and parcel of the RDP and therefore its objectives and those of the ANC pertaining to the successful implementation of the RDP were intrinsically intertwined. The trade union therefore committed itself to doing everything in its power to ensure that the programme succeeded.

Another initiative during Mandela's presidency which was aimed at ensuring "collective leadership" between the ANC and its allies in the struggle for the country's socio-economic transformation was the formation of the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC). NEDLAC's origins lie in the struggle against apartheid – against unilateral decision-making – and in the calls from all sectors of society for decisions to be taken in a more inclusive and transparent manner. Launched on 18 February 1995, NEDLAC seeks to inculcate "inclusive decision-making and consensus-seeking in the economic arena".<sup>88</sup> This crucial body brings together representatives of Government, labour, business and civil society. In NEDLAC, labour is represented by, among others, COSATU. In terms of the NEDLAC Act (No. 35 of 1994), the objectives of this forum are to:<sup>89</sup>

- Strive to promote the goals of economic growth, participation in decision-making and social equity;
- Seek to reach consensus and conclude agreements on matters pertaining to social and economic policy;
- Consider all proposed labour legislation relating to labour market before it is introduced in Parliament;

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<sup>88</sup>National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC), "Background": <http://www.nedlac.org.za/about-us/background.aspx>. (Accessed 21 May 2012).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

- Consider all significant changes to social and economic policy before it is implemented or introduced in Parliament; and
- Encourage and promote the formulation of co-ordinated policy on social and economic matters.

NEDLAC was formed with COSATU's blessing. The assertion by the then COSATU President, John Gomomo, rings true in this regard. Speaking to the Second NEDLAC Summit, Gomomo had this to say to his audience, comprising the then Deputy President of the country, Thabo Mbeki:<sup>90</sup>

Two years ago, we came together to launch NEDLAC. We committed ourselves to utilise this institution to promote Growth, Equity and Participation on behalf of workers [...]. Through it we would ensure the effective participation of civil society in decision making on a range of issues.

However as the time went by, the relations between COSATU and the ANC at NEDLAC were occasionally fraught with challenges. Gomomo's contention bears testimony to this:<sup>91</sup>

At the last summit, the Deputy President informed us that the Government was still discussing its proposals on macro-economic issues. We were promised that once the proposals were ready, they would be made available to the parties at NEDLAC. *This has not happened* [my emphasis].

Instead we have seen increased reluctance by Government to place policy proposals for discussion and as far as is possible to reach agreement in

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<sup>90</sup>John Gomomo, "Address to the Second NEDLAC Summit on behalf of COSATU, NACTU and FEDUSA" (1995): <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/address-second-nedlac-summit-presented-john-gomomo-cosatu-president-behalf-cosatu-nactu-and->. (Accessed 30 May 2012).

<sup>91</sup> John Gomomo, *ibid.*

NEDLAC. As organised labour we find this totally unacceptable, and we pledge to tackle such ministers, and such an approach to policy.

While we remain committed to NEDLAC and pledge to defend the existence of the institution *we are disappointed with the conduct of business and Government* [emphasis added].

Gomomo's views are indicative of a vibrant and robust debate that existed within the Alliance at this juncture as the allies could freely express their points of view. Gomomo did not mince his words and even risked rocking the boat. COSATU wanted to partake actively and meaningfully in NEDLAC, as opposed to merely rubber-stamping the decisions taken or playing second fiddle to the ANC-led Government and other role-players. This was evidenced by Gomomo's assertion:<sup>92</sup>

The question that workers are asking is whether NEDLAC's role is only to deal with process issues or whether its role should extend to its real mandate – that of reaching consensus and agreement on socio-economic issues that will alleviate poverty, inequalities in wealth and incomes, create jobs, build houses and provide basic infrastructure. I hope to take back answers to workers in this regard.

It can be deduced that the ANC's embrace of COSATU at NEDLAC was a calculated move on the part of the ruling party. It demonstrated foresight by the ANC. It is highly likely that if unions participate in the decision-making processes of the Government of the day, they become conversant with the challenges that the Government faces, as well as its limitations to meet the unions' and their constituencies' demands. This, in turn, has the potential of dissuading the unions from making "unreasonable" or "irrational" demands on the state. Ultimately, a resort to strike action will be minimised, if not non-existent, as the unions and their

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<sup>92</sup> John Gomomo, *op cit*.

constituencies will be au fait with what Government can realistically deliver given the available resources at its disposal.

It was arguably in that spirit that the trade union movement resolved “to mobilise all working people to dedicate one day’s pay to the projects meant to create jobs” in solidarity with the unemployed South Africans.<sup>93</sup> In effect, through this gesture, COSATU was heeding the call that Mandela had made to it in 1994. Speaking about what had to be, in his opinion, the role of the trade union during the democratic era, Mandela had proffered:<sup>94</sup>

It will be crucial for the trade union movement to play the role of a critical extra-parliamentary force. *But today you also have to take active part in determining and implementing Government policy* [emphasis added]. It is fundamental that the trade union should jealously guard its independence. But today you also have to use, to maximum effect, the elements of political power that we have together achieved in struggle.

Evidently, Mandela was not advocating for a docile trade union. He advised COSATU to preserve its autonomous identity but, at the same time, play a complementary role as the Tripartite Alliance grappled with the country’s political, economic and social transformation. The tension between supporting Government and continuing to struggle for better wages and working conditions was captured by one shop-steward in 1994 who argued:<sup>95</sup>

We must go back to the drawing board and come up with a new strategy. We cannot use the very same strategy we were using against De Klerk’s Government. The strategy was aimed at pushing the company and the

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<sup>93</sup> Nelson Mandela, “State of the Nation Address, 5 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1999): 10.

<sup>94</sup>Nelson Mandela, “Address at the 5<sup>th</sup> National Congress of COSATU” (7 September 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3676>. (Accessed 18 July 2012).

<sup>95</sup>Quoted in Eddie Webster, “The Alliance under Stress: Governing in a Globalizing World”, *Democratization*, 8, 1 (2001): 265-266.



Government at the same time. Now we have in placed [*sic*] our own Government there, so we must come up with a strategy that will not give our Government a problem, but will only give the company problems. Strikes will give the Government a problem, because we will be shaking our economy, both nationally and internationally. Not to say that we are not going to strike any more – we will strike when it is necessary, but we are going to have to minimize those actions, because we must support this Government.

A debate on the restructuring or privatisation of state assets provides a glimpse of how COSATU and the ANC engaged on some controversial policies which had the potential of tearing the Alliance apart. Expressing its views on the matter, COSATU's Central Executive Committee (CEC) – the trade union movement's highest decision-making structure – advanced the following arguments:<sup>96</sup>

The meeting reiterated its opposition to wholesale privatisation of state assets since this is usually driven by greed, the need to push the state out of production and to subject delivery of certain basic services as outlined in the RDP to the laws of profit. We acknowledge that the RDP envisages a role for the private sector. But equally it envisages the role of the state in production. We therefore believe that the debate cannot be one sided [...]. In this regard it was agreed that:

- There may be state assets which should never have belonged to the state sector in the first place, whose retention does not benefit the majority of people or helps perpetuate the apartheid divide. These would need to be identified and sold.
- Others may require the involvement of private sector capital (in a limited form, based on the need for more capital, new technology, enhance

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<sup>96</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, "Statement on Privatization:" (14 September 1996): <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/37a/025.html>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

delivery etc). Where there is a compelling case for such an approach, the Federation is willing to consider them. In such a situation, the state should remain a majority shareholder rather than withdraw from such a sector.

- We are of the view that in pursuit of the need to involve the state in production, new enterprises and sectors need to be established. [...].

A closer scrutiny of COSATU's arguments creates an impression that the union was committed to constructive engagement, as it provided the pros and cons of what course of action the ANC Government had to pursue in its handling of the issue at hand. COSATU's views were, however, not cast in stone. On the contrary, the union was open to discussion and it was therefore incumbent upon Government (ANC) to persuade and convince the union that the restructuring of state assets was necessary and, by extension, would accrue benefits to the workers. Presumably, this is what prompted Mandela to confidently tell his audience that:<sup>97</sup>

In its comments on the issue of restructuring of State assets, the trade union movement particularly welcomed the Government's commitment to consultation among all stakeholders, including management. There is a broad consensus on these issues, because the programme of Government derives, in part, from discussions with trade unions, resulting in the National Framework Agreement with which all of us should be familiar. The disparaging comments made about the role of this movement in regard to this and other issues were therefore misplaced.

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<sup>97</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Closing Address: Debate on the State of the Nation, 12 February", *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1997): 145.

## 1.2 State of the Nation Address – 24 May 1994

Mandela's first State of the Nation Address was epoch-making.<sup>98</sup> In a nutshell, the State of the Nation Address gives the President an opportunity to reflect on the health of the country's society, economy and democracy. The 1994 speech was historic in the sense that it was presented by a President who had been democratically elected. Consequently, Mandela could claim – with justification – to have the authority and legitimacy to speak on issues that the nation was confronted with. More importantly, Mandela's "state of the nation" was not a gospel truth. It was subject to scrutiny, challenge, critique and criticism as legislators representing various political parties also had an opportunity to respond to it. Put differently, they could give their own version of "the state of the nation". This was unheard of during the apartheid era where deliberations were held behind closed doors.<sup>99</sup> After the dawn of democracy, ordinary people, business, trade unions and so forth became a familiar sight in Parliament's corridors.

As the newly-elected President of a "new" South Africa which had just emerged from a deeply divided dispensation, all eyes were on Mandela. This was partly due to the fact that South Africa's liberation had not come about as a result of a "winner-takes-all" political and economic settlement, but was a culmination of consensus and pragmatism. Mandela was therefore entrusted with the responsibility of unifying various races and sections of society which had been constantly at loggerheads with one another. He had to – among a plethora of almost insurmountable challenges – dismantle the inequalities and inequities that had been bequeathed to the country by years of colonialism and apartheid.<sup>100</sup> He was

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<sup>98</sup>A president's pivotal speech is the one that he/she delivers at a critical moment in his/her administration when he/she is attempting to enact important aspects of his or her vision. See Cynthia G. Enrich, Holly H. Brower, Jack M. Feldman and Howard Garland, "Presidential Rhetoric, Charisma, and Greatness", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 46, 1 (2001): 542.

<sup>99</sup>Vincent Smith, "Debate on Budget Vote 2: Parliament," (29 May 2012): <http://www.anc.org.za/caucus/docs/sp/2012/sp0529d.html>. (Accessed 18 July 2012).

<sup>100</sup>Though Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe had found themselves in almost a similar situation (as far as colonialism was concerned) in 1960 and 1980 respectively, the difference

confronted with the task of laying a foundation for a democratic South Africa. Mandela was under no illusion of the enormity of the work at hand. As he summed it up:<sup>101</sup>

And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect our historic burden, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

As he grappled with changing the status quo of the country that the ANC Government had inherited, Mandela was cognisant of the fact that those who were previously advantaged would feel threatened. He had to do everything in his power to avert alienating them because their cooperation was indispensable to the success of the nation building project. It was therefore imperative for him to assure and reassure them that they too, like anyone else, had a place under the democratic sun. Accordingly, he argued:<sup>102</sup>

We must construct that people-centred society of freedom in such a manner that it guarantees the political liberties and human rights of all our citizens.

Demonstrating the seriousness with which he treated the anxieties of the formerly privileged, Mandela told his interlocutors:<sup>103</sup>

The provisions expressive of these noble goals already exist in the transitional Constitution. It will be task of the Constitutional Assembly to ensure that we have all the constitutional instruments that will guarantee that none can take away or in any way restrict the freedoms and rights of any of our people.

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with Mandela was that “he was taking over a much more developed, industrialized and complicated country than any other in Africa”. Refer to Peter Hain, *Mandela* (London: Spruce, 2010): 282.

<sup>101</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address by President of the Republic, 24 May”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 4.

<sup>102</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 4.

<sup>103</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 4.

Arguably, the fears of those who might have been concerned that their rights would be trampled upon would have been allayed by Mandela's contention that their rights would be guaranteed by the supreme law of the land, the Constitution. In a similar vein, Mandela assured those who had borne the brunt of apartheid that the "new" South Africa would equally be their home and they would have their dignity restored. In this regard, he asserted:<sup>104</sup>

No more should words like "Kaffirs", "Hottentots", "Coolies", "boy", "girl" and "baas" be part of our vocabulary.

Mandela realised that it was almost improbable to build a nation that he envisioned without a fairer appreciation of what had transpired in the past. He then made use of his first State of the Nation Address to underline the importance of truth and reconciliation. Emphasising that the opening up of old wounds did not necessarily have to amount to retribution, he cautioned his audience:<sup>105</sup>

In this context, I also need to make the point that the Government will also not delay unduly with regard to attending to the vexed and unresolved issue of an amnesty for criminal activities carried out in furtherance of political objectives. We shall attend to this matter in a balanced and dignified way. The nation must come to terms with its past in a spirit of openness and forgiveness and proceed to build the future on the basis of repairing and healing.

He went further:<sup>106</sup>

The burden of the past lies heavily on all of us, including those responsible for inflicting injury and those who suffered. Following the letter and spirit of

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<sup>104</sup> Nelson Mandela, 11.

<sup>105</sup> Nelson Mandela, 12.

<sup>106</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op cit.* 12.

the Constitution, we shall prepare the legislation that will seek to free the wrongdoers from fear of retribution and blackmail, while acknowledging the injury of those who have been harmed, so that the individual wrongs, injuries, fears and hopes affecting individuals are identified and attended to.

The balancing act that Mandela enunciated in this speech would be one of the defining features of his presidency. Through his acts and deeds, Mandela would strive to bring about a united South Africa and would do so within the confines of the law. A classic example of this was in 1998 when he appointed a commission of enquiry to investigate the affairs of the national rugby union. Dr Louis Luyt, the then president of the rugby union, was unhappy with the decision and challenged it in court.<sup>107</sup> Since the decision under attack was the President's, Mandela's evidence would be crucial. But the case could proceed without such evidence, as long as other witnesses could explain the President's decision. Mandela nonetheless decided to testify. By doing this, Mandela arguably inculcated two constitutional principles: the supremacy of the Constitution and the equality of everyone. He exemplified that everyone was equal before the law, including the President of the country. This act endeared Mandela to South Africans of different political and social formations.

Throughout his speech, Mandela maintained that the ANC-led Government was committed to creating a "people-centred society".<sup>108</sup> This purportedly marked a radical shift from the apartheid era where decision-making was the preserve of the select few, an era where the governed were mere spectators. During the ANC-led Government, Mandela undertook that citizens would be active participants. They would have a say in how they had to be governed. Mandela's vision augured well for the health of democracy because citizens' participation is vital for a Government which wants to be truly in touch with the people. It enhances the quality of

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<sup>107</sup>Mary Braid, "Rugby Boss Forces Mandela into Court" (20 March 1998): <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/rugby-boss-forces-mandela-into-court-1151248.html>. (Accessed 30 August 2012).

<sup>108</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Address by President of the Republic, 24 May", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 2-16.

democratic governance by constantly bringing diverse needs, concerns, views and perspectives into the decision-making process. This assists in informing Government about what citizens wish to see happening in the country.

### **1.3 Response to the Debate on the State of the Nation Address – 27 May 1994**

The delivery of the State of the Nation Address is followed by a debate where Members of Parliament representing various political parties in the National Assembly deliberate on the President's speech. During these deliberations, Mandela encouraged a robust and vigorous debate. He urged his interlocutors to air their points of view irrespective of whether these differed with those held by the ANC. He was of the opinion that this was the necessary condition for the well-being or vibrancy of the country's democracy. Referring to his observation of what had transpired during his State of the Nation Address, he affirmed:<sup>109</sup>

Of course, differences were expressed in the debate and different emphases were advanced, and that is as it should be because the recognition, expression and accommodation of differences are at the heart of democracy.

The timing of Mandela's words was opportune and critical. It created an impression that he expected a critical audience and not a kowtowing one. Put differently, it was an invitation to open and frank debate. Indeed, he averred:<sup>110</sup>

Admonitions directed to our address about the dangers of a majority party abusing its majority to stifle and swamp smaller parties are, therefore, grossly misplaced. Our record in this regard should certainly speak of itself. We are not expecting uncritical adulation and applause.

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<sup>109</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Address by President of the Republic, 27 May", *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 272.

<sup>110</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 277.

Allowing opposition parties to advance counter-arguments was necessary for creating a united South Africa that Mandela and the ANC envisioned. Unity presupposes that people must have a sense of belonging and feel that they are valued. It cannot be achieved if the voices of the minority parties are suppressed or if they are of the view that this is the case. Mandela seemed to have grasped this, hence his appreciation and encouragement of a robust debate.

Mandela also used the response to his first State of the Nation Address as an educational opportunity for those members of his audience who might have not been well versed in the history of the ANC or what it stood for. In this regard, he extensively cited the Freedom Charter:<sup>111</sup>

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it,  
Black and White, and that no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of the birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of Government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

...we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes have been won.

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<sup>111</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 272.



The reference to the Freedom Charter might have assured the sceptics that the views expressed by Mandela had been held by the ANC for over a long period of time. Mandela told his audience that what the ANC had said in 1955 was still the case in 1994<sup>112</sup>. Presumably, the fact that the ANC had been consistent, at least from Mandela's perspective, might have given his interlocutors – and in particular those from the opposition benches – some food for thought and would have persuaded them to look to the future with some hope.

Another element that stood out in Mandela's address was its inclusive nature as regards the role played by other players other than the ANC and its allies during the struggle against apartheid. Acknowledging some of these, he stated:<sup>113</sup>

No account of the quest for democracy can ignore the courageous contribution of Helen Suzman and her Progressive Party. For many years she represented the lone voice of justice and liberty in the halls of this Parliament.

Mandela contended that such contributions were not only confined to political actors or black South Africans. On the contrary, there were other social formations and individual players who had been instrumental in bringing about the downfall of the oppressive regime. Accordingly, he paid tribute to these:<sup>114</sup>

Outside of Parliament, organisations like the Black Sash consistently opposed racism and repression of the Nationalists and were invaluable allies of the people in their fight for democracy. Far-sighted Afrikaner thinkers like the journalist Schalk Pienaar, not to speak of the legendary Beyers Naudé, were early voices in the wilderness, warning their communities against the folly of the apartheid cause.

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<sup>112</sup>Ben Turok (ed.), *Readings in the ANC Tradition: Volume I: Policy and Praxis* (Auckland Park: Jacana Media, 2011): 32.

<sup>113</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 275.

<sup>114</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 275.

Here, Mandela made use of epideictic rhetoric. He praised the actions of the organisations and individuals concerned. This had the potential of persuading his audience (Members of Parliament) and the ordinary South Africans to emulate these heroes and heroines and work towards the attainment of a democratic, non-racial and a prosperous South Africa. They, too, would have striven to live up to the noble ideals which these remarkable and reputable South Africans had been renowned for and not be mere footnotes in history. As Perelman maintains:<sup>115</sup>

The orator's aim in the epideictic genre is not just to gain a passive adherence from his audience but to provoke the action wished for or, at least, to awaken a disposition so to act.

#### **1.4 President Budget Vote Debate – 18 August 1994**

Mandela was mindful of the magnitude of the challenges that the country was confronted with as it underwent transformation from the Government which represented the interests of the minority to the one that was representative of the interests of all South Africans. While he constantly appealed to all South Africans to work together for the attainment of this objective, he was equally cognisant of the fact that there would be, at times, divergent views pertaining to the course of action to be taken. Addressing the legislature, hundred days after having been sworn in as the first democratically elected President of South Africa, he had this to say to his interlocutors:<sup>116</sup>

This does not detract from the fact that there are different constituencies with divergent interests represented by our diverse parties here. We should not be fearful of the obvious consequence that there are bound to be differences of

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<sup>115</sup>Chaïm Perelman, *The New Rhetoric and the Humanities: Essays on Rhetoric and its Applications*, with an Introduction by Harold Zyskind (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1979): 7.

<sup>116</sup>Nelson Mandela, "Appropriation Bill: Debate on Vote 1, 18 August", *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1994): 1537.

emphasis and approach on a variety of matters. To present a façade of unity on each and every issue would be artificial, undemocratic and patently pretentious.

While Mandela encouraged his audience to express dissenting views, he advised it to exercise that latitude within the bounds of “reconciliation”, “reconstruction”, “nation-building” and “development”.<sup>117</sup> This was crucial in light of the fact that apartheid South Africa was the country where one race and ethnic group had been pitted against each other. The legacy of the system was so profound to such an extent that even after the dawn of democracy, racial mistrust and ethnic divisions still lingered on.<sup>118</sup> It was therefore imperative to inculcate a culture of what William Gumede refers to as “shared South Africanness”.<sup>119</sup> In this regard, political leadership was vital. Political parties, especially the ruling party, had to advance the interests of all South Africans and not a particular faction.

As he had done during the delivery of his first State of the Nation Address, Mandela underlined the centrality of the truth and reconciliation. On this occasion, however, he elaborated on how this vexed question had to be approached and he contended:<sup>120</sup>

The issue of truth and reconciliation commission has generated much public debate and some apprehension. The Minister of Justice is working to achieve a broad agreement on this sensitive matter. In a nutshell, what this issue raises is how to deal with the past that contained gross violation of human rights, a past which threatens to live with us like a festering sore.

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<sup>117</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 1540.

<sup>118</sup> Justine Burns, “Race and Trust in Post-Apartheid South Africa”, *CSSR Working Paper* 78 (2004): <http://www.cssr.uct.ac.za/sites/cssr.uct.ac.za/files/pubs/wp78.pdf>. (Accessed 21 August 2012).

<sup>119</sup> William Gumede, “The Search for Our Shared South Africanness” (2010): <http://reconciliationbarometer.org/volume-eight-2010/the-search-for-our-shared-south-africanness/>. (Accessed 21 August 2012).

<sup>120</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 1540.

The question of amnesty for those who have done wrong is dealt with in the interim Constitution. The challenge is to ensure that amnesty helps to heal wounds of the past by also addressing the plight of the victims. A truth and reconciliation commission will therefore need to operate on the basis of certain core principles.

The Government envisioned the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a mechanism that would assist in dealing with the evils of apartheid. As Dullah Omar, the then Minister of Justice, put it, the TRC was:<sup>121</sup>

[...] a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally acceptable basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation.

The TRC had to execute its mandate, in Mandela's words, "in an even-handed fashion on the basis of non partisan criteria".<sup>122</sup> The Commission's mandate was to preside over the process of healing a traumatised and wounded people in a transparent manner. The rationale behind the establishment of the TRC was to heal the emotions and wounds of hatred or anger that had been created by the apartheid system. Throughout his presidency, Mandela would urge all South Africans to rally behind the TRC as he was convinced that it was crucial to the transition to the democratic South Africa.

### **1.5 Mandela's Address to the COSATU Congress – 7 September 1994**

This was Mandela's first official speech to COSATU subsequent to his ascension to the throne as the President of a democratic South Africa. It is worth recalling that COSATU played a major role in ensuring the ANC's triumph during the 1994 national general elections. In addition, COSATU had been instrumental in informing

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<sup>121</sup>Quoted in Justice in Transition, "Introduction by the Minister of Justice, Mr Dullah Omar": <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/legal/justice.htm>. (Accessed 21 August 2012).

<sup>122</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 1539.

the content and the ideological trajectory of the RDP.<sup>123</sup> Unsurprisingly, COSATU vowed to do everything in its power to ensure that the ANC-led Government implemented the RDP.<sup>124</sup> Not only was COSATU central to the drawing up of the RDP, the labour movement released twenty of its leaders to stand as candidates for Parliament on the ANC's national list in 1994.<sup>125</sup> Others were deployed for election to provincial legislatures and to stand for election in the local government elections.

While emphasising the importance of the trade union movement maintaining its independence, Mandela urged COSATU to actively partake in implementing Government policy.<sup>126</sup>

It will always be crucial for the trade union movement to play the role of a critical extra-parliamentary force. But today you also have to take active part in determining implementing Government policy. It is fundamental that the trade union should jealously guard its independence. But today you also have to use to maximum effect, the elements of political power that we have together achieved in the struggle.

Here, Mandela was echoing the sentiments that had been earlier expressed by the then ANC Secretary-General, Cyril Ramaphosa, who had asserted that the ANC did not want a labour movement that was a "lackey".<sup>127</sup> This assurance might have been interpreted by COSATU as a demonstration that it was viewed by the ANC as the

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<sup>123</sup>Jonathan Faull and Judith February, "What to Make of the COSATU/ANC Scrap": [http://www.idasa.org/our\\_products/resources/output/what\\_to\\_make\\_of\\_the\\_cosatuanc/](http://www.idasa.org/our_products/resources/output/what_to_make_of_the_cosatuanc/). (Accessed 28 August 2012).

<sup>124</sup>Norm Dixon, "COSATU Says RDP Must Be Implemented" (11 May 1994): <http://www.greenleft.org.au/node/6659>. (Accessed 28 August 2012).

<sup>125</sup> Björn Beckman, Sakhela Buhlungu and Lloyd Sachikonye (eds), *Trade Unions and Party Politics: Labour Movements in Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2010): 141.

<sup>126</sup>Nelson Mandela, "Address to the COSATU Congress" (7 September 1994): [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern\\_Political/Cosatu.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern_Political/Cosatu.html). (Accessed 28 August 2012).

<sup>127</sup> Quoted in Norm Dixon, *ibid.*

equal partner. Put differently, COSATU might have been persuaded that the ANC was not merely paying lip service to “collective leadership”.

Expectedly, Mandela’s speech focused largely on issues that had a bearing on COSATU’s general membership. In this regard, he argued that plans were afoot to attend to matters ranging from “basic conditions of employment”, “regulations on collective bargaining”, “the right to strike” to “the democratisation of the workplace”, “an end to discrimination” and “central industrial bargaining”.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, Mandela alerted the trade union to the impending formation of NEDLAC in which COSATU would be one of the vital stakeholders and undertook to consult the latter.

Mandela’s speech might have been received as the “good news” by COSATU. This stems from the fact that:<sup>129</sup>

Although it was realised that as a governing party the ANC would have responsibilities to its wider support base (which extends far beyond the organised class) and indeed, that in keeping with its character as a non-racial, inclusive party open to all South Africans, it would have to be committed to pursuing the *national interest*, the Tripartite Alliance was forged to ensure that, henceforth, newly democratic Government in South Africa would be labour friendly.

Arguing further, Mandela took a swipe at some sections of the media which, in his opinion, misunderstood the relations between the ANC-led Government and COSATU.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid*.

<sup>129</sup> Roger Southall and Geoffrey Wood, “COSATU, the ANC and the Election: Whither the Alliance?”: <http://archive.lib.msu.edu/DMC/African%20Journals/pdfs/transformation/tran038/tran038005.pdf>. (Accessed 28 August 2012).

<sup>130</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address to the COSATU Congress” (7 September 1994): [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern\\_Political/Cosatu.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern_Political/Cosatu.html). (Accessed 28 August 2012).

The psychology of crisis, fanned by some enthusiasts in the media, has little to do with reality. At the same time, we need to challenge the notion that strikes are, as a rule, inimical to the task of reconstruction and development.

Throughout his speech, Mandela urged COSATU to be at the forefront of the implementation of the RDP and ensured that it succeeded. As he argued:<sup>131</sup>

Without such work, the RDP will remain a good programme on paper, but a damp squib in an actual practice.

Here, Mandela had recourse to the pragmatic argument. His interlocutors would, in all likelihood, think of all the hard work they had put in during the formulation of the RDP. Consequently, they would be persuaded to do what was asked of them.

## **1.6 State of the Nation Address – 17 February 1995**

Mandela commenced his speech by having recourse to the commonplace of difference and/or comparison. Commenting on the openness and transparency of parliamentary processes, as well as the participatory nature of ordinary South Africans in the legislative process, he argued:<sup>132</sup>

Of particular importance is the fact that you, the legislators, have worked in a manner consistent with the objective of ensuring that ours should be a parliament of the people. This we have done by opening our proceedings to the public to ensure that the people know what we are doing. We have also opened the doors to the people to address the legislative committees of Parliament directly. [...] We can therefore claim with justification that such legislation as has been approved is representative of the will of the people. It

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<sup>131</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Address by President of the Republic, 17 February", *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1995): 3-4.

therefore enjoys a degree of legitimacy and enforceability which all previous laws could never have.

Public participation plays a key role in entrenching democracy and promoting good governance. Citizens' involvement in governance processes ensures that their experiential and grounded experiences inform Government of their needs and how these can best be addressed. Given South Africa's past, where prior to 1994, the practice of critical engagement between citizens and Government was frowned upon, the new democratic Government emphasised the need for critical engagement between Government and citizens. Indeed, section 59 (1) of the Constitution obliges the National Assembly (NA) to:<sup>133</sup>

- (a) Facilitate public involvement in the legislative and processes of the Assembly and its committees; and
- (b) Conduct its business in an open manner, and hold its sittings, and those of its committees, in public [...]

The same obligations are imposed on the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) in terms of section 72(1) of the Constitution. This constitutional imperative makes deliberative rhetoric indispensable. As they interact with lawmakers, citizens need to be equipped with some rhetorical techniques or tropes which will enable them to persuade the legislators to pursue a particular course of action or to desist from taking another.

When Mandela argued that the legislation passed by the democratic Parliament enjoyed "a degree of legitimacy and enforceability which all previous laws could never have", he was making use of the commonplace of degree. This is one of the commonplaces that Aristotle discussed in his *Rhetoric*.<sup>134</sup> The gist of Mandela's argument was that the legislation passed during the democratic

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<sup>133</sup>*The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.*

<sup>134</sup>Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civil Discourse*, newly translated with Introduction, Notes and Appendixes by George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 1379b.



dispensation carried more legality and moral acceptability in comparison to that enacted during the apartheid era. Indeed, the United Nations General Assembly had declared apartheid “a crime against humanity”.<sup>135</sup>

While encouraging the citizenry to exercise their rights enshrined in the Constitution, Mandela equally cautioned them to be responsible and obey the law. He cautioned that a failure to do so would have attendant consequences.<sup>136</sup>

I must also address the question of the attempt by some in our country to introduce anarchy into our society. I speak of those who engage in such totally unacceptable practices as the murder of the police officers, the taking of hostages, riots, looting, the forcible occupation of public buildings, blocking of public highways, vandalism of public and private property, and so on. [Applause.]

Let me therefore make it abundantly clear that this small minority in our midst which wears the mask of anarchy will meet its match in the Government we lead and the masses of the people who put that Government into office.

Rhetorically, this is the commonplace of maxims. The term “maxims” is used to cover precepts, proverbs, famous sayings or self-evident truths – all kinds of charismatic statements which people introduce into an agreement. Maxims are statements, not about particular matters, but about universal matters. It is not all general statements, however, that can be considered maxims. Maxims are general statements about human actions. They are about things that are to be chosen or avoided in human action.<sup>137</sup> As was the case with Mandela’s argument, he urged people to desist from engaging in illicit activities because they would be punished.

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<sup>135</sup> Erik Doxtader and Philippe Joseph-Salazar, *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Fundamental Documents* (Claremont: New Africa Books, 2007): 3

<sup>136</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 11.

<sup>137</sup> Aristotle, *ibid.* 1394a.

The value of maxims is that they infuse a discourse with "moral character", with that appeal so important in persuading others.<sup>138</sup> Because maxims touch on universal truths about life, they win ready assent from the audience. Moreover, due to their air of hoary wisdom, maxims are endowed with a peculiar sanctity. Given that maxims strike this note of ancient, sanctified wisdom, they are more appropriate when they are uttered by older, experienced people. A maxim is just as true when uttered by a young person as when uttered by an older person. However, under certain circumstances, a maxim issuing from a callow youth will sound pretentious, even ridiculous.

One of the themes of Mandela's speech was corruption. Admitting, though with justification, that corruption posed a threat to the stability of the then fledgling democracy, he said:<sup>139</sup>

We are conscious of the reality that corruption in many forms has deeply infected the fibre of our society. It is not possible to have a society based on a lie and patent injustice as apartheid society was, without this spawning corrupt practices. Precisely because we face the challenge of dealing with systemic corruption we need a dispassionate and systematic approach to the question and not allow ourselves to be stampeded by responses which are not very different from a witch-hunt.

Here, one has the use of the argument of cause and effect. Mandela wanted his audience to believe that corruption in the democratic South Africa had been inherited from the apartheid dispensation. While this might have been true, one would argue that the causal link that Mandela was trying to draw was not that evident. Some of Mandela's interlocutors would have maintained that the speaker was being too simplistic or trying to defend the indefensible. What they would have expected of him was to acknowledge that there was a problem. Subsequently, he had

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<sup>138</sup> Edward P.J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 128.

<sup>139</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 3.

to present a comprehensive plan on how his Government was going to tackle corruption. Even if there was a correlation between apartheid and corruption, this could not mean that this malpractice had to be condoned or justified given its repercussions. This is so in light of the fact that it is the poor – the majority of which are ANC voters and whose interests the party claims to represent – who end up being at the receiving end of corrupt practices.

### **1.7 Response to the Debate on the State of the Nation Address – 24 February 1995**

After expressing appreciation of the quality of the debate from various public representatives in the House, Nelson Mandela lambasted one of the political parties forming party of the then Government of National Unity (GNU), the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), for walking out of Parliament because it could not get what it wanted.<sup>140</sup> In this regard, he stated:<sup>141</sup>

I would like to talk to the people who elected the IFP. The people representing you in Parliament were elected by you to fulfill [*sic*] your wishes and aspirations. You elected these members because you believed that they were not cowards who would run away ... [Laughter] ... when they experienced problems, no matter how trivial they were. You elected them

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<sup>140</sup>The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Mangosuthu Buthelezi, raised the issue of international mediation in terms of the agreement signed by himself, De Klerk and Mandela to clarify outstanding constitutional safeguards for the Zulu kingdom. The agreement, which resulted in the IFP entering the election just seven days before voting began, committed Government to mediation immediately after the election. Buthelezi said that his correspondence on the matter had, however, gone unanswered. Mandela's office argued that no correspondence had been received. See South African History Online, "Inkatha Freedom Party Boycotts Parliament" (21 February 1995): <http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/inkatha-freedom-party-boycotts-parliament>. (Accessed 17 October 2012).

<sup>141</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Response to the Debate on the State of the Nation Address, 24 February", *Joint Sittings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town, Hansard, 1995): 352.

because you hoped that they would stand firm in this Parliament and in the Senate, to fulfill [*sic*] your wishes. They work under the Rules of Parliament.

There is not even one problem raised by the IFP that can be solved by giving up and walking out. It is the responsibility of you people who elected them to bring them back into line.

This passage qualifies as an argument of waste. It consists in saying that as one has already begun a task and made sacrifices which would be wasted if the enterprise were given up. It therefore encourages one to continue in the same direction.<sup>142</sup> What Mandela sought to achieve by employing the argument of waste was to urge, if not incite, IFP voters to put pressure on their leaders to go back to Parliament and do what they had been mandated to do. Unless the IFP leadership could convince its members that the boycott would enable them to get what they wanted, the latter would have felt hard done-by or let down. Inversely, if IFP voters concurred with the action of its leadership, Mandela's argument would have no persuasive effect.

Mandela believed that the IFP's interests and those of those it represented would be better served if it participated in parliamentary debates. This would have offered it an opportunity to persuade those who held views that differed with it. Mandela's contention was in line with the *modus operandi* in which the Tripartite Alliance conducted its business. As the Alliance had argued:<sup>143</sup>

"Partnerships", "consultation", "consensus-building", "mediation" and "conciliation", "golden-triangle and multi-partite meetings", "accords" – these are all organically part and parcel of this kind of political practice, and of the kind of terrain on which we are operating.

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<sup>142</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 279.

<sup>143</sup> South African Communist Party, "Tripartite Alliance Document: The Need for an Effective ANC-led Political Centre", *African Communist* 142, 3 (1995): <http://www.sacp.org.za/pubs/acomunist/1995/issue142.html#Alliance>. (Accessed 16 October 2012).

In effect, these were the traits that the ANC had developed during the struggle years, under the stewardship of its then President, Oliver Tambo. During his thirty years working in foreign countries, Tambo was a relentless lobbyist who brought the plight of oppressed South Africans under the apartheid system to the world attention.<sup>144</sup>

### 1.8 Response to the President Budget Vote Debate – 3 May 1995

During this address, Mandela spoke at length about the violence that was afflicting KwaZulu-Natal. He contended that this violence was fomented by the leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi:<sup>145</sup>

[...] Chief Buthelezi has made a public call to the Zulus to rise against the central Government. He has said that if they do not get the right to self-determination, it is not worth being alive. Not only has he made this statement, but this threat is now being implemented in that province.

Mandela proceeded to say:<sup>146</sup>

In spite of that, members of the IFP were able to shoot and injure six people inside the stadium, including a young boy whom they shot in the eye. [Interjection.] They also destroyed about four shacks on the borders of the stadium. *That is what is happening as a result of the statement made by Chief Buthelezi* [emphasis added].

Employing the commonplace of antecedent and consequence, Mandela told his audience that Buthelezi was responsible for the mayhem in KwaZulu-Natal. He used

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<sup>144</sup>Rupert Colley, "Oliver Tambo: A Summary" (27 October 2012): <http://www.historyinanehour.com/tag/south-africa/>. (Accessed 30 October 2012).

<sup>145</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Response to the President Budget Vote Debate, 3 May", *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1995): 819.

<sup>146</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 820.

epideictic rhetoric with a view to shaming Buthelezi.<sup>147</sup> In Mandela's view, Buthelezi's utterances had a direct bearing on the political and social instability in that province. The etymology of the term consequence (the Latin verb *sequi*, meaning to follow) is the key to an understanding of the way in which rhetoric uses this commonplace.<sup>148</sup> When using the commonplace of antecedent and consequence, the orator pursues this line of argument: given this situation (the antecedent), what follows (the consequence) from this? If he/she can detect a cause-and-effect relationship between the antecedent and consequence, he/she will avail himself/herself of the relationship to strengthen the case. But he/she will also make use of less compelling kinds of arguments.<sup>149</sup>

Buthelezi might have interpreted Mandela's assertion as an attack on him. In that case, Buthelezi might have viewed Mandela's contention as an argument *ad personam*.<sup>150</sup> An argument *ad personam* is a personal assault on the opponent and is aimed at disqualifying him or her. Evidently, peace-loving people will have no respect for someone who instigates violence. The fact that, according to Mandela, a young boy had been "shot in the eye" owing to the violence perpetrated by Buthelezi would have given rise to animosity towards Buthelezi.

Turning his attention to his interlocutors in the House who had accused the ANC of undermining human rights, democracy and the Constitution, Mandela retorted:<sup>151</sup>

Members here who have never known about the tradition of human rights and of democracy are now giving gratuitous advice to those people who fought hard to bring about democracy and the culture of human rights in the country. They are talking about the sanctity of the Constitution, and yet,

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<sup>147</sup>Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory on Civil Discourse*, Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007): 49.

<sup>148</sup> Edward P.J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 115.

<sup>149</sup> Edward P.J. Corbett, *ibid.* 115.

<sup>150</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 111.

<sup>151</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op cit.* 820.

when they were in power, at the slightest excuse they interfered with the Constitution. They even amended the entrenched process which protected the language rights of people in this country, and took away one of the most important rights of people, namely the right of the Coloured people to vote in this country. [Interjections.] Now they are lecturing us on the sanctity of the Constitution. [Interjections.]

Mandela's assertion can be viewed as the commonplace of contradiction. A contradiction is premised on the principle that a thing cannot at the same time and in the same respect be and not be.<sup>152</sup> According to Mandela, his accusers did not have the authority to pronounce on upholding human rights and democracy because they had, at one time, trampled on these values. Doing so would have been hypocritical.

### **1.9 State of the Nation Address – 9 February 1996**

The major themes of Mandela's speech were national reconciliation and nation building. He commenced his speech by making a positive appraisal of the Government of National Unity over which he presided. Having recourse to the commonplace of statistics, he contended:<sup>153</sup>

Life has started to have real meaning for the hundreds of thousands who now have access to clean and safe drinking water. The benefits of democracy have a tangible impact for the 400 000 homes which have been supplied with electricity during the course of last year. To the millions of children who benefit from the school nutrition scheme, free medical care and the free and compulsory education, not only has the present become better, there is also greater confidence in the future.

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<sup>152</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 195.

<sup>153</sup> Nelson Mandela. "Address by President of the Republic, 9 February", *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 3-4.

Questions might be raised as regards the reliability or the accuracy of the statistics that Mandela cited to buttress his argument. As Corbett aptly proffers, one should guard against the use of statistics and make unwarranted inferences. According to him, the following questions can be asked with regard to statistics:<sup>154</sup>

- What is the source of these statistics?
- Is this a qualified, unbiased source?
- How were these figures arrived at?
- When were these figures gathered?
- Are these figures contradicted or superseded by figures from other sources?

While it is axiomatic that the aforementioned questions may be posed, one has to take cognisance of the multiplicity or composite nature of the audience that a speaker addresses him/herself to. The audience that might have subjected Mandela's statistics to scrutiny would be the one comprising "learned" or critical people. Alternatively, these questions would have been asked by Mandela's audience from the opposition benches.

Be that as it may, Mandela might have been addressing himself to the ANC electorate. In that case, he would have deliberately disregarded convincing or persuading the opposition and would have been solely satisfied with getting the adherence of the ANC members and supporters. To the latter audience, the statistics cited would have proven that the ANC was doing something to improve the socio-economic conditions of the people.

Mandela proceeded and outlined the challenges that lay ahead. He appealed to all South Africans, black and white, to join hands and translate national reconciliation and nation building into reality. In this regard, Mandela asserted:<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>154</sup>Edward P.J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 127.

<sup>155</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 5.



Let me preface the identification of the challenges of the coming year by saying that all of us, all South Africans, are called upon to become builders and healers. But, for all the joy and excitement of creation, to build and heal are difficult undertakings.

We can neither heal nor build, if such healing and building are perceived as one-way processes, with the victims of past injustices forgiving and the beneficiaries merely content in gratitude. [Applause]. Together we must set out to correct the defects of the past.

We can neither heal nor build, if on the one hand the rich in our society see the poor as hordes of irritants; or if, on the other hand, the poor sit back, expecting charity. All of us must take responsibility for the upliftment of our conditions, prepared to give our best for the benefit of all.

In effect, Mandela was merely reiterating the views that had been expressed by the ANC NEC on 8 January 1996.<sup>156</sup> Celebrating the 84<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ANC, the NEC had stated:<sup>157</sup>

The task of healing the wounds of the past is not yet accomplished. The challenge of national reconciliation remains firmly on our agenda. [...] But the national reconciliation for which we continue to struggle cannot be founded on the preservation and perpetuation of the old order of white privilege and black deprivation. True reconciliation does not consist in merely forgetting

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<sup>156</sup>The ANC was founded on 8 January 1912. For many years, the occasion of this anniversary was marked with the release by the ANC NEC of a major statement for the forthcoming year. During the height of the apartheid era, such statements mapped out the main activities for the year ahead and usually named the year with these tasks. This tradition has been maintained since the first democratic elections in 1994 and has implications for the people of South Africa as a whole.

<sup>157</sup> African National Congress, "Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 84th Anniversary of the ANC" (8 January 1996): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=64>. (Accessed 18 June 2012).

the past. It does not rest with black forgiveness, sensitivity to white fears and tolerance of an unjust status quo, on one hand, and white gratitude and appreciation underlined by tenacious clinging to exclusive privilege. Together with them [white South Africans], we must answer the question – what is that they must do to make a meaningful contribution to this vital national objective.

What these two passages reveal is that the leadership of the ANC was of the firm view that reconciliation and nation building demanded of all South Africans to work together in an endeavour to find out what they could do to give real meaning to national reconciliation and nation building. Both black and white South Africans had to agree on what was meant by these concepts and on how they had to be achieved.

Put differently, there was a need for rapprochement between two former antagonists. This necessitated that people moved out of their comfort zones and a willingness to make compromises, trade-offs and sacrifices. National reconciliation and nation building also presupposed a considerable change of mindset. Reflecting on his personal experience as he had grappled with achieving these dual national imperatives, Charles Villa-Vicencio argues:<sup>158</sup>

I also discovered how difficult it is for people to surrender the social status and privilege that have been entrenched by centuries of colonialism and decades of apartheid rule.

The point made by Villa-Vicencio here was that colonialism and the apartheid system had fostered a culture of violence and brutality, fear and hatred, and socio-economic protection for some and socio-economic exclusion for others. Some in the latter category (those who had benefited from these two successive eras) would have had difficulty with letting go of the privileges they had enjoyed.

In essence, Villa-Vicencio was challenging Desmond Tutu's conception of reconciliation. As the then Chairperson of the TRC, Tutu reflects in his book titled *No*

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<sup>158</sup> Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Walk with Us and Listen* (Lansdowne: University of Cape Town Press, 2009): 5.

*Future without Forgiveness* that he drew both from his Christian values, as well as his cultural values.<sup>159</sup> In particular, Tutu argues that he repeatedly referred to the notion of *ubuntu* when he was advising and guiding witnesses, victims and perpetrators during the TRC hearings. Defining *ubuntu*, he maintains:<sup>160</sup>

Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks to the very essence of being human. When you want to give high praise to someone we say: “Yu, u Nobuntu”, he or she has Ubuntu. This means that they are generous, hospitable, friendly, caring and compassionate. They share what they have. It also means that my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in theirs. We belong in a bundle of life. We say, “a person is a person through other people” [...]. I am human because I belong, I participate, and I share. A person with Ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, and does not feel threatened that others are able and good; for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes with knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are.

This notion of *ubuntu* sheds light on the importance of peace-making through the principles of reciprocity, inclusivity and a sense of shared destiny between peoples. It implies that one cannot live comfortably when his or her neighbours experience deprivation.

For Villa-Vicencio, reconciliation does not necessarily involve forgiveness. Conversely, he seems to be less demanding in his approach. He understands it to be about “learning to live together”. Expatiating on this issue, Villa-Vicencio argues:<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness* (London: Rider, 1999).

<sup>160</sup> Desmond Tutu, *ibid.* 34-35.

<sup>161</sup> Nathan Schneider, “More than Politics: An Interview with Charles Villa-Vicencio” (2010): <http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2010/11/19/more-than-politics-charles-villa-vicencio/>. (Accessed 15 March 2013).

The good archbishop Tutu – and I’ve never worked with a more spiritual and decent man in my life – keeps reminding us *forgiveness! He and I differed there a little bit* [emphasis added]. I think it’s too big a demand to make on anybody, to ask them to forgive – especially people who have suffered, who have been abused, or who have abused. I see reconciliation as far modest: learning to live together and respect one another. That’s the necessary groundwork, and I think it’s all one can ask for.

Villa-Vicencio goes further:<sup>162</sup>

We’ve got learn to be reconciled before we can forgive. We don’t have to forgive in order to have peace. We don’t have to forgive in order to have political decency. But we’ve got to reconcile. Though I hope for much more, this is enough. Still, the archbishop insists on forgiveness, and perhaps the definition of reconciliation I use is an inadequate one. Perhaps it’s going to take more. But in the meantime, I’m prepared to settle for that.

As far as Mandela was concerned, there would be no reconciliation or nation building until or unless the socio-economic conditions of the previously disadvantaged groups were improved:<sup>163</sup>

We can neither heal nor build, if we continue to have people in positions of influence who, at best, pay lip service to affirmative action ... [Applause.] ... Black empowerment and the emancipation of women, or who are, in reality, opposed to these goals; if we have people who continue with blind arrogance to practice racism in the workplaces [...]. We must work together to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth, opportunity and power in our society.

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<sup>162</sup> Nathan Schneider, *ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 6.

The issues highlighted by Mandela in this passage, especially black empowerment and affirmative action, were a bone of contention and risked polarising the country's fledgling democracy. Indeed, there were strong misgivings among the white, coloured and Indian population in this respect. Under apartheid, the last two categories were in an intermediate category. However, during the democratic South Africa, they felt that they were not regarded as being black enough and did not stand to benefit from the affirmative action policies. The only beneficiaries, they argued, were the African population group. On the part of the white population, arguments against the implementation of affirmative action focused on the irrational and rigid way in which it was implemented.<sup>164</sup> White South Africans often maintained that affirmative action put too much emphasis on numbers and contributed to the lowering of standards.<sup>165</sup>

Notwithstanding this polemic, the ANC proffered that interventions like affirmative action were a *sine qua non* of nation building or "social cohesion".<sup>166</sup> By the same token, the ruling party was mindful of the unintended consequences that affirmative action might produce if it was not approached with caution.<sup>167</sup>

If well handled, affirmative action will help bind the nation together and produce benefits for everyone. If badly managed, it will simply re-distribute

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<sup>164</sup> Kristin Henrard, "Post Apartheid South Africa's Democratic Transformation Process: Redress of the Past, Reconciliation and 'Unity in Diversity'", *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1, 3 (2002): 34. Also available at: [http://www.ethnopolitics.org/ethnopolitics/archive/volume\\_1/issue\\_3/henrard.pdf](http://www.ethnopolitics.org/ethnopolitics/archive/volume_1/issue_3/henrard.pdf). (Accessed 23 October 2012).

<sup>165</sup> Farhana Goga, "A Critique of Affirmative Action: The Concept": [http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=683&Itemid=86](http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=683&Itemid=86). (Accessed 23 October 2012).

<sup>166</sup> According to Paul Bernard, social cohesion is a "quasi-concept, that is, one of those hybrid mental constructions that politics proposes to us more and more often in order to simultaneously detect possible consensuses on a reading of reality, and to forge them", See Paul Bernard, "Social Cohesion: A Critique", *Canadian Policy Research Network Discussion Paper F/9* (1999):65.

<sup>167</sup> African National Congress, "Policy Documents: Affirmative Action and the New Constitution" <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=283> : accessed 23 October 2012.

resentment, damage the economy and destroy social peace. If not undertaken at all, the country will remain backward and divided at its heart.

As they argued in favour of affirmative action, black empowerment and women emancipation, Mandela and the ANC had recourse to a pragmatic argument. The pragmatic argument permits the evaluation of an act or event in terms of its favourable or unfavourable consequences.<sup>168</sup> Both Mandela and the ANC presented the advantages and the disadvantages of implementing and/or not implementing affirmative action.

Mandela equally committed his Government to the restructuring of state assets so that the country's developmental objectives could be achieved:<sup>169</sup>

This should also be the case with the restructuring of public assets, in order to use them to accelerate growth and development, attune them with modern levels of technology, reorganise them to expand services to all citizens, and reshape them in line with the imperatives of internal democracy.

In effect, the RDP, GEAR and the National Framework Agreement (NFA) were the sources from which the restructuring of state assets emanated. At the official launch of the Revised Policy Framework, the then Minister of Public Enterprises, Jeff Radebe, said:<sup>170</sup>

There is an unambiguous need for the state to play a developmental role in South Africa to deal with the legacies of apartheid, widespread poverty and unemployment. SOEs [state-owned entities or enterprises] in South Africa

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<sup>168</sup>Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 82.

<sup>169</sup>Nelson Mandela, "State of the Nation Address, 9 February", *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 9.

<sup>170</sup>Quoted in Cheslyn Mostert, "Reflections on South Africa's Restructuring of State-Owned Enterprises", *Occasional Paper* 5 (2002): 16.

represent massive financial, investment, labour, technology and infrastructure resources.

The restructuring of state assets elicited discussions within the Alliance partners. The allies, for the most part, appeared to be in agreement at a strategic level. A statement by the Alliance Summit attests to this. Regarding the role of the state in the economy, the Summit held:<sup>171</sup>

[...] is the further conclusion that our democratic needs to be an active and interventionist state. A *laissez-faire* [*sic*] approach to existing markets will simply reproduce the inequalities and poverty crisis in our country. The state needs to intervene actively into the economy.

What the Summit resolved had been previously stated by the SACP. At its meeting held on 20 January 1996, the Political Bureau of the SACP had averred:<sup>172</sup>

No-one in the in the alliance has ever argued against restructuring!

Reflecting on the matter, the COSATU's CEC resolved:<sup>173</sup>

The meeting reiterated its opposition to wholesale privatisation of state assets since this is usually driven by greed, the need to push the state out of production and to subject delivery of certain basic services as outlined in the RDP to the laws of profit.

For its part, the SACP observed:<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>171</sup>African National Congress, "Report on the Tripartite Alliance Summit" (1 September 1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2454>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>172</sup>South African Communist Party, "Restructuring State Assets" (February 1996): <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=2506>. (Accessed 11 April 2012).

<sup>173</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, "Statement on Privatization", (14 September 1996): <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/37a/025.html>. (Accessed 11 April 2012).

For many years, the SACP, COSATU and the ANC have argued that the large public sector built up during the apartheid years has to be restructured. Eskom, Telkom and other state corporations have been used to foster the interests of white minority. They have provided sheltered employment and artisan training for white workers. [...] For us, restructuring has always meant transforming the public sector to meet the interests of the majority. No-one in the alliance has ever argued against restructuring.

At times, however, the Alliance partners tended to fudge real differences or present different and contradictory objectives as if they were converging and mutually reinforcing goals.<sup>175</sup> For COSATU, the restructuring of state assets was merely a euphemism for privatisation. Arguing that it had “opposed privatisation” on a number of occasions, the trade union argued:<sup>176</sup>

The use of the phrase “restructuring of state assets “ by the government is nothing more than a code name for various forms of privatisation. [...]. We implacably oppose the government’s privatisation policies or whatever it may be called and to re-affirm our commitment towards the provision of basic needs of all our people through the state and state intervention.

COSATU went further and qualified its objection to the restructuring of state-owned enterprises:<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>174</sup>South African Communist Party, “Restructuring State Assets”, (February 1996): <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=2506>. (Accessed 11 April 2012).

<sup>175</sup> Cheslyn Mostert, “Reflections on South Africa’s Restructuring of State-Owned Enterprises”, *Occasional Paper* 5 (2002): 18. See <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/suedafrika/07164.pdf>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>176</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, “Socio Economic Resolutions: Privatisation”, (1997): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/docs/resolutions/1997/res-soc.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>177</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, *ibid*.



It [COSATU] will only accept the restructuring of state assets if our existing employment base is defended and if social services are extended to the entire population.

COSATU believed that given endemic poverty, the private sector could not be entrusted with providing adequate services to the poor. It also opined that the state had to retain control over strategic assets in order to restructure the economy. Moreover, COSATU held that regulation by the state would not be sufficient to make the private sector achieve these aims. Consequently, it called for a freeze on privatisation until the Alliance had agreed on a more detailed framework.

It stands to reason that there was unanimity among the Alliance partners on the need to restructure the state assets. The issues that needed to be thrashed out were:

- (i) What form would the restructuring take?; and
- (ii) Who would make the decisions about restructuring?

The debate on the restructuring of state assets revolved around a quasi-logical argumentation known as the definition. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca give four kinds of definitions:<sup>178</sup>

1. Normative definitions, which indicate the manner in which a word is to be used. This norm can result from an individual decision, from a command given to others, from a rule which one believes that it should be followed by everyone.
2. Descriptive definitions, which indicate what meaning is given to a word in a certain environment at a particular time.
3. Condensed definitions, which point out the essential elements of a descriptive definition.

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<sup>178</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 210-211.

4. Complex definitions, which combine, in various ways, elements of the other three types.

The argument on the restructuring of state assets typified a complex definition. It was normative in that each Alliance partner put forward its understanding of restructuring and proposed that it be followed by the allies and, by extension, all South Africans. This was coupled with the reasons which necessitated some form of restructuring at the time that South Africa found itself in.

Business wanted the state to step aside and provide more opportunities for the private sector. They preferred a lean and mean state. Conversely, labour generally promoted a developmental state, with increased service provision by Government to redress apartheid backlogs in areas like housing, health, education and welfare. COSATU and its affiliates held demonstrations and other actions in response to privatisation proposals from the newly-elected Government.<sup>179</sup> The conflicts and debate between Government and labour on the issue of privatisation culminated in the National Framework Agreement in 1995.<sup>180</sup>

What the Alliance partners wanted was an engagement on restructuring, as opposed to it being imposed by Government. Mandela concurred with the union movement in this regard and undertook to involve it in the discussions:<sup>181</sup>

Therefore, the Government's relationship with labour, from the level of the Executive as a whole, to the departments and the management of public enterprises, must be set on a viable footing to ensure co-operative rather than confrontational interaction. We are confident that the restructuring

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<sup>179</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, "Two Hour Work Stoppage, 19 December" (1995) <http://www.cosatu.org.za/docs/pr/1995/pr1219.html>. (Accessed 11 April 2012).

<sup>180</sup> Polity, "Joint Media Release on the National Framework Agreement by the Government of National Unity and Labour" (7 February 1996): <http://www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/misc/framework.html#ADDENDUM1>. (Accessed 12 April 2012).

<sup>181</sup> Nelson Mandela. "State of the Nation Address, 9 February", *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 9.

programme will be carried out with due speed – *and carried out in a manner that involves and benefits all stake-holders*. [emphasis added]

The fact that there was an agreement among the allies that state entities had to be restructured meant that a stage for discourse had been set. This agreement gave rise to, in the words of Chaïm Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, the “premise of argumentation” or a “starting point of argumentation”.<sup>182</sup> This simply means that argumentation cannot proceed until or unless there is a point of agreement or convergence between the interlocutors. Having agreed on the premise of argumentation, the ANC and the Alliance partners could then embark on arguing their points of view regarding how restructuring had to be carried out (modalities).

Though Mandela’s speech had the elements of his commitment to “collective leadership” – in the form of engagement and consultation, be it with the Alliance partners or the stakeholders in general – as the circumstances demanded, he did not shy away from exercising his presidential powers. His assertion on the violence in KwaZulu-Natal is a case in point:<sup>183</sup>

I wish in particular to draw hon members’ attention to the incidents on the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast, where individuals have organised themselves to undermine, physically and otherwise, investigations into murders which took place over the holiday period. Armed with an assortment of weapons, they have taken it upon themselves, in full view of the public media, to challenge the nation’s law enforcement agencies.

I am today issuing a strong warning to these elements that this cannot be allowed to continue. [Applause]. The time has come for our nation to choose whether we want to become a law-governed and peaceful society or hapless hostages of lawlessness [...].

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<sup>182</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 65.

<sup>183</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 15.

Mandela went further and became more emphatic:<sup>184</sup>

In addition to this, I wish to announce today that preparations are under way to introduce measures that will prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons in public manifestations. [Applause.] No one, irrespective of organisations to which they belong, will be exempted from these measures. [Applause.]

The Executive authority is vested in the President who must act in accordance with the Constitution and may perform any act required to give effect to the Constitution.<sup>185</sup> In addition, he/she is entrusted with promoting the unity of the nation and that which will advance the Republic. When Mandela used the aforementioned argument, he had recourse to the commonplace of law. Constitutionally, he had the duty to ensure that the citizens' rights were upheld and respected. The violence that was taking place in KwaZulu-Natal deprived the South Africans who resided in that part of the country of enjoying their rights. Consequently, the President had a legal obligation to intervene and prevent the violation of their rights.

#### **1.10 Response to the Debate on the State of the Nation Address – 15 February 1996**

On this occasion, Mandela proceeded with his nation building theme. He told his audience that South Africa was making inroads into becoming a nation. Moreover, he maintained that different leaders from various political parties had shown a commitment to the realisation of this objective irrespective of their diametrically opposed political ideologies. Mandela opened his address by acknowledging the absence of three leaders. In this regard, he said:<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op cit.* 16.

<sup>185</sup> Section 83 of *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*: 53-55.

<sup>186</sup> Nelson Mandela, "President's Opening Address, 15 February", *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 166.

[...] But before I do that I would like to say that there are three leaders who are not here. Two of them came personally; the other one wrote me a letter. They all apologised that they were not able to be here this afternoon because of certain commitments which they mentioned to me. I do not therefore want you to be wondering why they are not here. They are Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is gone to a matter which we are handling together. He has explained the importance of this matter. The second one is Mr Clarence Makwetu, the leader of the PAC. The third one is Danie Schutte. Both have given me very valid reasons.

Probably, Mandela made mention of these leaders to dispel any (mis)perception that they had snubbed his speech. Indeed, he argued that despite differences regarding what needed to be done to create a democratic South Africa, leaders from different political parties had shown “determination to speak the truth”.<sup>187</sup> Referring to this as a “new patriotism, he maintained:<sup>188</sup>

The new patriotism of the new South Africa is not something that Government or politicians can create or wish into existence. It is a powerful feeling amongst our people, in all walks of life, and in every community.

In this passage, Mandela lent credence to Finnegan’s and Engels’ observation that:<sup>189</sup>

Presidents do more than convey ideas; they also constitute their audiences, and the nation itself, through epideictic rhetoric.

Mandela deployed every rhetorical resource at his disposal to gain adherence from his audience to the argument that he was advancing. He lauded ordinary South

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<sup>187</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 165.

<sup>188</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op cit.* 168.

<sup>189</sup> Cara A. Finnegan & Jeremy Engels (eds.), “Book Reviews: Before the Rhetorical Presidency”, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 97, 1 (2011): 114.

Africans for taking a lead in bringing about the “new patriotism”. Having recourse to an argumentation by illustration, Mandela stated:<sup>190</sup>

This new patriotism has made itself most visible around the achievements of our sports people, but it is something that citizens also feel as they are freed from the constraining divisions of the past. South Africans are entering a wider world of relationships with their fellow compatriots, free to be who or what they really are.

Mandela gave these illustrations to buttress the assertion that he was making. This does not, however, mean that Mandela’s illustrations could not be contested. Unlike an example which must be beyond question, an illustration need not be, as adherence to the rule does not depend on it.<sup>191</sup> On the other hand, it should strike the imagination forcibly so as to win attention.

While Mandela was impressed with the “new patriotism”, he expressed his concern about some within the Afrikaner community who appeared not to embrace this spirit. Realising the knowledge and expertise which the Afrikaners possessed and their centrality in fostering this “new patriotism”, he made an appeal to them:<sup>192</sup>

The privileges which they [the Afrikaners] enjoyed in the past equipped Afrikaners with, *inter alia*, a rich treasure of skills, knowledge and cultural resources. As individuals who benefited from a previous programme of affirmative action, Afrikaners, more than anyone else, ought to realise to what extent such a programme can contribute to creating means through which a society can become more productive. [Applause.]

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<sup>190</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 168.

<sup>191</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 357.

<sup>192</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op cit.* 168.

I then ask myself whether there could be a more creative option for Afrikaners than to see and realise themselves as an indispensable source of skills through which growth and development can be brought about to benefit a better life for all South Africans.

Here, Mandela employed a number of commonplaces or *topics* (*topoi*). Chief amongst these are commonplaces of past fact, precedent and a *topic* of possible and a *topic* of future fact. Employing this line of argument, Mandela sought to demonstrate what had happened in the past, under similar circumstances, and what was likely to happen in future. As Corbett contends:<sup>193</sup>

A common way to inspire an audience with confidence in the practicality of the proposed course of action is to cite examples of people who have accomplished a similar or identical thing. The examples will be persuasive in proportion to the similarity of the actions and the circumstances.

The possible is the main province in which a rhetorician operates. After all, there can be no room for argument about what is certain.

Viewed from a different angle, when Mandela maintained that he expected a better reception of affirmative action from the Afrikaners as they had previously benefited from the similar initiative, he had recourse to an argument of reciprocity. An argument of reciprocity aims at giving the same treatment to two situations which are counterparts of each other. Here, the identification of the situations, necessary in order that the rule of justice be applicable, is indirect in the sense that it requires using the concept of symmetry.<sup>194</sup>

An argument of reciprocity shows that the situations are similar by regarding certain relations as symmetrical. This intervention of symmetry evidently introduces

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<sup>193</sup>Edward P.J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 119.

<sup>194</sup>Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 221.

special difficulties in the application of the rule of justice. But, on the other hand, symmetry makes it easier to show that actions, events and things are identical, since it emphasises a certain aspect which seems to stand out on account of the very symmetry which is exhibited. This aspect is then claimed to be essential.

Mandela used an argument of reciprocity to illuminate that there were parallels between the position that the Afrikaners once found themselves in and the situation in which the black South Africans found themselves. In Mandela's view, as affirmative action had been used to improve the Afrikaners' lives, it would equally accrue similar benefits to black South Africans. The conclusion that Mandela drew equally made his assertion to qualify as a deductive argument called enthymeme or rhetorical syllogism. A deductive argument draws a conclusion from stated or implied premises.<sup>195</sup>

As he had done during his State of the Nation Address, Mandela underlined the supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law:<sup>196</sup>

The rights of ordinary citizens and the integrity of the law also need to be protected from those who seek systematically and deliberately to undermine the operation of the justice system in the country. I want to say again that I am determined to deal firmly with all violent actions and challenges to the law-enforcement agencies, as I indicated in the Opening Address.

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<sup>195</sup>Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory on Civil Discourse*, Translated with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007): 21.

<sup>196</sup>Nelson Mandela, "Response to Debate on the State of the Nation Address, 15 February", *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 169. Mandela's views on the primacy of the Constitution are reminiscent of what he said during the Rivonia Trial when he said: "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die". United Nations, "'I am Prepared to Die': Nelson Mandela's Statement from the Dock at the Opening of the Defence Case in the Rivonia Trial, Pretoria Supreme Court" (1964): [http://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/court\\_statement\\_1964.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/events/mandeladay/court_statement_1964.shtml). (Accessed 18 July 2012).



As the custodian of the country's Constitution, Mandela was duty-bound to ensure that "every citizen [was] equally protected by law".<sup>197</sup> Indeed, a failure to do so would have been tantamount to a dereliction of duty.

### **1.11 Address to the Constitutional Assembly on the Occasion of the Adoption of the New Constitution – 8 May 1996**

The adoption of the Constitution on 8 May 1996 was one of the turning points in the history of South Africa. Considered by many as arguably one of the most progressive in the world, it was drafted by an all-inclusive Constitutional Assembly which had representatives from all the major political parties and anti-apartheid formations. Recalling and summing up the prevailing mood at the time prior to this momentous occasion, the then President Thabo Mbeki had this to say:<sup>198</sup>

It was a long road that would have seemed forbidding to the faint hearted, and appeared to the pessimists to have no possible end, except the constant repetition of a mirage that presented itself as the final destination.

Echoing Mbeki's sentiments, Mandela reminded his audience:<sup>199</sup>

The nation has teetered on a knife edge over the past few days, with reports of intractable deadlocks and an abyss in waiting.

However, notwithstanding the trials and tribulations that had characterised the constitution-making process, Mandela showered his interlocutors with praise:<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> See the preamble to *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*: 1.

<sup>198</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Address at the Joint Sitting of the House of Parliament on the Occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa" (5 May 2006): <http://www.polity.org.za/article/mbeki-10th-anniversary-of-constitution-celebrations-08052006-2006-05-08>. (Accessed 18 July 2012)

<sup>199</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Address by the President of the Republic, 8 May", *Debates of the Constitutional Assembly* (Cape Town: Parliament, 1996): 452.

Today we celebrate that coming of age. Long before the intense moments of the last few days, hon members as representatives of the people decided that open and accountable Government would be reinforced by co-operative governance among all tiers. Thus we stride out along a new road in which the preoccupation of the elected representatives at all levels of Government will be how to co-operate in the service of the people rather than competing for power which belongs not to us, but to the people. We were therefore able, in the national interest, to locate Government powers at a level where they appropriately belong and to ensure that the national Parliament is not the exclusive preserve of an imaginary national politician, but a workplace in which representatives from all levels can pursue their mandate.

Here, Mandela relied on the argument of inclusion. Given the numerical superiority or advantage of the ANC, Mandela would have easily ascribed the success of the constitution-making process single-handedly to his own party, the ANC. To the contrary, he acknowledged the role of all the parties involved. He proceeded from the premise which holds that “what is true of the whole is true of the part”.<sup>201</sup> By doing that, Mandela wanted to convince his audience that the role played by the smaller parties was not less important than that played by the ANC. Indeed, he stated unequivocally later in his speech: <sup>202</sup>

The majority party must not abuse its power and reduce other parties in the Government to the status of being mere rubber stamps, having merely to yield to the decisions of the majority.

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<sup>200</sup>Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 453.

<sup>201</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 231.

<sup>202</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 457-458.

Mandela's acknowledgement was not only confined to political parties. It was extended to:<sup>203</sup>

[...] organised sector of civil society which made inputs into the process: the legal fraternity, women, local communities, traditional structures and leaders of sectors dealing with business, labour, land issues, the media, arts and culture, the youth, the disabled, children and wards, and many more.

This inclusivity seems to suggest that Mandela was giving effect to what the ANC NEC had resolved in its 1996 "January 8 Statement", an annual occasion on which the ANC celebrates its anniversary. Talking about the "mobilisation of our people" as one of strategic objectives that the ANC had to pursue in 1996, the ANC NEC had stated:<sup>204</sup>

The practical programmes we have to carry out this year emphasise the importance of the mobilisation of our people to continue the struggle for democracy, peace and development. In this regard, we must educate the people to treat the state as their own, an instrument in their own hands in the common effort to achieve a better life for all on a sustainable basis.

When Mandela mentioned the various formations that had taken place in the constitution-making process, he sought to amplify his assertion that the process was inclusive. In that way, they would have felt that the state was "their own". Amplification can be used to develop an argument in detail and to enhance the importance of the subject.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, amplification has the ability to produce a

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<sup>203</sup>Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 456.

<sup>204</sup> African National Congress, "Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 84<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC" (8 January 1996): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=64>. (Accessed 28 March 2013).

<sup>205</sup>Robert Cockcroft and Susan Cockcroft, *Persuading People: An Introduction to Rhetoric* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005): 183.

persuasive effect. After all, it is the duty of the orator to demonstrate the veracity of his or her assertion.<sup>206</sup>

Building on the transparent, participatory and consultative experience that, in his view, had characterised the constitution-making process, Mandela contended:<sup>207</sup>

Through the National Council of Provinces, the improvement of the status of local Government and the style of Government, based on transparency, participation and consultation, *we shall ensure that democracy indeed constitutes Government by the people, for the people* [emphasis added].

The last part of the passage qualifies as a normative definition of democracy. Here, Mandela prescribed a rule that had to be followed by everyone.<sup>208</sup> He gave a context in which democracy had to be understood by his interlocutors. It could be argued that he did so as he was aware that democracy was and still is a contested term which can mean different things to different people.<sup>209</sup>

In a further attempt to demonstrate that the constitution-making process had inculcated a culture of participatory democracy and therefore ensured that the citizenry actively participated in determining its destiny, Mandela held:<sup>210</sup>

In the final analysis, the praise that we are apt to heap upon ourselves appears misplaced against the backdrop of the active participation of the people in the drafting of the new Constitution. The determination of this Assembly to ensure that the people played their rightful role, and the meticulous planning and execution that this entailed, broke new ground in

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<sup>206</sup>See Philippe-Joseph Salazar, *L'Art de Parler: Anthologie de Manuels d'Eloquence* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2003).

<sup>207</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 454.

<sup>208</sup>Chaim Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 61.

<sup>209</sup>See Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy and its Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1998).

<sup>210</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 457.

ways of engaging society in the process of legislation, reaching out through the media, opening the process to inputs from across society, and going out across the length and breadth of the country for face-to-face interaction with communities.

It is contended that the constitution-making process generated an ‘unprecedented’ public interest. Making reference to the process leading up to the adoption of the Constitution, Salazar points out:<sup>211</sup>

It [The Constitutional Assembly] claims that 2 million submissions were received, views from “120, 000 individual and 500 organizations at more than 1,287 public meetings, workshops, seminars and national hearings” were gathered; outreach programs to 73% of the adult population, “18.5 million people”, there was a “concerted effort to communicate with the public in all 11 official languages”, it “made all documents ... available ... including on the Constitutional Assembly’s Internet site.”

One may draw an inference that it was the “inclusive” or the “consultative” nature of the constitution-making process that prompted Mandela to opine that what had happened in South Africa had to be replicated or emulated elsewhere in the world. Having recourse to the argument by model, he proffered:<sup>212</sup>

This Constitution is our humble contribution to democracy and the culture of human rights worldwide, and it is our pledge to humanity that nothing will steer us from this course.

These words having been uttered by a person of Mandela’s calibre – someone revered as an international icon and on whom a “saintly” status had been conferred –

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<sup>211</sup> Philippe-Joseph Salazar, *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa* (Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum, 2002): 64.

<sup>212</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 456.

might have had a profound persuasive effect on his interlocutors. The value attached to the person is the premise from which will be drawn the conclusion encouraging some particular behaviour. One does not imitate just anybody. The person chosen as model must enjoy some measure of prestige.<sup>213</sup>

Typical of Mandela and being mindful of the historical importance of the occasion (the adoption of the country's democratic institution), Mandela grabbed the apposite moment (*kairos*) and issued a clarion call for nation building and reconciliation:<sup>214</sup>

[...] I want to repeat what I have said before. We are dealing with a situation in which if one talks to Whites, they think that only Whites exist in this country, and they look at problems from the point of view of Whites. They forget about Blacks, namely Coloured, Africans and Indians. That is one side of the problem. However, we have another problem. When one talks to Africans, Coloureds and Indians, they think that the Whites in this country do not exist. They think that we have brought about this transformation by defeating the White minority and that we are dealing with a community that is now lying prostrate on the ground, begging for mercy, to whom we can dictate. Both tendencies are wrong. [Applause.] We want men and women who can rise above their ethnic groups and think in terms of South Africa as a whole. [Applause.]

What one witnesses here are the argument of reciprocity and the application of the rule of justice. The argument of reciprocity equates two beings or situations, by showing that correlative expressions in a relation ought to be treated in the same manner.<sup>215</sup> Similarly, the rule of justice demands that beings or situations of the same

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<sup>213</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 305.

<sup>214</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 458.

<sup>215</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 67.

kind be treated identically.<sup>216</sup> In Mandela's world view, the compartmentalisation of South Africans as "white" and "black" was superficial. He therefore urged his audience to transcend this superficiality. It follows then that if there was no reasonable and logical justification to categorise South Africans as "white" and "black", they had to be treated the same way. There was adherence to Mandela's argument as his audience responded positively. This was evidenced by the fact that Mandela's assertion received a thunderous applause from the House.

Mandela's "white" and "black" argument can be categorised as what is known as "response shaping". According to Simons, "response shaping":<sup>217</sup>

Occurs when people acquire new beliefs on controversial matters or when they are socialized to learn new attitudes or acquire new values.

In the South African context, this change in mindset was inevitable if one were to achieve nationhood. The effects of apartheid, which had entrenched the superiority of one race over others, were immense. Mandela then sought to engender the mindset that South Africans had to view one another merely as human beings and disregard their race, colour or – as Tutu would say – "the shape of their nose".<sup>218</sup>

### **1.12 Response to the Budget Vote Debate – 21 June 1996**

This speech was crucial in that it was delivered two days after the then National Party had withdrawn from the Government of National Unity. The NP was the important component of the Government of National Unity because, rightly or wrongly, it symbolised the representation of the Afrikaners in the ANC-led Government. Even those conservative Afrikaners who might still have had

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<sup>216</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 218.

<sup>217</sup> Herbert W. Simons with Joanne Morreale and Bruce Gronbeck, *Persuasion in Society* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2001): 30.

<sup>218</sup> Richard A. Burridge, *Imitating Jesus: An Inclusive Approach to New Testament Ethics* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2007): 373.

reservations about the political trajectory that the country had taken would have found solace in that they were represented in the ANC-led Government. The withdrawal of the then National Party therefore had the potential of undoing the gains that had been made as regards founding a democratic South Africa.

Perhaps with the vitality of the constituency that the then National Party represented or claimed to represent etched on Mandela's memory, he acknowledged the role that it had played as it served in the ANC-led Government of National Unity:<sup>219</sup>

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Deputy President De Klerk and all the Ministers from his party who served with us during the difficult days of our transition. We wish them well in the opposition benches. We are hopeful that in their new role they will add another brick to the edifice of our young democracy.

Here, one notices Mandela's consistency with regard to publicly giving some credit to De Klerk, in particular, and his colleagues, in general, for contributing to bring about a democratic South Africa.<sup>220</sup> Praising De Klerk and the then NP augured well for Mandela's nation building and reconciliation enterprises. His interlocutors might have perceived him as giving concrete meaning to these two notions and being a living proof that their attainment was possible.

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<sup>219</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Appropriation Bill: Debate on Vote 1, 21 June", *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 3658-3659.

<sup>220</sup> See Nelson Mandela, "Statement of the President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, at his Inauguration as President of the Democratic Republic of South Africa, Union Buildings, Pretoria" (10 May 1994): [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles\\_Gen/Inaugural\\_Speech\\_17984.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Inaugural_Speech_17984.html). (Accessed 4 April 2012).



### 1.13 State of the Nation Address – 7 February 1997

Mandela began his speech by having recourse to epideictic rhetoric. He heaped praise on South Africans for playing their part, in various fields, in building a nation:<sup>221</sup>

Again and again, over the past year, the people showed remarkable commitment to the country's wellbeing [*sic*]. They took advantage of resources offered through RDP projects. They turned adversity into opportunity in the export market. They excelled in international sporting events, including the Olympics and Paralympics. And they joined hands to raise awareness regarding crime, and actually work together to combat it.

If one examines the 1997 "January 8 Statement" of the ANC NEC, it is evident that in this passage Mandela was rehashing the resolution of the ANC NEC Conference. On this occasion, the ANC NEC had held:<sup>222</sup>

The tasks of non-racial reconciliation and nation-building have long been central to the mission of the ANC and its alliance [...]. A new nation has started to take root in all spheres of life, including sports, the economy, and in the fight against crime.

Mandela's repetition of what the ANC NEC had said may be construed as an indication of the centrality of the ANC NEC in decision-making processes. Put differently, it may be viewed as indicative of the "collective leadership" of the ANC. Indeed, there is a generally-held view that the "January 8 Statement" is the precursor to the State of the Nation Address. What the President says in the State of the Nation

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<sup>221</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Address by President of the Republic, 7 February", *Joint Sittings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1997): 2-3.

<sup>222</sup> African National Congress, "Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 85<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC" (1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=63>. (Accessed 2 May 2012).

is therefore, to a large extent, informed by what the ANC NEC has resolved in its “January 8 Statement”.<sup>223</sup> This applies largely to policy issues. It is therefore not uncommon to hear the ANC’s rank and file referring to the “January 8 Statement” as a point of reference whenever a policy decision is contentious.

Mandela attributed the strides made with regard to nation building to what he called a “new patriotism”. It should be recalled that he had repeatedly talked about this “new patriotism” even during his 1996 State of the Nation Address, as well as during his closing debate on the same State of the Nation Address.<sup>224</sup> He urged the opposition parties to draw on this “new patriotism” as they went about discharging their responsibilities.<sup>225</sup>

Cooperative governance and the *New Patriotism* [emphasis added] also mean a loyal opposition that opposes, but remains loyal to the Constitution, an opposition that takes part in the major national programmes to reconstruct, to develop, to reconcile, to improve South Africa’s standing in the world, to enhance business confidence, to put shoulders to the wheel in the fight against crime, an opposition that takes part fully in the efforts to build a better life for all.

Mandela’s repetitive use of the notion or concept the “new patriotism”, accompanied by the primacy that he ascribed to it, merits some attention. Was there any “new patriotism” to speak of? How was it defined? Was there unanimity on the definition?

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<sup>223</sup>Sipho Seepe, “The Critical Role that the ANC January 8 Statement Plays” (11 January 2013): <http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/a9754f804e23a38ca332b7f251b4e4e2/The-critical-role-that-the-ANC-January-8-statement-plays-20131101>. (Accessed 21 October 2013).

<sup>224</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address by President of the Republic, 9 February”, *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 7; Nelson Mandela, “Response to the Debate on the State of the Nation Address, 15 February”, *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1996): 168.

<sup>225</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address by President of the Republic, 7 February”, *Joint Sitzings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1997):4.

Was Mandela's assertion on "new patriotism" not tantamount to a *petitio principii*?<sup>226</sup>  
Did it allow space for a difference of opinion?

Be that as it may, Mandela enumerated a number of values that his interlocutors from the opposition benches needed to uphold as part of the "new patriotism". Perceivably, Mandela's interlocutors might have disagreed with some of the values that he attached to the "new patriotism". However, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca point out:<sup>227</sup>

But in the fields of law, politics, and philosophy, values intervene as a basis for argument at all stages of the developments. One appeals to values in order to induce the hearer to make certain choices rather than others, and most of all, to justify those choices so that they may be accepted and approved by others.

If one agrees with this line of argument, it follows then that even though there might have been various views on the "new patriotism", what Mandela was attempting to do was to steer his audience in a particular direction. He sought it to develop a uniform frame of mind. The ultimate end was to inculcate a belief that the democratic South Africa had given birth to what could be called a "nation". Mandela wanted to instil positive thinking or pride into his audience.

Turning to the performance of the ANC Government with regard to improving the South Africans' socio-economic conditions, Mandela did what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca refer to as the "adaptation of the speaker" to his/her audience.<sup>228</sup> In this regard, he asserted:<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>226</sup>According to Robert Cockcroft and Susan Cockcroft, *petitio principii* (question-begging) "occurs whenever a proposition or hypothesis, founded on disputable evidence, is not only treated as an established truth but also used to debar further investigation", Robert Cockcroft and Susan Cockcroft, *Persuading People: An Introduction to Rhetoric* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 2005): 133.

<sup>227</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 75.

<sup>228</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 23.

Firstly, because of capacity constraints some projects could not be undertaken. For instance, a number of provinces have barely spent the funds allocated to them for housing and the building of classrooms. It therefore does not make much sense to our people for us to decry the debt burden and lack of resources while we are unable to utilise even what we have.

The speaker adapts to his/her audience by choosing as his/her point of departure the theses accepted by those he/she addresses. Mandela sought to put himself in the shoes of his audience. He strove to align his argument with his audience's opinions. This was crucial because in argumentation it is the audience that has the major role in determining the quality of an argument.

Evidently, to those who did not have housing or to pupils who did not have classrooms, the argument pertaining to "capacity constraints" could not be convincing. These people would justifiably argue that it was the Government's responsibility to ensure that it was capacitated and resourced in order to be able to fulfil the promises it had made. However, the same people would have found solace in the fact that their interlocutor was willing to admit that there were problems. Mandela's address to the ANC NEC in January 1997 was telling in this regard:<sup>230</sup>

Our achievements, as the ANC, are very significant. We often fail to claim our own victories, or even to notice what we are achieving. *At the same time, however, it is the mark of a serious political movement that it must, where necessary, be self-critical* [emphasis added]. [...] The question is not so much whether one makes mistakes or not, but rather whether, as an organisation we are prepared to admit mistakes, and above all to learn from [sic] and quickly rectify weaknesses in our work.

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<sup>229</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Address by President of the Republic, 7 February", *Joint Sittings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1997):7.

<sup>230</sup> African National Congress, "Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 85<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC: A Year of Consolidating the National Democratic Revolution" (1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=63>. (Accessed 2 March 2013).

Mandela proceeded with acknowledging the difficulties that his Government had to contend with:<sup>231</sup>

Secondly, ordinary citizens continue to complain about practices that have not changed in many Government offices. Corruption, including the endemic problem of so-called ghost workers inherited from the past, continues to bedevil the Public Service. [Applause.] [Interjections.] Please, no one should be frightened! Laughter.]

While Mandela's argument might have appealed to some of his interlocutors, he risked alienating some in his audience who might have empathised with his earlier assertion. Granted, corruption in some "Government offices" might have emanated "from the past", but the fact of the matter was that the ANC was now in Government and therefore it had a responsibility to foster good governance. A persistent reference or attribution of the country's socio-economic ills to the apartheid system might have been interpreted to mean that Mandela's Government was out of depth. Put differently, some of Mandela's interlocutors would have concluded that he was using "the past" to mask his Government's incompetence.

What Mandela's audience would have expected then would have been for him to be more decisive and correct the wrongs that he had identified. Indeed, he attempted to do this as he stated:<sup>232</sup>

In so far as local government is concerned, there is nothing as urgent and critical as the training of councillors. Their ability to raise funds and manage them, to play their role in the multibillion housing and infrastructure programmes, to attract investments, to deal with distortions of the apartheid era, and to work with communities in a partnership for development, are skills that should be built more intensively this year.

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<sup>231</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 11

<sup>232</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 8.

Unlike the national government which is largely entrusted with policy formulation, local government is at the coalface of service delivery. It may therefore be argued that Mandela was spot-on when he averred that “the training of councillors” was of paramount importance. Again, he continued to adapt to his audience.

In typical Mandela style, Mandela was convinced that the solution to the country’s problems lay in the “collective leadership” of all South Africans. Accordingly, he advised:<sup>233</sup>

While provincial and national government will step in to assist where practicable, progress in this regard will depend on the Masakhane effort to build cooperation between communities and their local representatives.

The Masakhane Campaign was launched by Mandela on 25 February 1995. It was aimed at doing away with the “culture” of the non-payment of the services rendered by the state. This “culture” had been spearheaded by the liberation movement with the aim of bringing about the downfall of the apartheid system. After the ANC had assumed power, Mandela became acutely aware that without the payment for the services, the state could not be able to optimally discharge its responsibilities. It was in this context that the Masakhane Campaign had been initiated.<sup>234</sup> The Masakhane Campaign sought to nurture the democratic dispensation by, *inter alia*, encouraging civil responsibility.

Having highlighted the shortcomings of his Government, Mandela had recourse to the argument by comparison. He compared what the ANC had done “in the two and a half years” to what the then National Party could not do “throughout the four decades” of its rule. Defiantly, he told his audience:<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op cit.* 8

<sup>234</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Speech at the Launch of the Masakhane Campaign” (25 February 1995): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3519>. (Accessed 27 February 2013).

<sup>235</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 11.

Our communication is not as effective as it should be. There are many people, including members of this Parliament, who say that we are soft on crime. I do not know what their yardstick is, because in the two and a half years in which we have been in power, we have arrested more policemen than were arrested throughout the four decades of NP [National Party] rule [Applause.] [interjections]

The comparison that Mandela drew was not meant to show the similarities between the ANC and the then National Party. On the contrary, he sought to demonstrate that what the ANC had done was beyond compare and therefore unique.<sup>236</sup> Mandela's assertion had the effect of discrediting the then National Party and silencing the ANC's critics.

As he had done during his 1996 State of the Nation Address, Mandela supported the claim that his Government was making positive strides in the fight against crime by making use of the commonplace of statistics:<sup>237</sup>

In Gauteng alone, in the period from July 1994 to September last year, the attorney-general received 8 303 dockets on police corruption. We arrested more than 400 policemen in that province during that period. [Interjections.] In KwaZulu-Natal, we arrested close to 300 policemen during that period. The same applies throughout the nine provinces.

Challenging those who differed with his assertion, Mandela went on the defensive:<sup>238</sup>

Whatever criticisms are made, they must be made honestly. Those who say that we are soft on crime must indicate the yardstick they are using in saying this. Is this mere politicking, or a statement from people who have nothing to say? We know that those who have no depth of vision can only specialise in

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<sup>236</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *op cit.* 245.

<sup>237</sup> Nelson Mandela, 11.

<sup>238</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 11.

criticising and destroying what others have built. But these are the figures.  
[Applause.]

The most obvious way to refute Mandela's argument would have been for his interlocutors to provide counter statistics or figures. Alternatively, his interlocutors would have cited an expert opinion on crime levels in the country. The success of their argument would, however, hinge, on the authority of the chosen expert opinion. If the authority of the said expert opinion carried more weight than that of the "attorney-general" that Mandela had referred to, his contention would be easily challenged. Moreover, Mandela's assertion would be subjected to a series of questions that seek to establish the reliability of statistics that Corbett gives as examples.<sup>239</sup>

Conversely, the fact that some in Mandela's audience applauded as he put forward these statistics indicated that his argument was well received. This section of Mandela's audience found his argument resonating with it. This was indicative of the varied make-up nature of the audiences and those who applauded were probably ANC members. This might have extended to ANC supporters who were following the debate in their televisions given that the State of the Nation Address is broadcast live.

Be that as it may, it should be borne in mind that post-1994 the ANC had lost the moral high ground which it used to enjoy pre-1994. While the apartheid system was "unquestionably [...] corrupt", the roles had then been reversed.<sup>240</sup> As a ruling party, the ANC could not perpetually attribute the country's ills to the legacy of apartheid. It did not only have to do something about this scourge but had to be seen to be doing something. This was what the citizenry expected of the ruling party. A failure to do so was a recipe for a legitimacy crisis. While the ANC's promise of "a

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<sup>239</sup> Edward P.J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 127.

<sup>240</sup> Dennis Davis, "Corruption and Transparency" (2010): <http://www.opendemocracy.org/za/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/Corruption-and-Transparencyby-Judge-Dennis-Davis.pdf>. (Accessed 28 February 2013).



better life for all” might have struck a sympathetic chord with the electorate, the patience with which ordinary people would have waited would wear thin.

Of particular importance, Mandela cautioned against the use of violence by certain South Africans to air their grievances:<sup>241</sup>

Let me repeat that there is no reason at all for any of our citizens to seek redress through violence. The avenues are there in the in the Constitution and the structures it sets out for airing grievances. It will be the height of folly for anyone to seek to provoke the patience of a people who have elected, against their deep emotions, to forgive and reconcile. For their retribution will be decisive and telling. [Applause.]

Democracy is, by its very nature, an antithesis of violence. Whenever disagreements arise in a democratic set-up, they are settled through peaceful means. They are resolved through debate or dialogue. Instead of resorting to physical force, one uses the power of the word to drive his/her point home. Deliberation, coupled with knowing how to argue, is therefore is a *sine qua non* of democracy. As Sirianni and Friedland cogently and succinctly put it:<sup>242</sup>

Deliberative democracy rests on the core notion of citizens and their representatives deliberating about public problems and solutions under conditions that are conducive to reasoned reflection and refined public judgement; a mutual willingness to understand the values, perspectives, and interests of others; and the possibility of reframing their interests and perspectives in light of a joint search for common interests and mutually acceptable solutions.

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<sup>241</sup> Nelson Mandela, 12.

<sup>242</sup>Carmen Sirianni and Lewis Friedland, “Civic Dictionary: Deliberative Democracy”: <http://www.cpn.org/tools/dictionary/deliberate.html>. (Accessed 27 February 2013).

Mandela better understood the importance of settling differences through deliberation as he had personally been muzzled by the apartheid system. Indeed, the apartheid system resorted to the use of violence to silence those who dared challenge it. It was therefore by no coincidence that Mandela put premium on the importance of engaging peacefully with those that one disagreed with.

In the spirit of “collective leadership” of the Alliance, Mandela made reference to the truth reconciliation process and the creation of an “equal” society as some of the themes of his speech. Concerning the former, he asserted:<sup>243</sup>

As it inches towards the truth, the TRC is helping to seal the coffin of a heinous system and to unearth what remnants of the old network may still be burrowing in our midst. It is helping to consolidate our democracy, and thus to complement the magnificent work of the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission and other such institutions.

With regard to uplifting the previously disadvantaged, Mandela maintained:<sup>244</sup>

More public works programmes will be undertaken in the rural areas, and the Bill on secure tenure rights should be adopted this year.

The two aforementioned themes of Mandela’s speech were in line with what the ANC NEC had said in its 1997 “January 8 Statement”:<sup>245</sup>

We have never understood reconciliation to mean forgetting the past, or neglecting the plight of the millions of victims of apartheid. We have stated our positions very powerfully in this respect at the TRC ...[...] We have also

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<sup>243</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 13.

<sup>244</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 14.

<sup>245</sup> African National Congress, “Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 85<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC: A Year of Consolidating the National Democratic Revolution” (1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=63>. (Accessed 2 March 2013).

understood that the national dimension of our struggle is not just about building a sense of nationhood – as crucial as this is. It is also about building the material and social conditions for a single nation.

For the ANC and its allies, reconciliation was intrinsically linked to improving the “material and social conditions” of all South Africans. Achieving this, however, required altering the status quo and this was not an easy task. A delicate balance needed to be struck. On the one hand, the ANC Government believed that reconciliation was imperative for the creation of a South Africa that it envisioned. On the other hand, it realised that those who had been previously disadvantaged would have liked to have “a better life”. Meeting the expectations of the latter sector of South Africa partly necessitated tampering with the advantages which the “white” population had previously exclusively enjoyed. Mandela understood the task at hand and told his audience:<sup>246</sup>

I wish to reassure the commercial farming sector that these measures [...] will be pursued in a manner that does not undermine an industry which is so critical to the nation’s food security and exports [...]. At the same time, we all know too well that long-term security and productivity in the countryside depend primarily on the upliftment of poor rural communities.

What was noticeable throughout Mandela’s speech was his consistency concerning the sensitivity that he showed to those who stood to be affected as his Government went about executing its functions. Similar to the “reassurance” that he had given to the commercial farming sector, he accentuated the involvement of the affected parties in the restructuring of the public service. In this instance, he noted:<sup>247</sup>

I wish to assure the Public Service that all these changes will take place on the basis of consultation.

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<sup>246</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 14.

<sup>247</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 10.

Appealing to the affected parties within the public service to support the restructuring of the sector, Mandela had recourse to the argument of waste:<sup>248</sup>

Indeed, if we do not restructure the service, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to build on the foundation that has been laid. We shall have good plans, and even the resources to carry them out, but we shall, year in and year out, be saddled with unspent funds, terrible services and millions siphoned off in corrupt practices, in callous disregard of the most vulnerable sections of society.

The way Mandela's argument was crafted had persuasive effect. Not only did he tell his audience of the "foundation that has been laid" that would be squandered were the enterprise (restructuring) not taken, he amplified his argument to demonstrate the implications for not doing what he was proposing. It was up to his audience to weigh the pros and cons.

While Mandela attached importance to nation building and reconciliation, he constantly reminded his audience that this did not have to be at the expense of a "vigorous" debate. Eloquently, he argued that dissenting voices were commendable as they enriched and entrenched South Africa's fledgling democracy:<sup>249</sup>

I want to repeat that in all political parties there are good men and women, and that it is our task, as people with depth in thinking and foresight, who want to unite this country and promote the spirit of reconciliation, to be able to identify these good men and women. We do not want them to leave their political parties, because they would be useless. [Laughter.] We want them to continue to put forward ideas that are going to contribute to this new environment of giving opportunities to talented men and women to make their contribution for the good of South Africa.

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<sup>248</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 10.

<sup>249</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 22.

He went further and averred that the contention of various schools of thought was also a *modus operandi* even within ANC structures:<sup>250</sup>

I would like to make an appeal. We profit from criticism and the existence of a powerful, vigorous and articulate opposition. We have used that within our own structures in the ANC. We tear ourselves into pieces when we discuss issues. Not even the President can escape that sharp criticism when he brings to the organisation views that are not properly cooked.

To those in Mandela's audience who still recalled his address to the 49<sup>th</sup> Congress of the ANC, his assertions would have been a *déjà vu*. On that occasion, Mandela had proffered:<sup>251</sup>

Comrades are bound to differ on numerous issues that come before the Executive. Differences of opinion among comrades, honestly held and expressed in a disciplined manner within the structures of the organisation, should be encouraged rather than discouraged. They are healthy, they lead to vigorous debate and to an examination of problems from all angles. Unfortunately, some comrades do not always welcome opposition, even from their comrades and tend to sideline, and even slander, comrades who have independent views.

Mandela's views underlined the importance of argumentation which, in turn, is one of the fundamental principles which permit democracy to flourish. More importantly though, for any argumentation to take place effectively, there should be, what Perelman refers to as, "the meeting of the minds between the speaker and the

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<sup>250</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 23.

<sup>251</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Closing Address at the 49<sup>th</sup> National Conference of the African National Congress" (22 December 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2423>. (Accessed 5 April 2012).

audience”.<sup>252</sup> This presupposes a mutual understanding between an orator and his/her audience. On the one hand, the orator should be willing to persuade or convince and not compel or command. On the other hand, there should be a disposition on the part of the audience to listen.

#### **1.14 Response to the Debate on the State of the Nation Address – 12 February 1997**

The preamble to the South African Constitution states that the country “belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity”.<sup>253</sup> Whenever an opportunity presented itself, Mandela would encourage his interlocutors to be robust as they deliberated on the challenges facing South Africa. However, he urged them not to lose sight of the fact that they had “one destiny”.<sup>254</sup>

As the debate once more underlined, the divergence of views on many issues is essentially about matters of detail and implementation. So obvious are the advances that we are making as a nation, and so clear are the challenges which we are facing, that even if we hail from diverse backgrounds, even if we have disparate constituencies, even if our interpretation of the interests of these constituencies might differ, we all cannot but acknowledge that for each to succeed, all must succeed. We are one people with one destiny.

The undertone of Mandela’s assertion was that his interlocutors had to look beyond what divided them but rather had to focus on what (the prize or value) united them. Having recourse to the pragmatic argument, he told his interlocutors that each one of them wanted “to succeed”. He contended that this unifying factor (success) could not

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<sup>252</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 9-10.

<sup>253</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996.

<sup>254</sup> Nelson Mandela, “President’s Address, 12 February”, *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1997): 141.

be attained single-handedly unless it was achieved by all of them. Mandela was of the view that the attainment of this success necessitated that his interlocutors co-existed as they had “one destiny”. He wanted his audience to evaluate whatever course of action it wanted to take in terms of favourable or unfavourable consequences.

Mandela went further and enumerated what he alleged were the common threads that permeated South Africa. He maintained that these factors buttressed his assertion that South Africans had a shared “destiny”:<sup>255</sup>

The protection of human rights, economic growth and job creation, the speedy implementation of socio-economic programmes and decisive action against crime – this is the foundation of our national consensus, our nation’s tryst with destiny, which we should redeem together in action. That is the mood out there; this desire to get down to work for the benefit of each of us individually, for the benefit of our families and for the benefit of society as a whole.

Mandela managed to capture the general sentiments of the previously disadvantaged, the country’s middle and upper classes. The “one destiny” to which he made reference was a mere pipe dream unless the expectations of these various constituencies were met. Mandela was acutely aware of this imperative. He continuously raised the need to make a balancing act between addressing the expectations of the previously disadvantaged and reassuring the previous beneficiaries that the new South Africa was equally theirs. Having recourse to the argumentation by example, he stated:<sup>256</sup>

Just outside this Chamber is Supt Riaan Smuts, who comes from the apartheid regime. I have retained him. I have two white secretaries from the old regime, typical boeremeisies. [Laughter.] They are Elize Wessels from

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<sup>255</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 142.

<sup>256</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 146.

Kakamas and Zelda le Grange from George. Those hon members can go through my staff. I challenge any one of them – those who were in Government and pulled out. They do not have the record that we in the ANC and I believe in the IFP as well, have established – a record of accommodating all population groups in this country. [Applause.]

Mandela made use of the commonplace of comparison. He compared the ANC Government with the apartheid system with a view to demonstrating the moral superiority of the former, as far as non-discrimination and tolerance were concerned. Conversely, Mandela's assertion qualifies as the commonplace of difference. It put the ANC in stark contrast to the state of affairs during the apartheid era.

Giving another anecdote, Mandela told his audience:<sup>257</sup>

May I tell an interesting story. I have a major who is an Afrikaner. Security came to me and said that that fellow was one of those who had bombed Khotso House and that they would like to take him away from my security unit. I asked "What for?" They said: "But he bombed Khotso House!" I said: "So what?" I work in Government with people who have done worse things than that. I am not going to punish youngsters because of the crimes they were asked to commit by their superiors."

As already stated, the two cases that Mandela cited serve as the argumentation by example. This form of argumentation presupposes the existence of certain regularities of which the examples provide a concretisation.<sup>258</sup> While the first example that Mandela gave might have been viewed by some of his interlocutors as mundane, the second one would have made them to pay attention to his argument. In other words, Mandela's argument would have been taken seriously and,

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<sup>257</sup> Nelson Mandela, 146.

<sup>258</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 106.



consequently, stood a better chance of appealing to his audience. Undoubtedly, the examples that Mandela gave boded well for his reconciliation project and gave concrete meaning to his commitment to nation building.

Mandela ended his speech by employing the argument by comparison. Talking about the role that the ANC had played in the struggle against apartheid, he argued:<sup>259</sup>

People in the ANC have been in the vanguard of the struggle since 1912. Ours has been a proud liberation movement of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. *None here or outside can deny that we have made the greatest sacrifices.* [emphasis added]. Many have lost their lives. Many have been in prison and many have been banned. Many have lost their loved ones, their land and their dignity. Without the ANC, its members and supporters inside and outside the country, we would not have gained freedom in our lifetime.

It is difficult not to draw the conclusion that at the heart of Mandela's argument was the claim that the ANC's contribution to the liberation of South Africa was bigger than or superior to that of all other parties. Put differently, in Mandela's view, the ANC's role in the fight against apartheid was "beyond compare and therefore unique of its kind".<sup>260</sup> Perceivably, Mandela's assertion might not have gone down well, especially with those political parties and their supporters who also constituted the South Africa's liberation movement but who were neither ANC members nor its supporters. Indeed, organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) would have felt that Mandela had undermined or downplayed their role in the fight against apartheid. In the eyes of

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<sup>259</sup> Nelson Mandela, 149.

<sup>260</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 245.

these components of the liberation movement, Mandela's contention typified what, in the words of AZAPO's national spokesperson, was:<sup>261</sup>

[...] ANC attempts to rewrite the history of the liberation struggle by suffocating heroic narratives of other components of the liberation movement.

Perhaps in an attempt to cushion himself against being accused of exemplifying a classic example of history being "written by the victors", Mandela sang a different tune.<sup>262</sup>

However, we must confess that we were not alone in this struggle. We were helped by many people and many organisations, both black and white; by workers and their trade unions; by the churches and other religious bodies – by the Muslims, Hindus, members of the Jewish faith and Christians; by youth and student organisations; by women's organisations; by the community and by professional organisations.

Mandela's about-turn qualifies as an argument of inclusion.<sup>263</sup> He acknowledged the role played by other various players in the fight against apartheid. This would have given the sense that the contribution(s) made by various actors in their various capacities mattered.

Mandela's use of the verb "confess" merits some special attention. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, the word "confess" means:<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Gaontebale Nodoba, "Narratives from Robben Island Suffocate the True History of the Liberation Movement" (2012):

[http://www.azapo.org.za/index.php?subaction=showfull&id=1334058316&archive=&start\\_from=&ucat=2&](http://www.azapo.org.za/index.php?subaction=showfull&id=1334058316&archive=&start_from=&ucat=2&). (Accessed 25 March 2013).

<sup>262</sup> Nelson Mandela, 149.

<sup>263</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 231.

<sup>264</sup> Cambridge Dictitinary.Org "Confess" <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/about.html>. (Accessed 25 March 2013).

[T]o admit that you have done something wrong or something that you feel guilty or bad about.

In a similar vein, the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* depicts “confess” as:<sup>265</sup>

[T]o admit something that you feel ashamed or embarrassed about.

Did Mandela soon realise that he had made a *faux pas*? How could his contention be interpreted, especially being made by someone who had on countless occasions accentuated the importance of “collective leadership”? Countless people and organisations partook in the anti-apartheid struggle. They were, each of them in their own way, sources of hope and encouragement when times were dark and there seemed little evidence of any basis for hope. It would therefore be completely disingenuous to assume that all the credit for the downfall of the apartheid system had to be exclusively given to the ANC. In effect, the struggle against apartheid and the attendant democratisation of South Africa epitomised “collective leadership”.

### 1.15 State of the Nation Address - 6 February 1998

In his penultimate speech as South Africa's President, Mandela emphasised the centrality of “collective leadership”, not only between Government and the Alliance partners or between the ANC and other political parties, but between the ANC Government and the citizenry. Arguing that ordinary South Africans had to be “their own liberators”, he stated:<sup>266</sup>

We know too well that on our own we cannot succeed. We know that the programmes of Government are not the panacea for all the ills of our terrible

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<sup>265</sup> A.S. Horby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary: International Student's Edition, 7<sup>th</sup> Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>266</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address by President of the Republic, 6 February”, *Joint Sittings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1998): 3.

past. They are but a platform for South Africans to let their strength shine through. By our own pronouncements and actions, we could relate to these citizens as passive recipients of “Government delivery”, as if Government were a force on high. Worse still, we could turn our constituents into passive critics, their own rationality drowned in the chorus of regret that the past has passed. On both accounts, this would be a recipe for sure failure.

Mandela was quick to point out that even though he was advocating for the active citizenry, his call did not absolve the ANC Government from its constitutional obligations. It still had to render services to the citizenry. In this regard, he cited some of the inroads that his Government had made in line with fulfilling its mandate:<sup>267</sup>

Last year we increased the supply of clean and accessible water from 700 000 to 1,3 million South Africans [Applause.] We have surpassed our plans to build or upgrade 500 clinics last year; and the primary school feeding scheme reaches 4,9 million children. [Applause.] From 250 000 in 1996, we are in line to make 421 000 telephone connections this financial year, making life that much easier for millions of South Africans. [Applause.] With more than 400 000 electricity connections in 1997 alone, today South Africa has reached a 58% electrification level, so millions can have light. [Applause.]

Arguing that those who were previously disadvantaged were of the view that under the ANC Government their lives were “a lot better”, Mandela drew an unwarranted inference:<sup>268</sup>

But they also say, and are justified in saying so, that what has been done is not enough not because they expect the legacy of centuries of colonialism to be eradicated in a few years, as we ourselves have said on countless occasions

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<sup>267</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 3.

<sup>268</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 4.

before, not because they are frustrated with Government, but they appreciate that together we need to do much more, over many years, to realise a truly just and prosperous society. [Interjections.] [Applause.] *They do recognise that in this Government they have a serious, committed and caring institution, a Government that they can call their own* [emphasis added.]

A question may be asked with regard to the latter part of Mandela's contention. On what basis did he come to the conclusion that South Africans perceived the ANC Government as a "serious committed and caring institution" and "a Government that they can call their own"? Had any opinion survey been conducted to support his assertion?

Probably, in an attempt to silence his critics or dissuade them from not being too harsh when they criticised the ANC Government, Mandela had recourse to the commonplace of maxim. In this regard, he argued:<sup>269</sup>

From time to time incidents do happen which bring out, in bold relief, the enormity of the challenges we face. *As the saying goes, one falling tree makes more noise than millions that are growing.* [emphasis added] [Applause.] As such, for both good reasons and bad, occasional problems are seized upon by our detractors as the stock-in-trade of this Government, as the essence of democracy.

What was noticeable throughout Mandela's speech was the dual role that he played. He strove to present both sides of the same coin. On the one hand, he argued that his Government had made progress. On the other hand, he conceded that there were some shortcomings. He seemed to believe that the critics of the ANC Government focused largely on the latter and downplayed the achievements made.

As Mandela sought to convince his audience that this propensity was "unfair" or "unjust", some in his audience might have argued that he was being

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<sup>269</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 4.

defensive. Referring to addressing the challenges concerning the disbursement of old age pensions, Mandela told his interlocutors:<sup>270</sup>

What has not received much public coverage is the fact that the problems we experienced recently derived from the fact that, firstly, the audit of our newly integrated system is not only eliminating “ghosts” but has also identified people who were callously refused these pensions under the apartheid system and its bantustan offshoots [Interjections]. They are today on the roll, and it was decided that their right to back pay could not be disregarded.

What one observes in the aforementioned paragraph is the application of *logos*.<sup>271</sup> The crux of Mandela’s argument was that the challenge that the democratic Government had to grapple with was two-pronged. On the one hand, during the apartheid dispensation a certain number of non-existent senior citizens (“ghosts”) had been on the payroll and unduly received old age pensions. On the other hand, there were many South Africans who were eligible for old age pension but who had been deprived of it. Having assumed power, the democratic Government had to cater for all the country’s eligible elderly citizens. The task for the democratic Government therefore was to get rid of those “ghosts”, while ensuring that all those eligible senior citizens received their old age pensions. Doing that had implications for the pace of service delivery.

The persuasive effect of Mandela’s argument hinged on which side of the fence his interlocutors stood. As stated earlier, the members of his audience who were on the opposition benches might have attributed it to nothing but the mere ineptitude on the part of the ANC-led Government. Conversely, others – perceivably these would largely be ANC members – would have averred that Mandela’s

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<sup>270</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 4.

<sup>271</sup> *Logos* is one of the artistic modes of persuasion that were identified by Aristotle. It seeks to show the probability of what is said by logical argument. See Aristotle, *On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civil Discourse*, Translated with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 111.

argument made a logical sense. They would have concurred that the challenges that the ANC Government was confronted with were enormous and therefore ample time was needed to resolve them.<sup>272</sup> In rhetorical parlance, Mandela appealed to *pathos*. He sought to establish in his interlocutors a state of reception for his argument. Alternatively, Mandela might have no interest in persuading those in the opposition benches. He might have been merely addressing himself to the ANC members and supporters. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca observe:<sup>273</sup>

He [an orator] may perfectly well disregard a portion of them [his interlocutors]: a government spokesman in Parliament may give up any hope of convincing the opposition, even before he begins to speak, and may be satisfied with getting the adherence of his majority.

Mandela attempted to assure his audience that the ANC was on top of the situation:<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> A statement by the SACP bears testimony to this. Arguing in defence of the ANC Government, the party asserted:

The SACP rejects with contempt the demoralisation campaign waged by the opposition forces in our country, who attempt to suggest that “nothing has changed”. There are major changes underway. Where there has been slowness, and lack of effective change, this has most often had little to do with our liberation movement, and everything to do with the real constraints of our situation, and with the active blockage and spoiling to which minority forces in our society continue to resort”, See South African Communist Party, “Central Committee Political Report: SACP 10<sup>th</sup> Congress” (July 1998): <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?include=10thcongress/ccpolitical.html>. (Accessed 10 April 2013).

<sup>273</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 19.

<sup>274</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 5.

Through co-operation between national Government and the provincial governments concerned, we shall ensure that these problems are dealt with methodically and with a ruthless determination.

Though Mandela gave a course of action to be followed to attend to the identified challenges, it was devoid of the relevant details. This disadvantaged his argument from being persuasive. It begged a question as to what he meant by “methodically” and “ruthless determination”.

Mandela also touched on a very contentious issue, especially from the point of view of organised labour, namely, retrenchment. Contending that the ANC had inherited a bloated public service and that this therefore warranted retrenchment, Mandela proceeded:<sup>275</sup>

This year we shall go into this question without equivocation. Frankly put, we shall need to start comprehensive discussions with the unions on retrenchment in accordance with the provisions of our labour laws. These negotiations will need to take into account the principle that the shedding of jobs in the Public Service does not necessarily have to translate into worsening the problem of unemployment.

Workers are the *raison d'être* of trade unions. Indeed, there can be no trade unions without workers. In the South African context, COSATU plays a pivotal role insofar as it mobilises its membership to vote for the ANC during the elections. Though, in practice, some COSATU members do vote for other political parties, COSATU remains a crucial electoral base for the ANC. It is against this backdrop that COSATU is an influential member of the Tripartite Alliance. Whenever an ANC Government introduces a labour-related policy, COSATU automatically has a vested interest in it as such a policy has a bearing on the economic well-being of its members.

When Mandela undertook to have “comprehensive discussions with the unions on retrenchment”, he understood very well that retrenchment risked raising

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<sup>275</sup> Nelson Mandela, 6-7.



the ire of organised labour and it would be up in arms. A closer examination of COSATU's reaction suggests that the Alliance partner found some resonance with Mandela's argument only to the extent that the public service needed to be reviewed. Speaking at the Finance Week Business Breakfast in July 1998, the then COSATU's General Secretary, Mbhazima Shilowa, had observed:<sup>276</sup>

The public service [...] needs to be fundamentally restructured. Creating the conditions for a sustainable public service will pave the way for job creation and retention.

With regard to Mandela's view on retrenchment, in particular, COSATU posited:<sup>277</sup>

We are of the view that restructuring, particularly of public sector staffing levels, needs to be done in a way which enhances service delivery and transformation rather than retarding it. There should not be a mechanical approach to retrenchments which may, for example, lead to more clinics and schools, with fewer nurses and teachers to staff them. The victims of such retrenchments would probably be such public sector workers engaged in service delivery, and poor communities; and not the apartheid-era bureaucrats who are soaking up public money. *COSATU would strongly oppose mechanical approach to retrenchments, together with our public sector unions* [emphasis added]

Evidently, on the restructuring of the public service front, there was, as Shilowa called it, "a meeting of minds between the leadership of the Alliance".<sup>278</sup> This then set

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<sup>276</sup>Mbhazima Shilowa, "Address to the Finance Week Business Breakfast" (30 July 1998): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=651>. (Accessed 09 April 2013).

<sup>277</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, "Submission on the Draft White Paper on Affirmative Action Policy in the Public Service: Presented to the Portfolio Committee on Public Service" (9 February 1998): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=797>. (Accessed 09 April 2013).

a stage for argumentation to take place. Indeed, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca note:<sup>279</sup>

To engage in argument, a person must attach some importance to gaining the adherence of his interlocutor, to securing his assent, his mental cooperation.

COSATU argued further:<sup>280</sup>

The question of staffing of the public service needs to be directly related to the question of whether staffing matches the actual delivery needs in any area. Historically the apartheid state may have over-governed the majority, but chronically under-serviced them. Where there is understaffing in critical areas of delivery, there needs to be an actual expansion of personnel, or upsizing. Where a bloated bureaucracy exists, however, this clearly needs to be cut back, or downsized. There is still an absence of accurate data on the staff profile of the public service and an audit, identifying areas of wastage has yet to be done.

Mandela recognised the importance of trade unions, as far as the restructuring of public service and retrenchment were concerned. Using the rhetorical mode of persuasion, *pathos*, he explicitly expressed his willingness to engage with them. To the trade unions, acknowledging their centrality in dealing with these issues might have indicated that he valued them and understood that to them these were bread-and-butter issues. They might have felt that he empathised and valued them.

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<sup>278</sup>Sam Shilowa, "Challenges of the Transition: A COSATU Perspective" (28 January 1995): <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv02424/04lv02730/05lv03005/06lv03006/07lv03096/08lv03101.htm>. (Accessed 09 April 2013).

<sup>279</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 16.

<sup>280</sup> Sam Shilowa, *ibid.*

To further illustrate that the ANC Government was committed to responding to the plight of the unemployed and alleviating poverty, Mandela told his interlocutors:<sup>281</sup>

One would not be exaggerating if one said that given its impact on everything else we do as a nation, including crime prevention, reconciliation and the very survival of democracy, the jobs [*sic*] summit is perhaps the most important event since our first democratic elections, an important launching pad for a determined national drive as we move into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The job summit finally took place on 30 October 1998. Depicted by COSATU as “a watershed event” and commenting on its outcomes and the reservations it had initially had, the trade union sang praises:<sup>282</sup>

COSATU had expressed concerns that the summit may become a jamboree of a talk shop whose main focus would be the song and dance by business to scrap the LRA [Labour Relations Act] BCEA [Basic Conditions of Employment Act] and a call for yet to be defined labour market flexibility [...]. We can now pronounce without a fear of any contradiction that the Job Summit was not a talk shop, a publicity stunt meant to deceive the unemployment [*sic*] that something was being done while people stuck to sterile anti workers ideology.

Similarly, the SACP was satisfied with what had transpired during the job submit:<sup>283</sup>

The Job Summit was an important mile-stone. It helped to focus real economic debate upon the real economy, and particularly on critical areas like

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<sup>281</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 8.

<sup>282</sup> Congress of South of South African Trade Unions, “Jobs Submit Holds Hope for Thousands of Jobs” (November 1998): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/docs/misc/1998/cb-nov98.htm>. (Accessed 5 April 2012).

<sup>283</sup> South African Communist Party, “Message from the Central Committee: Job Summit”, *Umsebenzi*, November/ December (1998): <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=2547>. (Accessed 5 April 2012).

industrial strategy, infrastructural development, new housing initiatives and training. The Job Summit also successfully avoided the agenda of those who hoped to use it to bash the unions, and to focus narrowly on labour market “flexibility”.

If the views expressed by the Alliance partners were anything to go by, then the job summit was one of those instances where the “collective leadership” of the Tripartite Alliance was at play. The ANC, as the leading partner of the Alliance, had canvassed the views of its allies on the subject matter. Eventually, all the Alliance partners were of the opinion that their participation in the summit had been meaningful and that their contributions had been given serious consideration.

Mandela’s appraisal of the ANC performance in Government also underlined some hurdles that still remained:<sup>284</sup>

Many children still study under trees and in dilapidated buildings. Many schools are hollow shells without even the most basic equipment for normal teaching. Many teachers do not have the capacity to transmit knowledge in a professional manner, and some simply do not see it as their civic duty to relocate to areas in need. [Applause].

This is an appeal to *pathos*. Some of Mandela’s interlocutors could identify with what he was saying. They might have seen children studying “under trees and in dilapidated buildings”. They might have seen or read about schools “without even the most basic equipment for normal teaching”. If they were not acquainted with these conditions, Mandela sought to use these images to paint a picture that inequalities in the country continued to exist.

However, Mandela was quick to point out that it was not all doom and gloom. Notwithstanding some shortcomings, there was a cause for celebration:<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address by President of the Republic, 6 February”, *Joint Sittings of Both Houses of Parliament* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1998): 11.

<sup>285</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.* 11.

There are inexcusable and unacceptable delays in the supply of textbooks which derive from poor management and shoddy tendering deals, not to mention the nonexistence [*sic*] or malfunctioning of many school governing bodies. Yet when all is said and done, many schools in disadvantaged areas have shown that serious application to duty by school authorities and the students can bring positive results. We pay tribute to these heroes. [Applause].

The last part of Mandela's argument was cast in the same mould as his nation building project. Applying epideictic rhetoric, he praised "school authorities and the students" who had achieved "positive results" against all odds. Mandela's laudatory remarks were intended to inculcate the mentality that with determination and positive attitude, nothing was impossible. Given the trials and tribulations that he had personally gone through in his life, Mandela's argument stood a better chance of being credible and persuasive.

### **1.16 State of the Nation Address – 5 February 1999**

This was Mandela's last State of the Nation Address. As was customary, Mandela delivered his speech at the joint sitting of the National Assembly (NA) and the National Council of Provinces (NCOP) of Parliament. The joint sitting is normally a ceremony of state at which the three arms of the state – the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislature (Parliament) – come together in one place. The State of the Nation Address is a state occasion and is a key event on the country's parliamentary and political calendar.

However, it should be borne in mind that the State of the Nation Address is not a constitutional imperative. Commenting on both the State of the Nation Address and the joint sitting of Parliament, Salazar compendiously points out:<sup>286</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Philippe-Joseph Salazar, "The Joint Sitting of Parliament, 15 April 2003: A Rhetorical View of the Reparation Debate" in Erik Doxtader and Charles Villa-Vicencio, (eds.) *To Repair the Irreparable: Reparation and Reconstruction in South Africa* (Claremont: David Phillip, 2004): 50.

What is, rhetorically, the ‘state of the nation’? The epithet ‘so-called’ or even ‘self-styled’ is fitting and just, insofar as the Constitution does not provide for the president to address Parliament at its opening, or for any speech at all when the legislature holds its inaugural session – except the Speaker calling the Assembly to order. It can only be found in the Joint Rules and Regulations where we read of an ‘annual or special address’ necessitating that extraordinary rhetorical event.

Salazar proceeds and becomes more explicit:<sup>287</sup>

The mention of an *annual* address is nowhere in the Constitution itself. What are at work are a rhetorical global taken-for-granted and a rhetorical tradition.

As it had become customary of the State of the Nation Address, Mandela gave an overview of his presidency. He started off by arguing that since its assumption of power, the ANC Government had improved the socio-economic conditions of South Africans, particularly the previously disadvantaged. He supported his contention by quoting the findings of the 1996 Census. Using the commonplace of statistics, he asserted:<sup>288</sup>

In 1994, some 30% of South Africans lacked access to a safe supply of water near their homes. Today, after 3 million people have benefited from the Government’s water supply programme, that has been reduced to 20%. In 1994, less than 40% of South African households had electricity. Today, after more than 2 million connections, 63% of households are connected to the electricity grid. [Applause.] In 1994, about a quarter of homes had telephones. Today, after 1,3 million homes have been connected, 35% are linked to the

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<sup>287</sup> Salazar, *ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address by President of the Republic, 5 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1999): 4.

telephone system. [Applause.] This means, on average, that every day since our democratic elections has meant another 1 300 homes electrified, another 750 telephones installed and another 1 700 people gaining access to clean water. Every day!

Countering the possible view that these were mere statistics, Mandela had recourse to the argumentation of illustration. He referred his interlocutors to the testimony of Mrs Gladys Nzilane of Evaton, one of the beneficiaries of the Government's housing programme, who had said:<sup>289</sup>

I hear people on radio and television saying the Government has failed, but I do not believe that. Government has given us life.

While the statistics that Mandela referred to were intended to give examples of what his Government had achieved, the illustration sought to create presence in the consciousness of Mandela's audience.<sup>290</sup> The illustration that Mandela employed unlocked the imagination. It gave his argument a human face. To a person like Mrs Nzilane, what the ANC Government had done was comparable to "life" itself. This was a powerful imagery. A comparison was made to an invaluable gift ("life") that a person can ever confer on anyone.

Mandela also touched on two critical issues (crime and job creation) which had the potential of reversing the gains that he had made as he strove to foster reconciliation and nation building. In this regard, he argued:<sup>291</sup>

Such is the challenge in dealing with the difficult areas of crime and job creation. On both these issues, there is, naturally, public impatience. So the question we need to ask is whether there is a possibility of a strategic and

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<sup>289</sup> Mandela, *ibid.*

<sup>290</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 108.

<sup>291</sup> Nelson Mandela, 6.

visible break with the perception of stagnation. It is not my task, at this last sitting of Parliament, to set out a medium-term and long-term programme, but I feel more than confident in saying that on both accounts – with regard to crime and job creation – there is hope.

Indeed, crime and job creation were matters that various sectors of the South African populace were concerned about. After 1994, South Africa was reputable for being one of the most crime-ridden nations. Indeed, the country had become known as “the crime capital” of the world.<sup>292</sup> It was further argued that the high levels of crime in the country hindered the much-needed foreign investment and contributed to a “brain drain” of white emigrants.<sup>293</sup> It was therefore vital for Mandela to reassure the potential investors and ordinary South Africans that his Government was committed to combating crime. Equally, he had to show compassion to those who were unemployed. In rhetorical terms, talking about issues that were closer to the hearts of his interlocutors had a persuasive appeal of *pathos*. His interlocutors needed to know that the country’s first citizen felt their pain.

What was remarkable in Mandela’s speech was the candidness with which he spoke about crime. The criminal activities that he referred to ranged from the murder of policemen/women to the killings allegedly committed by the members of the self-proclaimed People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD). Mandela depicted some acts committed by PAGAD as “[...] a violent and murderous offensive against ordinary citizens and law-enforcement agencies”.<sup>294</sup>

PAGAD was formed in 1996. Initially, it postured as a community anti-crime group fighting drugs and violence in the Cape Flats in the Western Cape. Predominantly, though not exclusively Muslim, it commenced with a loose

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<sup>292</sup>Sibusiso Masuku “South Africa: Crime Capital?” *Nedbank ISS Crime Index*, 5, 1 (2001): <http://www.iss.org.za/Pubs/CrimeIndex/01Vol5No1/World.html>. (Accessed 13 May 2013).

<sup>293</sup> Gilbert A. Lewthwaite, “Mandela Celebrates Fourth Anniversary of his Government: South African Leader Declares War on Crime, Nation’s New Oppressor” (28 April 1998): [http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1998-04-28/news/1998118129\\_1\\_south-africa-mandela-war-on-crime](http://articles.baltimoresun.com/1998-04-28/news/1998118129_1_south-africa-mandela-war-on-crime). (Accessed 5 April 2013).

<sup>294</sup> Nelson Mandela, 6.



organisational structure and an informal, collective style of leadership.<sup>295</sup> However, PAGAD increasingly took matters into its own hands arguing that the police were not taking enough action against gangs. Consequently, it was transformed from being an anti-crime movement into “an urban terror group”.<sup>296</sup> The organisation threatened not only the State’s monopoly on the use of coercive force but the very foundations of constitutional democracy. The threat of growing vigilantism in 2000 led to the Western Cape Provincial Government to declare “a war on gangs” that became a key priority of the ANC Government at the time.<sup>297</sup>

However at first glance, Mandela appeared to be dismissive and sought to convince his audience that certain strides had been made to reduce the crime rate. Venturing into a somehow conspiratorial argument, he maintained:<sup>298</sup>

There are also deliberate efforts to sensationalise and politicise this issue.

Mandela’s assertion risked eliciting negative reaction from those who had been the victims of crime or who believed that crime was a problem. Consequently, they would have concluded that he was downplaying the issue. However, he hastily backtracked and conceded that there was still room for improvement:<sup>299</sup>

But we are the first to acknowledge that the impatience and dissatisfaction among ordinary people are justified. We can, and shall, break out of this bog. There is hope.

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<sup>295</sup> Bill Dixon & Lisa-Marie Johns, “Gangs, Pagad & the State: Vigilantism and Revenge Violence in the Western Cape” *Violence & Transition Series*, 2 (2001): <http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/gangs/gangspagadstate.pdf>. (Accessed 6 August 2013).

<sup>296</sup> Bill Dixon & Lisa-Marie Johns, *ibid.*

<sup>297</sup> Bill Dixon & Lisa-Marie Johns, *op cit.*

<sup>298</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

<sup>299</sup> Nelson Mandela, *op. cit.*

The fact that Mandela was willing to publicly admit that crime was indeed a problem would have appealed to his interlocutors. He would have (re)gained the ground that he might have lost as he appeared to be on the defensive.

Turning to job creation, Mandela had recourse to epideictic rhetoric as he lauded one of the pillars of the economic programme of his Government. Singling out “the restructuring of state assets”, he argued:<sup>300</sup>

We have taken impressive strides in the restructuring of state assets, *and let us remind ourselves that some of the successes in the provision of service derive directly from this.* [emphasis added]. We are determined to continue with this programme.

Again, using the argument by comparison, Mandela asserted that, contrary to popular belief, South Africans were better off compared to citizens of other developing countries due to the economic policies that his ANC Government was pursuing:<sup>301</sup>

South Africa did not experience what others did, because we have credible and sustainable fiscal and monetary policies combining discipline and flexibility. Despite the difficulties that we have experienced, deriving from the global economy, we have resolved that we shall not cut the social spending required to build a better life for all, including the Poverty Relief Programme that now runs into billions of rands.

Continuing with proving the “uniqueness” of South Africa with regard to job creation, Mandela told his audience about the “unprecedented” initiative that Government, labour, business and communities had embarked on.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Nelson Mandela, 9.

<sup>301</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

<sup>302</sup> Nelson Mandela, 10.

Among the decisions taken there, some of them unprecedented in any country, are: Firstly, the proposal of the trade union movement to mobilise all working people to dedicate a one day's pay to the projects meant to create jobs for our fellow citizens. [Applause.] And today I commit all Ministers and Deputy Ministers in my Government to taking part in this initiative by contributing a day's gross salary. We hope that all levels of Government, Parliament included, and all public and private institutions will do the same. [Applause.]

Secondly, the mobilisation by the business community of funds, which should run into more than R1 billion, for special projects in tourism and skills development. We can take tourism beyond the impressive 8,2% of GDP [Gross Domestic Product] that it has already achieved to create hundreds of thousands of jobs.

The initiative that Mandela spoke about typified the "collective leadership" that was/is common in the ANC's parlance.<sup>303</sup> He used it with a view to inciting his audience into action. He wanted to inspire them and emulate what the trade union had proposed. The enormity of unemployment left no doubt in Mandela's mind that it was only through the collaborative participation of as many people as possible that

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<sup>303</sup> "Collective leadership" was viewed as an ideal form of governance in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and other states espousing communism. Its main thrust was to devolve powers among the Politburo, the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers to guard against any attempts to create a one-man dominance over the Soviet political system by a Soviet leader as it had been the case during Joseph Stalin's reign. The Marxist concept is that leadership is a joint enterprise of the leadership and the led, a joint effort based on common, collective interests, with not only the means being determined by all involved, but also the ultimate ends. However, commentators have expressed scepticism about the empirical substance of the doctrine of collective Communist leadership. They deny the reality of collective decision-making save as a transitory and unstable phenomenon which might emerge during succession crisis and then quickly vanish again. See Thomas A. Baylis, *Towards a Curriculum for Being: Voices of Educators* (Albany: State University of New York, 1989): 92.

it could be managed.<sup>304</sup> The words that he had uttered in his speech to the Free State leadership of the ANC resonated with this initiative. On that occasion, he had told his interlocutors:<sup>305</sup>

I hold the firm belief that the ““collective leadership”” that you provide to various communities in this province before, during and after the elections, will assure us of success in the task of reconstruction and development.

Mandela’s last State of the Nation Address will go down in the annals of history as one of the rare instances where an ANC leader did some serious introspection and publicly admitted that, at times, his own party was a hindrance to the very reconstruction and development that the ANC espoused. Singling out corruption as a posing a serious threat to the ANC’s moral high ground, Mandela argued:<sup>306</sup>

Our hope for the future depends also on our resolution, as a nation, in dealing with the scourge of corruption. Success will require an acceptance that in many respects we are a sick society. It is perfectly correct to assert that all this was spawned by apartheid. No amount of self-induced amnesia will change this reality of history. [Applause.]

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<sup>304</sup> At this juncture, the unemployment rate was one of the highest in the world. Indeed, estimates put it between 25 and 35% (35-45% for Africans) in 1999 in terms of the broad definition. Two definitions of unemployment are commonly utilised, namely, the narrow and broad. The narrow definition denotes people who are not employed but who have looked for work in the seven days. The broad definition refers to the narrow unemployed plus those who say they want to work but have not looked for work in the past week. See Richard Calland (ed.), *The First Five Years: A Review of South Africa’s Democratic Parliament* (Cape Town: IDASA): 7; Stephan Klasen and Ingrid Woolard, “Levels, Trends, and Consistency of Employment and Unemployment Figures in South Africa”, *Development Southern Africa* 16, 1 (1999): 3; StatsSA, *Unemployment and Employment in South Africa* (StatsSA, Pretoria: 1998).

<sup>305</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Speech before Free State Leaders” (17 September 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3680>. (Accessed 29 April 2013).

<sup>306</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Address by President of the Republic, 5 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 1999): 13.

The rhetorical technique that Mandela employed in the above paragraph when he asserted that “all this [corruption] was spawned by apartheid” was the past as a commonplace. Commenting on this commonplace, Corbett states that:<sup>307</sup>

Where past fact cannot be established empirically, deductive reasoning takes over and, arguing from probable premises, draws more or less probable conclusions.

Granted, Mandela did not provide any evidence that apartheid had a direct bearing on a democratic South Africa. However, he drew an analogy between apartheid and the democratic South Africa with a view to demonstrating that corruption was not a new phenomenon. What was different, though, was that during the democratic dispensation Mandela – in his capacity as the head of the state – publicly acknowledged that corruption was indeed a problem. This was in stark contrast to the apartheid era where transparency and accountability were foreign concepts. Judge Dennis Davis bears testimony to this:<sup>308</sup>

Unquestionably Apartheid was the very essence of a corrupt system of governance [...]

More interestingly, Mandela disabused himself of the propensity to attribute all the country’s social ills to apartheid (what had become a common practice in ANC circles). Maintaining that his own “comrades” were also not immune to corruption, he argued:<sup>309</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Edward P.J Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 122.

<sup>308</sup> Dennis Davis, “Corruption and Transparency” (2010): <http://www.opendemocracy.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/Corruption-and-Transparencyby-Judge-Dennis-Davis.pdf>. (Accessed 29 April 2013).

<sup>309</sup> Nelson Mandela, 13.

But it is also a reality of the present that among the new cadres in various levels of government one finds individuals who are as corrupt as – if not more than – those they found in government. [Applause.] When a leader in a provincial legislature siphons off resources meant to fund services by legislators to the people or when employees of a Government institution set up to help empower those who were excluded by apartheid defraud it for their own enrichment, then we must admit that we are a sick society.

Mandela contended that corruption was so endemic and was not only confined to the political sphere or the public service. On the contrary, it was present in all facets of life:<sup>310</sup>

This problem manifests itself in all areas of life. More often than not, it is businesspeople who launder funds to curry favour with public servants; it is ordinary citizens who seek to buy themselves out of trouble; it is strange religious leaders who sing the praises of criminals or hoard land acquired by the foul means of apartheid.

In Mandela's view, corruption was a vice. It was shameful. To address this scourge, he proffered that South Africa needed the "RDP of the Soul".<sup>311</sup> When Mandela spoke about the "RDP of the Soul", he was being metaphorical. He drew an analogy between the efforts that had to be put into the fight against corruption and those that South Africans in all walks of life had been called upon to make in the reconstruction and development of South Africa. He appealed to his audience to show the same degree of zeal that they had shown when they had been invited to support the RDP.

This showed how serious Mandela viewed the extent of the problem posed by corruption. Alternatively, this was the impression that he wanted to create in the minds of his audience. Mandela infused his discourse with a moral character and it

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<sup>310</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

<sup>311</sup> Nelson Mandela, 14.

therefore had an ethical appeal. He sought his interlocutors to do some soul-searching or introspection.

### **1.17 Speech at the Final Sitting of the First Democratically Elected Parliament – 26 March 1999**

A farewell speech is very often an emotional affair. It is accompanied by mixed feelings. It is a moment of reflection. One is both sad and happy to leave. Perhaps more important is to inspire one's audience that it is not the end of the world. One urges his/her interlocutors to look into the future with optimism. This is what Mandela sought to capture. This can be seen when he said:<sup>312</sup>

Though there is sadness in leave-taking, I am filled with contentment by the sound of voices that I have heard in the many debates that I have attended in this National Assembly, in the Senate, and its successor, the National Council of Provinces.

Yesterday's debate on issues affecting Afrikaners and other communities was no exception. Among the principles which the liberation movement pursued from the beginning of negotiations was that out of any debate we must emerge stronger and more united, and that there should be no winners or losers.

Assuaging the anxieties of those who might have viewed his departure as the end of the "rainbow era", Mandela assured his audience:<sup>313</sup>

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, whom we all expect to be the President of South Africa exemplifies this approach which is critical to the unity of our

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<sup>312</sup> Nelson Mandela, "Speech at the Final Sitting of the First Democratically Elected Parliament" (26 March 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/990326530p1004.htm>. (Accessed 1 April 2013).

<sup>313</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

country. I call on all to give their support to his leadership, across all political parties.

His and other voices are those of a new generation of leaders that are emerging in answer to new historical challenges.

They are the voices of good men and women who exist in all communities and all parties, and who define themselves as leaders by their capacity to identify the issues that unite us as a nation.

Mandela's assertion qualifies as *apologia*, which is defined as a speech of defence.<sup>314</sup> Mandela used this technique with a view to justifying his quitting the presidency after having served only one term. Indeed, in the eyes of some, Mandela's exit from active politics would have come as a surprise and would have been justifiably viewed as premature. The underlying message of Mandela's statement was that although he was leaving, he was leaving behind a calibre of leaders, across all political parties, who were capable of putting the national interests ahead of politics and therefore there was no need to despair. Mandela's assertion would have had an ethical appeal given that he was held in high esteem by all his interlocutors across the political spectrum.

Equally important in a farewell speech is to respond to the question whether as one departs or when his/her term of office expires, has he/she achieved what he/she has set out to do. Has he/she done what he/she has been mandated to do? Mandela was no exception and he attempted to respond to this question. Capturing the prevailing mood as he delivered his speech, Mandela told his audience:<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>314</sup> Halford Ryan, "The Rhetoric of George Washington's Farewell Address" *Speaker and Gravel*, 38 (2001): 4.

<sup>315</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*



But this day is a moment of deep significance for all of us whom the people of South Africa have entrusted with representing their needs and interests, their aspirations and hope.

The fundamental question that Mandela and the ANC Government had to respond to was whether they had created “a better life for all”. In Mandela’s view, his Government was on a path to realise this goal.<sup>316</sup>

In brief, we have laid a foundation for a better life. Things that were unimaginable a few years ago have become everyday reality. And of this we must be proud.

In support of his argument, he had recourse to the argumentation by example. Citing some of the achievements made during his term of office, he said:<sup>317</sup>

Look at the work of the nation’s representatives when they formed themselves into a Constitutional Assembly. [...] Look at the one hundred laws on average that have been passed by this legislature each year. [...] Look at the work of committees that have scrutinised legislation and improved it, posed difficult questions of the executive and given public insight and oversight of government as never before. *This is the record in which we can take pride.* [emphasis added]

It is worth noting that the praise that Mandela gave as regards the ANC’s track record in Government extended to the activities of parliamentary Committees. With the dawn of the democratic dispensation, parliamentary Committees were, for the first time in South Africa’s history, open to the press and public. They became the

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<sup>316</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

“engine room” of the South African Parliament.<sup>318</sup> They became responsible for drafting legislation, examining and reviewing proposals submitted to them by the Executive. Moreover, parliamentary Committees held Ministers and their departmental chiefs (accounting officers) to account. At the heart of these engagements were robust and rigorous exchanges of points of view as legislators strove to ensure that what was being proposed had to improve the socio-economic conditions of the populace. Equally, the departmental chiefs had to justify why they had taken a particular stance on a particular issue.

It is worth recalling that the transition to democracy in South Africa was characterised by consensus-seeking and the politics of negotiation. This, in turn, was expected to rub-off onto the parliamentary Committees where cross-party work thrived and where the ANC rarely needed to use its majority. As Mandela had once told his audience in a speech marking his 100 days in office:<sup>319</sup>

What is crucial, however, is that we have forged an enduring national consensus on the interim constitution and the broad objectives of reconstruction and development. The consensus is neither an imposition of one party over others; nor a honeymoon premised on the fickle whims of a fleeting romance. What brings us together is the overriding commitment to a joint national effort to reconcile our nation and improve its well-being.

As they discharge their responsibilities, members of the parliamentary Portfolio Committees are expected to put their party political views aside and be objective. Above everything else, they are expected to seek to attain the greater good for the society at large. Moreover, the Constitution gives Parliament a wide constitutional mandate and extensive powers which comprise:<sup>320</sup>

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<sup>318</sup>Richard Calland (ed.), *The First Five Years: A Review of South Africa's First Democratic Parliament* (Cape Town, IDASA, 1999):29.

<sup>319</sup>Nelson Mandela, “President’s Budget Debate” (18 August 1994): [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern\\_Political/Mandel\\_100.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern_Political/Mandel_100.html). (Accessed 4 June 2013).

<sup>320</sup> Richard Calland (ed.), *ibid.* 9

- Initiating legislation that promotes socio-economic rights;
- Ensuring that draft legislation coming from the Executive conforms to the Constitution and is effective in promoting socio-economic rights;
- Exercising oversight over socio-economic spending and budget reprioritisation;
- Exercising oversight over the development of socio-economic policy;
- Exercising oversight over the implementation of socio-economic legislation and policy;
- Helping determine the normative content of socio-economic constitutional rights; and
- Supporting and strengthening local government in delivering basic services.

Parliamentary Committees provide a platform for the public to present its views directly to the Members of Parliament, something which is not possible in a plenary sitting of Parliament. The inputs that the members of the public make as they interact with the Portfolio Committees give a sense that they [members of the public] have a power to influence the decisions during the deliberations. The fact that Mandela's praise encompassed the work of these Committees, which are constituted of various political parties, exemplifies the importance that he attached to "collective leadership".<sup>321</sup> The following poetic paragraph attests to this:<sup>322</sup>

Indeed, Madame Speaker, I have noted with deep gratitude, the generous praise that has often been given to me as an individual.

But let me say this:

To the extent that I have been able to achieve anything, I know that this is because I am the product of the people of South Africa.

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<sup>321</sup> Richard Calland notes that during Mandela's presidency (1994-1999), Parliament passed 534 Acts and 14% of these dealt with socio-economic matters. See Richard Calland, *ibid.* 5.

<sup>322</sup> Nelson Mandela, 2-3.

I am the product of the rural masses who inspired in me the pride in our past and the spirit of resistance.

I am the product of the workers of South Africa, in the mines, factories, fields and offices of our country, have pursued the principle that the interests of each are founded in the common interest of all.

I am the product of South Africa's intelligentsia, of every colour, who have laboured to give our society knowledge of itself and to fashion our people's aspirations into a realisable dream.

I am the product of South Africa's business people – in industry and agriculture, commerce and finance – whose spirit of enterprise has helped turn our country's immense natural resources into the wealth of the nation.

To the extent that I have been able to take our country forward to this new era it is because I am the product of the people of the world who have cherished the vision of a better life for all people everywhere. They insisted, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, that that vision should be realised in South Africa too. They gave us hope because we knew by their solidarity that our ideas could not be silenced since they were the ideas of all humanity.

When Mandela continuously told his audience that "I am the product" of various role-players in their various capacities, he employed a rhetorical advice called anaphora. Involving the repetition of a word or phrase several times – usually at the beginning of the phrase – anaphora strives to instil in the audience the importance of the statement.<sup>323</sup> In Mandela's case, the use of anaphora was aimed at dispelling the

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<sup>323</sup>Francesca Morizio, "The State of the Rhetoric" (7 February 2012): <http://www.theeagleonline.com/opinion/story/the-state-of-the-rhetoric/> : accessed 5 June 2013.

myth of portraying him as unique or being a “saint.”<sup>324</sup> Anaphora is effective due to how the human mind functions. By repeatedly saying “I am the product”, what Mandela was saying would be ingrained in the minds of his interlocutors. This was so despite the fact that he did not elaborate on how he was “the product” of these various role-players.

Mandela employed this rhetorical technique as he argued that the praise that was often conferred on him derived, in effect, from the actions of multiple role-players. This was appropriate as Mandela’s last speech was predominantly epideictic or ceremonial. As Aristotle highlighted, some of the useful ways of magnifying or heightening the effect of praise are to:<sup>325</sup>

1. Show that a person is the *first* and or the *only* one or almost the only one to do something.
2. Show that a person has done something *better* than anyone else, for superiority of any kind is thought to reveal excellence.
3. Show that a person has *often* achieved the same success, for frequency will indicate that the success was due not to chance but to the person’s own powers.
4. Show the *circumstances* under which a person accomplished something, for it will redound more to a person’s credit if it can be shown that he or she accomplished something under, for instance, adverse circumstances.
5. *Compare* the person to other famous people, for the praise of a person will be magnified if we can show that this person has equalled or surpassed other renowned people.

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<sup>324</sup> Indeed, upon his release from prison, Mandela categorically told his audience that he was “[...] not a prophet but [...] a humble servant of [the people].” See Nelson Mandela, “Remarks by Nelson Mandela at in Cape Town after His Release from Victor Verster” (11 February 1990): <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv03445/04lv04015/05lv04154/06lv04191.htm> . (Accessed 8 August 2013).

<sup>325</sup> Quoted in Edward P.J Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 142.

Mandela's words were cast in the same mould as those he had uttered in his address as the outgoing President of the ANC in 1997 in Mafikeng, in the North-West. On that occasion and acknowledging the contributions that other ANC leaders had made, he said:<sup>326</sup>

As we hand over the baton, it is appropriate that I should thank the ANC for shaping me as such a symbol of what it stands for. I know the love and respect that I have enjoyed is love and respect for the ANC and its ideals. I know that the world wide appreciation of South Africa's miracle and the dignity of its people is appreciation, first and foremost, of the work of the ANC.

He proceeded and stated:<sup>327</sup>

All these giants and more – the living and the dead – were the band of comrades who not only compensated for my own weaknesses, but they also assigned me tasks where my strengths could go and thrive. *What I am today is because of them; it is because of the ANC; it is because of the Tri-partite [sic] Alliance* [my emphasis].

Both Mandela's last speeches – in his capacities as the President of South Africa and the ANC – had one thing in common: his humility. Despite all his notable accomplishments which included, *inter alia*, a Nobel Peace Prize, he maintained that he was part of the leadership collective and never sought to place himself above others. He consistently tried to deflect the attention from himself as he relentlessly tried to convince his interlocutors that his contribution was equal to that of other various actors:<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>326</sup>Nelson Mandela, "50<sup>th</sup> National Conference: Closing Address" (20 December 1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2445>. (Accessed 5 September 2012).

<sup>327</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

<sup>328</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to all the parties represented in this Parliament for their contribution to the progress we have made. Though we have our differences, often important and sometimes profound, we have as a collective demonstrated our overriding commitment to the new order that we have together established. You have ensured that this Parliament is no rubber stamp in the hands of government and given birth to a new democratic political culture.

It was vital for Mandela to reassure those who might have had doubts that he was leaving the country in capable hands. The fact that he acknowledged the contributions made by “all parties [...] in Parliament” would have allayed the fears of those who might have thought that this was the end of his nation building and reconciliation efforts. He wanted to inculcate the belief that presiding over a country was not a one-man/woman’s effort. There was a need to assure his interlocutors that there was, at least in theory, some degree of unanimity across all parties on the political trajectory that the country had taken or was taking.

## **1.18 Conclusion**

It can be deduced that during his presidency, Mandela tried everything in his power to ensure that as many South Africans as possible, irrespective of their political affiliations or persuasions, felt that the democratic South Africa was also theirs. He wanted to make them feel that they mattered and that their views counted. Undoubtedly, his reconciliation and nation building efforts could not have succeeded if certain sectors of South Africa had felt alienated. When and where this appeared to be the case, Mandela would reassure those aggrieved that they were valued and that South Africa was their home too. He led by example or, at least, he tried to. His ability to forgive his former captors and his willingness to work with them went a long way towards persuading South Africans from all walks of life that they had to contribute, in one way or the other, to the well-being of a democratic South Africa.

However, Mandela could not take kindly to those he perceived to be derailing or undermining his nation building and reconciliation project. His swipe at Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the alleged perpetration of violence in KwaZulu-Natal was a case in point. Perhaps more importantly, almost throughout his presidency, Mandela encouraged those who differed with him to freely do so as long as this was aimed at bettering South Africa.



## CHAPTER 2

### 2.1 A cursory Look at Thabo Mbeki's Presidency

Thabo Mbeki has been depicted as an independent and original thinker.<sup>329</sup> When he succeeded Nelson Mandela as the President of a democratic South Africa in 1999, there was a generally-held view that Mbeki's political leadership was just what the nascent post-apartheid South Africa needed.<sup>330</sup>

The South African President is not directly elected by the electorate, but is elected by the Members of the National Assembly from among its Members during its first sitting. Schedule 3 of the Constitution spells out the procedure that should be followed for the election of the President. In a nutshell, it requires that the nomination of the candidate/s to be elected as President must be presided over by the country's Chief Justice. Once a nomination has been submitted on the prescribed form and duly seconded, a person who is nominated must indicate acceptance of the nomination.

The Chief Justice then announces the name/s of the person/s who has/have been nominated as candidate/s, but may not permit any debate.<sup>331</sup> If there is more than one nominee, a secret ballot is cast and a person who receives the most number of votes becomes the President. When elected as a President, a Member ceases to be a Member of the National Assembly. The person elected as President is entrusted with, among other things, maintaining the supremacy of the Constitution as the guiding

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<sup>329</sup> Malaika Wa Azania, "Thabo Mbeki Africa Day Lecture 2012: The Birth of Intellectualised Rhetoric and the Death of Revolutionary Ideas" (2012): <http://penandazanianrevolution.blogspot.com/2012/06/thabo-mbeki-africa-day-lecture-birth-of.html> : accessed 5 September 2012.

<sup>330</sup> Alec Russel, "Thabo Mbeki: Aloof Leader who Fell from Grace" (2008): <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/0433e6b6-87d3-11dd-b114-0000779fd18c.html#axzz1RmW86Xen>. (Accessed 5 September 2012).

<sup>331</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996: 53.

law of the country. In addition, the President is mandated with promoting the unity and interests of the nation.<sup>332</sup>

Touted as “Africa’s Renaissance man”, Mbeki was determined to make Africa – as a whole – stable, democratic and less poor.<sup>333</sup> A lot was expected of him. Indeed, the then President of the United States, George Bush, once called him America’s “point man” in Africa.<sup>334</sup> Conversely, Mbeki’s critics described him as enigmatic, aloof and arrogant.<sup>335</sup> Others viewed him as paranoid. Confirming this (mis)perception, Mondli Makhanya, an editor of the *Sunday Times*, notes:<sup>336</sup>

His is a feared pen, full of anger and invective [...] Mbeki’s writings betray a person who believes he is powerless. They are laments of weakness and victimhood. Of conspiracy and fear. They betray a mind that is permanently on a war footing.

Whether these were accurate characterisations or not, Thabo Mbeki as the President of both the ANC and South Africa left a lasting imprint on the country’s political landscape. He is accredited, *inter alia*, with the founding of institutions like the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, (NEPAD)<sup>337</sup>, as well as the African Union

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<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>333</sup> Adekeye Abajo, “Africa’s Renaissance Man”, (n.d.): <http://www.crasc-dz.org/IMG/ARB%20Pdf/Africas%20Renaissance%20Man%20by%20Adekeya%20Adebajo.pdf>. (Accessed 5 September 2012).

<sup>334</sup> Tim Butcher, “Bush Gives Way to South Africa over Call to Topple ‘Evil’ Mugabe Regime” (2003): <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/expat/expatnews/4188518/Bush-gives-way-to-South-Africa-over-call-to-topple-evil-Mugabe-regime.html>. (Accessed 5 September 2012).

<sup>335</sup> William M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 34.

<sup>336</sup> Quoted in “Thabo Mbeki: A Man of Two Faces” (Special Report), *The Economist* (2005): <http://www.economist.com/node/3576543>. (Accessed 05 September 2012).

<sup>337</sup> NEPAD is depicted as “[...] an African Union strategic framework for pan-African socio-economic development [...]”. It is also a “[...] radically new intervention, spearheaded by African leaders to address critical challenges facing the continent: poverty, development and Africa’s marginalisation internationally”. See New Partnership for Africa’s Development, “About NEPAD”:

(AU).<sup>338</sup> In the words of Frank Chikane, a former Director-General in both Mandela's and Mbeki's presidencies, Mandela had this to say about his successor (Mbeki):<sup>339</sup>

[...] no president or prime minister in South Africa's history could 'claim to have done more for the people and the country' than Mbeki. Mandela went on to say that Mbeki was 'a modest man and I know he would prefer that I do not sing his personal praises, but his achievements as president and national leader is the embodiment of what our nation is capable of'.

Mbeki's international standing, however, took a knock in 2000 when it emerged that he had questioned the link between HIV and AIDS.<sup>340</sup> He equally courted controversy over his handling of the crisis in the neighbouring Zimbabwe.<sup>341</sup>

## **2.2 Speech on Accepting Election as President of the Republic of South Africa – 14 June 1999**

Following in Mandela's footsteps – someone revered as an international icon and on whom a "saintly" status had been conferred – would have been an almost

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<http://www.nepad.org/about>. (Accessed 5 September 2012). NEPAD was adopted by African Heads of State and Government of the OAU in 2001 and was ratified by the African Union in 2002 to address Africa's development problems within a new paradigm. NEPAD's main objectives are to reduce poverty, put Africa on a sustainable development path, halt the marginalization of Africa, and empower women.

<sup>338</sup>Timothy Burke, "Misrule in Africa: Is NEPAD the Solution?" *Global Dialogue*, 3-4, 6 (2004) <http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=312>. (Accessed 5 September 2012).

<sup>339</sup>Frank Chikane, *Eight Days in September: The Removal of Thabo Mbeki* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2012): 203.

<sup>340</sup>Katherine Furman, "Mbeki's AIDS Denialism" (2011): <http://thinkafricapress.com/south-africa/mbeki-aids-denialism>. (Accessed 06 September 2012).

<sup>341</sup>*The New York Times*, "The Many Failures of Thabo Mbeki" (27 May 2008): [http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/27/opinion/27iht-edmbeki.1.13244922.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/27/opinion/27iht-edmbeki.1.13244922.html?_r=0). (Accessed 5 September 2012).

insurmountable task for anyone. It therefore came as no surprise that some people had some misgivings when Mbeki assumed the mantle of leadership.<sup>342</sup> Chikane's account attests to this:<sup>343</sup>

Famously, when he [Thabo Mbeki] was asked whether he was ready to step into Mandela's shoes his response was, 'I don't want Mandela's shoes. Mandela's shoes are ugly.' [...] What Mbeki intended to indicate is that it was impossible to fit into Mandela's shoes, that he could never be Mandela however hard he tried. [...] Mandela and Mbeki were different personalities and Mbeki just wanted to be himself.

Writing about Mbeki's frustration about the lingering question as to whether he was up to the task of leading the "rainbow nation" that Mandela had created, Gumede states:<sup>344</sup>

At times, the inevitable comparison with Mandela exasperated him [Mbeki] and drove the sensitive to despair. Once he burst out: 'Yes indeed, Mandela has much larger feet. I guess I could go back 27 years, and try going to jail, and then come out and wear funny shirts.

Had those who had doubts about Mbeki's capabilities known that towards the end of Mandela's tenure Mbeki was a de facto President of South Africa, perhaps they would not have had much anxiety. Indeed, Rotberg maintains:<sup>345</sup>

For a year or two, he [Mandela] ran cabinet meetings and gave instructions to his ministers. But Thabo Mbeki, his deputy president and presumed heir,

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<sup>342</sup> Adrian Hadland and Jovial Rantao, *The Life and Times of Thabo Mbeki* (Rivonia: Zebra Press, 1999): 131.

<sup>343</sup> Frank Chikane, *Eight Days in September: The Removal of Thabo Mbeki* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2012): 92-93.

<sup>344</sup> William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 53.

<sup>345</sup> Robert I. Rotberg, *Transformative Political Leadership: Making A Difference in the Developing World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012): 62.

more and more exercised the operational reins of day-to-day government. Mandela concerned himself less and less with the details, preferring as an elder statesman determined to serve only one presidential term to focus primarily on the larger issues of economic modernization on harmony and peace making abroad and on profound levels of reconciliation at home. In effect, his was an imperial presidency that for the most part attempted to frame and to motivate the new South Africa rather than to set and accomplish specific legislative objectives.

Mbeki's speech exemplified Perelman's and Olbrechts-Tyteca's role of epideictic rhetoric. Though it was not necessarily centred on either praise or blame, Mbeki's speech strove to give his audience an idea of what was to be expected under his presidency. It was preparatory to action.<sup>346</sup> Firstly, he underlined the centrality of the general populace as regards the workings of the Legislature and the Executive. Concerning the former, Mbeki posited:<sup>347</sup>

Among other things, this will require that the necessary measures are taken to enable the Honourable Members to spend more time with their constituents, as a defining feature of our democracy which we wish to be participatory.

Regarding the Executive, he made the following undertaking:<sup>348</sup>

Similarly, the executive will have to work in a manner which strengthens the links between itself and the people. Among other things, this would provide Government with the opportunity to assess, directly from the people, whether its policies are producing the intended results.

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<sup>346</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 49-52.

<sup>347</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Speech on Accepting his Election as President of the Republic of South Africa" (14 June 1999): <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=2561>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>348</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

Mbeki gave the context in which democracy – in the form of “participatory” democracy – had to be exercised. This qualified as the normative definition of democracy because he outlined what he expected of his interlocutors.

Probably with a view to putting the sceptics at ease, Mbeki vowed that “collective leadership” would be one of the guiding principles of his presidency. In this regard, he said:<sup>349</sup>

Many of the problems we face require the greatest possible unity among ourselves as South Africans so that we use our massed strength for the benefit of the country as a whole.

Implicit in Mbeki’s assertion was the acknowledgement that he did not possess all the wisdom to run the country. This modesty on his part – which had been one of the hallmarks of his predecessor (Nelson Mandela) – indicated that he was ready to entertain the views of other players. He created the impression that he would value their inputs. This was crucial and as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca point out:<sup>350</sup>

We must not forget that by listening to someone we display a willingness to eventually accept his point of view.

Even though Mbeki might have not necessarily concurred with the views of his interlocutors, at least, they wanted to know that they would be listened to. Mbeki hinted that there were still outstanding issues that needed to be thrashed out in order to achieve the envisioned “new South Africa”. Without giving an exhaustive list of what these outstanding issues were, he cited the “race question” as meriting further attention:<sup>351</sup>

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<sup>349</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>350</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 17.

<sup>351</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

And yet all of us are aware that our country continues to be divided along racial and other lines and is, therefore, that much more difficult to unite around common objectives.

Mbeki's contention that South Africa was still "divided along racial and other lines" qualifies as an argumentation by example. At this stage and given the occasion (at this time, he was merely accepting his election as the President), it would have sufficed for Mbeki to give an example of what he perceived the problems to be. Logically, his audience would have expected him to expatiate on the subject matter at an opportune time. He maintained that notwithstanding these challenges that, in his opinion, lay ahead, the ANC's view that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" remained unshaken.<sup>352</sup> Mbeki reassured his interlocutors that as he gave the strategic direction that the country had to take, he would be guided by this principle:<sup>353</sup>

The new Presidency will have to focus on all these matters, in the interests of the country as a whole.

The fact that Mbeki was already in the position to identify some of the issues that would define his presidency showed that he was ready to provide political leadership. This resonated with what his understanding of leadership was/is. Asked by a *Sunday Times* journalist (though Mbeki had vacated office), Ziphezinhle

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<sup>352</sup> Indeed, Mbeki was firmly convinced that the eradication was one of the pillars of the *raison d'être* of the ANC. As he once noted: "Because racism lives, the struggle continues! Because of that, the ANC must remain what it has been for many decades, a movement for the elimination of the legacy of the system of racism, in the interest of all South Africans, whatever their race or colour or class or gender", See Thabo Mbeki, "Speech at the Annual Conference of the Black Management Forum, Kempton Park" (20 November 1999): <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1999/mbek1120.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>353</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

Msimango, how he defined “a good leader and a good leadership”, Mbeki had this to say:<sup>354</sup>

I think that to provide proper leadership certainly as this relates to Government, one has to have a very good understanding of one’s country and its challenges, including the global setting; work on the basis of a clear programme to address these challenges; always act on a principled basis, listen constantly to, and respect the views of the people; and conduct ones’self [*sic*] within the context of a value system at whose centre must be the obligation always and only to serve the people.

It would be interesting to try and ascertain whether Mbeki’s presidency was indeed characterised by these features or, at least, perceived to have been.

### **2.3 State of the Nation Address – 25 June 1999**

Thabo Mbeki started off his speech by painting a picture of what he understood to be the legacy of apartheid. Combining the use of enthymeme and syllogism, Mbeki remarked:<sup>355</sup>

We seek to replace a society which, in many instances, has been and continues to be brutal and brutish in the extreme.

Over the centuries this has condemned millions to a catastrophic loss of national identity and human dignity, land dispossession, classification and

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<sup>354</sup>Ziphezinhle Msimango, “Interview with Former President Thabo Mbeki” (31 March 2013): <http://www.thabombekifoundation.org.za/Pages/FULL-VERSION-OF-SUNDAY-TIMES-INTERVIEW-WITH-FORMER-PRESIDENT-THABO-MBEKI.aspx>. (Accessed 14 May 2013).

<sup>355</sup>Thabo Mbeki, “Address at the Opening of Parliament” (25 June 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/9906281018a1006.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).



denigration as sub-humans and the systematic destruction of families and communities.

The society that we seek to replace was, to a very significant degree, built on the law of the jungle of the survival of the fittest.

Mbeki's use of the expression "the law of the jungle of the survival of the fittest" begs the question: was it the prevailing sentiment within the liberation movement circles that the apartheid system was invincible? If the answer is in the affirmative, what motivated them (those who fought against apartheid) to forge ahead if they were of the opinion that they could not topple the apartheid system? What kept the liberation movement going if it believed that the stacks were against it? Put differently, if the apartheid system, as Mbeki contended, was that strong, why did it eventually crumble?

Mbeki continued:<sup>356</sup>

The society we seek to replace entrenched corruption in all areas of human activity informed by the notion that concepts of right and wrong are dead and, therefore, that everything that serves my personal interests is permissible.

It is truism that apartheid was an abominable system. As a result, it became common practice, especially among those who had fought against this system, to associate everything despicable with it. Indeed, some would refer to the United Nations Convention – formally known as "The Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa, United Nations General Assembly Resolution, 1970" – which had declared "apartheid a crime against humanity".<sup>357</sup> Mbeki therefore based his

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<sup>356</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>357</sup> Erik Doxtader and Philippe Joseph-Salazar, *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: The Fundamental Documents* (Claremont: New Africa Books, 2007): 3.

assertion on what his interlocutors believed to be true. Indeed, Mbeki might have been addressing himself to a specific audience, as opposed to a universal audience.<sup>358</sup> As Corbett aptly argues:<sup>359</sup>

[T]hose who seek to persuade a select audience must apprise themselves of the generally held opinions of that group.

Corbett further observes:<sup>360</sup>

Every civilization has a body of accepted opinions that influence the conduct of its affairs – a body of “truths” that have never really been demonstrated but in which people have faith, almost to the point of accepting them as self-evident.

Mbeki might therefore have taken it as a given that his assertion would be regarded as a “truth” or “self-evident”. He might have been under the impression that he did not have to prove what the ramifications of apartheid were as there was already unanimity on this. From a rhetorical perspective, Mbeki had recourse to metonymy. He did not mention apartheid by name but rather presented, at length, the defining features of the apartheid system, with corruption being one of these. Indeed, commenting on the scourge of corruption during the apartheid era, Gumede observes:<sup>361</sup>

To be fair, corruption in the new democracy is minuscule compared to the *widespread kleptocracy* [emphasis added] that took place under apartheid, but there is a far greater public eagerness to expose corruption than there ever was under the previous regime.

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<sup>358</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 34.

<sup>359</sup> Edward P.J Corbett, *ibid.* 61.

<sup>360</sup> Edward P.J Corbett, *ibid.*

<sup>361</sup> William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 238.

Arguing that there was still a lot that remained to be done, Mbeki reiterated his commitment to “collective leadership” as he had undertaken during his acceptance speech as the President of South Africa.<sup>362</sup>

For this reason this is not the task that can be carried out by the government alone. The challenge of the reconstruction and development of our society into one which guarantees human dignity, faces the entirety of our people.

Those in Mbeki’s audience who might have heard him speak during the ANC’s victory celebrations on 3 June 1999 would have recalled what he had said about the involvement of all South Africans in crafting or shaping their destiny. On that occasion, Mbeki had stated:<sup>363</sup>

We are fully conscious of the fact that the magnificent patience of our people was in part, driven by their knowledge that, consistent with its traditions, the ANC would approach the exercise of power without any arrogance, with humility, with a deep sense of responsibility to ensure that, *as a people, we act together to build a South Africa which truly belongs to all who live in it, both black and white* [emphasis added].

Mbeki used his first State of the Nation speech to drive home the message that there was no disjuncture between his presidency and that of his predecessor. Underlining corruption as one of the issues that his presidency would focus on, he had recourse to the argument from authority as he cited Mandela’s words:<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>363</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Statement by the President of the ANC on the ANC 1999 Election Victory” (3 June 1999): <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=2560>. (Accessed 20 May 2013).

<sup>364</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Address at the Opening of Parliament” (25 June 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/9906281018a1006.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

A further impetus will have to be given to the initiative of Religious Leaders against Corruption to achieve “the RDP of the Soul” which Nelson Mandela spoke about.

Mbeki invoked Mandela’s expression in an attempt to convince his interlocutors that he was equally committed to the fight against corruption as Mandela had been. In an attempt to make his argument more persuasive, Mbeki opted not to only talk about the “RDP of the Soul” but to state explicitly that this assertion had been initially made by the nation’s icon, Nelson Mandela. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca point out:<sup>365</sup>

Close adherence to a recognized model guarantees the value of the behaviour. The person following the model enjoys an enhanced value, and can thus, in turn, serve as a model [...]

Contending further that there was continuity pertaining to the strategic direction that the country was taking, Mbeki noted:<sup>366</sup>

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) were implemented by our first democratic government to achieve socio-economic transformation and macro-economic stability.

Mbeki proceeded and made an undertaking:<sup>367</sup>

The RDP and GEAR will remain the basic policy objectives of the new government to achieve sustainable growth, development and improved standards of living.

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<sup>365</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 364.

<sup>366</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>367</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

While Mbeki's argument might have been well-received by the supporters of GEAR, it demonstrated unequivocally that Mbeki's administration had not been swayed by the public outcry stemming from the ANC's Alliance partners (COSATU and SACP) which had expressed their dislike of GEAR.

In effect, Mbeki's assertion signalled the genesis of the acrimonious relations that would characterise his presidency. Mbeki's insistence that his Government would continue with the implementation of GEAR created an impression that he was merely paying lip service to the commitment to "collective leadership", as espoused by the Tripartite Alliance. This was so because the SACP had expressed its objection to GEAR.<sup>368</sup>

We remain convinced that Gear is the wrong policy. It was wrong in the process that developed it, it is wrong in its overall conception, and it is wrong in much of its detail.

Echoing the sentiments of the SACP, another Tripartite Alliance ally, COSATU contended:<sup>369</sup>

We have stated from the beginning that it was impossible for GEAR to meet some of its key targets, such as employment creation and growth, because of the contradictory fiscal and monetary that it pursues.

In a similar vein, there were some voices from civil society that criticised GEAR as "a home-grown version of the World Bank's notorious Structural Adjustment Programmes".<sup>370</sup> In sharp contrast to the RDP document which had been intensely discussed within the Alliance partners, GEAR was reportedly preceded by no

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<sup>368</sup> "SACP Slates GEAR", *Mail & Guardian* (1 September 1998): <http://mg.co.za/print/1998-07-01-sacp-slates-gear>. (Accessed 14 September 2012).

<sup>369</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, "COSATU's Response to the 1998/9 Budget" (1998): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/docs/subs/1998/budget98.htm>. (Accessed 14 September 2012).

<sup>370</sup> Andile Mngxitama, *South Africa: Country Report Social Watch* (Johannesburg: National Land Committee, 2001): 1.

consultation within the ANC. It is argued that even top ANC figures were not acquainted with its details before its public release.<sup>371</sup> Indeed, COSATU bemoaned this departure from the “established” *modus operandi* within the Alliance:<sup>372</sup>

One of the critical problems is the fact that the formulation of policies – in certain areas such as the economy, housing, transport and others – has been driven by technocrats, the bureaucracy, and Ministries. *The ANC, and the Alliance more broadly, has found itself dealing with these policies as they emerge, rather than driving their development* [my emphasis]. The result is that we often have to react to policies which are directly opposed to the thrust of the platform outlined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. The introduction of GEAR (the reverse GEAR of our society) in June 1996 (two months before it was discussed in constitutional structures of the ANC) followed by Maria Ramos and Trevor Manuel’s pronouncement that the strategy is non-negotiable is the most serious example of this problem. GEAR in this respect, however, was not unusual. It followed a pattern of treating the Alliance with contempt by certain Ministers on issues of governance and policy formulation.

It is evident from the two aforementioned passages that both the SACP and COSATU were not satisfied with the state of affairs, particularly with regard to the implementation of GEAR. The two allies felt that they were sidelined from the decision-making processes and that their views were not accommodated by Mbeki and his Government. As COSATU stated categorically, “[...] a pattern of treating the Alliance with contempt [...]” had taken root.<sup>373</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> William M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 108.

<sup>372</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, “COSATU 6<sup>th</sup> Congress” (1997): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=2154>. (Accessed 2 May 2012).

<sup>373</sup> Congress of South African Trade Union, *ibid.*

Moreover, Mbeki employed the argument from authority as he took issue with the view that the country's labour laws had a negative effect on investment and job creation. He cited the report of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which had drawn the following conclusion on the subject matter:<sup>374</sup>

“One of the key findings of the study was that when compared to other middle-income countries, labour regulations on dismissal, fixed-term contracts and working conditions do not appear to be particularly onerous ... A degree of numerical adaptability (at exit) does exist – thus dismissing the view that inflexible labour markets are at the heart of the employment problem ... Unfortunately employers perceive that the recent “avalanche” of labour market policy now make it more onerous to employ. These perceptions, whilst they may not be rooted in reality when one considers the regulatory environment in other countries, do appear to be influencing the behaviour of the economic actors...”

The ILO has an internationally, established reputation on labour, social justice and human rights matters. Its views are perceived to be non-partisan or apolitical. This then gave Mbeki's argument a better chance of persuading his audience. Citing the ILO vested Mbeki's assertion with an ethical appeal. He was advancing an argument based on the views of the experts. This might have created the impression that he had paid sufficient attention to his subject matter. Admittedly though, some of Mbeki's interlocutors might have argued that he had been selective in his citation. Alternatively, they would have countered his argument by making reference to an equivalent reputable source.

As he outlined his Government's programme of action, Mbeki also ventured into what would become one of the defining – albeit controversial – features of his presidency: HIV/AIDS. On this score, he stated:<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>374</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>375</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

The Government will also review all the work done to confront the scourge of HIV/AIDS, with a view to the intensification of all efforts relating to this epidemic.

Mbeki argued further:<sup>376</sup>

Of critical importance will be that we take all the necessary steps to ensure that the partnerships against HIV/AIDS that have been formed and the public education campaigns we have been conducting do actually result in changing behaviour patterns, improve support to AIDS victims and orphans and speed up steps towards the development of a vaccine.

Mbeki would take the debate on HIV/AIDS a step further when he spoke the members of the NCOP. Reacting to the view that an azidothymidine (AZT) – a drug used to delay the development of AIDS – had to be rolled out in public hospitals, Mbeki urged his audience:<sup>377</sup>

Similarly, we are confronted with the scourge of HIV-AIDS against which we must leave no stone unturned to save ourselves from the catastrophe which this disease poses.

Concerned to respond appropriately to this threat, many in our country have called on the Government to make the drug AZT available in our public health system.

Two matters in this regard have been brought to our attention.

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<sup>376</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>377</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Address at the National Council of Provinces" (28 October 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/991028409p1004.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2013).



One of these is that there are legal cases pending in this country, the United Kingdom and the United States on the ground that this drug is harmful to health.

There also exists a large volume of scientific literature alleging that, among other things, the toxicity of this drug is that it is in fact a danger to health.

These are matters of great concern to the Government as it would be irresponsible for us not to heed the dire warnings which medical researchers have been making.

I have therefore asked the Minister of Health, as a matter of urgency, to go into all these matters so that, to the extent that is possible, we ourselves, including our countries medical authorities, are certain of where the truth lies.

To understand this matter better, I would urge the Honourable Members of the National Council to access the huge volume of literature on this matter available on the Internet so that all of us can approach this issue from the same base of information.

At face value, Mbeki's contention can be classified as an appeal to *pathos*. Like everyone else, he appeared to be concerned about the epidemic. His use of the words "scourge", "epidemic", "catastrophe" and "threat" bear testimony to this. Mbeki seemed to empathise with those infected and affected by HIV/AIDS. At the same time, he expressed his concern about the "toxicity" of the drugs. On this score, Chikane maintains:<sup>378</sup>

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<sup>378</sup>Frank Chikane, *The Things That Could Not Be Said: From Aids to Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2013): 263.

There could be no disagreement about the toxicity of the drug AZT among those in the know. If there was any disagreement it was at the level of uninformed public debate or where emotions ran high owing to concerns about the rapid spread of HIV and AIDS. Those who were better informed knew that the real challenge was not about whether or not the drug was toxic. It was the fact that there was no other alternative drug on the market to deal with HIV and AIDS.

As he expressed his reservations about the “toxicity” of HIV/AIDS drugs, Mbeki appealed to *logos*. To buttress his argument, he told his interlocutors about the pending “legal cases” in South Africa, “the United Kingdom and the United States”. Mbeki’s combination of *pathos* and *logos* sought to convince or persuade his audience that though HIV/AIDS was a problem that needed to be dealt with, this had to be approached with caution. Extending his logical appeal, Mbeki maintained that the Minister of Health was better placed to view the issues that had been raised pertaining to the administration of HIV/AIDS drugs.

In line with the resolutions of the ANC, as per its “January 8 Statement”, Mbeki stated that Government would focus on the African Renaissance:<sup>379</sup>

The Government will also focus on the tasks of achieving the objectives of the African Renaissance and ensuring that the next century evolves as the African century.

We will therefore contribute whatever we can towards the resolution of conflicts on our Continent. We cannot accept that war, violent conflict and rapine are a permanent condition of existence for us as Africans.

Similarly, celebrating its 87<sup>th</sup> anniversary, the ANC had resolved:<sup>380</sup>

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<sup>379</sup>Thabo Mbeki, “Address at the Opening of Parliament” (25 June 1999); <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/9906281018a1006.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

As a movement, we therefore recommit ourselves to the struggle for the victory of the African Renaissance.

Among other things, this requires that we link up with other political forces on our Continent, together to decide on the steps we should take to ensure that our common continental motherland becomes a place of democracy, peace, prosperity and a better life for the millions of our people.

Though it might appear that Mbeki was taking cue from what the ANC had said with regard to the African Renaissance, it is worth noting that he had been advocating for the African Renaissance prior to the ANC formally pronouncing on the issue. His famous “I am an African” speech can be said to have sown the seeds for the African Renaissance discourse in South Africa, in general, and in ANC’s circles, in particular.<sup>381</sup> Indeed, the momentous and poetic “I am an African” speech was so inspirational to the extent that most speakers after him declared themselves proud “Africans”. By the same token, Mbeki’s speech at the United Nations University on 9 April 1998 catapulted the African Renaissance debate to an international stage.<sup>382</sup>

## **2.4 Speech at the Launch of the African Renaissance Institute – 11 October 1999**

The notion of the “African Renaissance” was first mooted within the ANC in 1997 at the party’s 50<sup>th</sup> National Congress as a key component of its ideological outlook, particularly pertaining to international matters. The ANC’s contention was that

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<sup>380</sup> African National Congress, “Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 87<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC” (8 January 1999): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=61>. (Accessed 3 April 2012).

<sup>381</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “I am an African – Speech at the Adoption of the Republic of South Africa Bill” (8 May 1996): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4322>. (Accessed 3 April 2012).

<sup>382</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “The African Renaissance, Africa and the World” (9 April 1998): <http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/mbeki.html>. (Accessed 29 May 2013).

South Africa's destiny was intrinsically linked to that of the African continent.<sup>383</sup> It followed then that South Africa could not succeed without the success of the African continent. Through this lens, the "African Renaissance" debate could be characterised as a classic example of an argument of inclusion.<sup>384</sup>

On 11 October 1999, Mbeki spoke at the launch of the African Renaissance Institute. The African Renaissance Institute was founded at an inaugural meeting in Pretoria. It has its headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana. It is a philosophical and political movement that strives to end the violence, elitism, corruption and poverty that seem to plague the African continent and seeks to replace these with a more just and equitable order. In addition, the Institute focuses on the development of African human resources, science and technology, agriculture, nutrition, health, culture, business, peace and good governance.<sup>385</sup>

Having recourse to epideictic rhetoric, Mbeki started off his speech by paying tribute to African countries in assisting South Africans as they waged a struggle against apartheid. Staying true to "African" etiquette and/or culture, Mbeki commenced speaking by acknowledging the presence of the "elders" in his audience. He then paid tribute to them for their contribution to South Africa attaining her democracy:<sup>386</sup>

*I am also very pleased to make special mention and pay tribute to our elders who are here [emphasis added], of whom we are justly proud and whose wisdom and African patriotism will make an important contribution to our common quest for an African Renaissance.*

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<sup>383</sup> African National Congress, "Discussion Documents: Developing a Strategic Perspective on South African Foreign Policy" (1 July 1997): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2348>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

<sup>384</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, Trans. J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver: *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 231.

<sup>385</sup> Eddy T. Maloka, "The South African "African Renaissance" Debate: A Critique" *Polis* 8 (2001): <http://www.polis.sciencespobordeaux.fr/vol8ns/maloka.pdf>. (Accessed 12 August 2013).

<sup>386</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Speech at the Launch of the African Renaissance Institute, Pretoria" (11 October 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/991011345p1001.htm>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

Mbeki's assertion qualifies as an argument from authority. The underlying assumption of his argument (enthymeme) was that the "elders", perceivably thanks to their age and the attendant accumulated experience, could be relied upon to achieve the African Renaissance. Mbeki's argument had an ethical appeal, especially to his interlocutors who subscribed to the belief that the "elders" know better and therefore their "wisdom" should always be called upon. Put differently, Mbeki's persuasive effect on his audience would hinge on whether it (his audience) regarded the "elders" as experts. This category of Mbeki's audience would consequently assent to his contention.

Arguing that the call for the African Renaissance did not have to be confined solely to political actors, Mbeki used the argument of inclusion as he proffered:<sup>387</sup>

We must also pay attention to the intelligentsia, the professionals, the trade unions, business people, women and youth, the traditional leaders, cultural workers, the media and so on, to bring them into the popular struggle for Africa's rebirth.

As his premise of argumentation, Mbeki deemed it necessary to define what he meant by "African Renaissance". Accordingly, he told his audience that the concept meant "rebirth, renewal, springing up anew"<sup>388</sup> It was preponderant for Mbeki to establish a common ground because as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca acutely remind us, argumentation cannot proceed until or unless there is a convergence of views on the subject matter between the speaker and his/her audience.<sup>389</sup>

Acknowledging that the idea of an "African Renaissance" was not his own invention – which can be viewed as a commonplace of precedent – and conceding that its attainment had previously been merely a pipe dream, Mbeki expatiated:<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>387</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>388</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *op. cit.*

<sup>389</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 65.

<sup>390</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *op. cit.*

Accordingly, what is new about it today is that the conditions exist for the process to be enhanced, throughout the continent, leading to the transformation of the idea from a dream dreamt by visionaries to a practical programme of action for revolutionaries.

What, then, are these conditions! These are:

- \*the completion of the continental process of the liquidation of the colonial system in Africa, attained as a result of the liberation of South Africa;
- \*the recognition of the bankruptcy of neo-colonialism by the masses of the people throughout the continent, including the majority of the middle strata;
- \*the weakening of the struggle among the major powers for spheres of influence on our continent, as a consequence of the end of the Cold War; and,
- \*the acceleration of the process of globalisation

Here, Mbeki made use of the common topic of possibility.<sup>391</sup> He sought to persuade his audience that the existence of the conditions that he enunciated made the realisation of the “African Renaissance” possible. Although this argumentative technique has a persuasive effect, its success hinges on the interlocutor believing that the proposed course of action is feasible. A common way of inspiring an audience with confidence in the practicality of the particular proposed course of action is to cite examples of people who have accomplished a similar or identical thing.

Contending that the “people of Africa share the same destiny”, Mbeki became nostalgic as he had recourse to the past as a commonplace:<sup>392</sup>

We speak of a continent which, while it led in the very evolution of human life and was a leading centre of learning, technology and the arts in ancient

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<sup>391</sup>Edward P.J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 119.

<sup>392</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Speech at the Launch of the African Renaissance Institute, Pretoria” (11 October 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/991011345p1001.htm>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

times, has experienced various traumatic epochs; each one of which has pushed her people deeper into poverty and backwardness.

Mbeki amplified his contention:<sup>393</sup>

We refer to the three periods of:

- \*slavery, which robbed the continent of millions of her healthiest and most productive inhabitants and reinforced the racist and criminal notion that, as Africans, we are sub-human;

- \*imperialism and colonialism, which resulted in the rape of raw materials, the destruction of traditional agriculture and domestic food security, and the integration of Africa into the world economy as a subservient participant; and,

- \*neo-colonialism, which perpetuated this economic system, while creating the possibility for the emergence of new national elites in independent states, themselves destined to join the dominant global forces in oppressing and exploiting the masses of the people.

Implicit in Mbeki's assertion was that there was a direct correlation between the various historical phases beginning with "slavery", "imperialism and colonialism" and ending with "neo-colonialism". He seemed to draw on the Marxist analysis which holds that history is basically about the struggle between classes for dominance. In Mbeki's world view, "Africans" have always been at the receiving end in terms of the power relations. This, he inferred, was along racial lines. He asserted that those who had "enslaved" and "colonised" Africa owned and controlled the means of production. Consequently, they received a disproportionate share of wealth, power, privileges and status.

As Mbeki invoked the trials and tribulations of Africa's history, he appealed to *pathos*. He wanted his audience to psychologically relive some of the atrocious

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<sup>393</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

experiences that some in his audience or their forbearers had traversed. Mbeki's intention was to propel his interlocutors into action. He contended that prior to "slavery", "imperialism", "colonialism" and "neo-colonialism", the African continent was a pioneer in such fields as "learning" and "technology". Probably, Mbeki cited some of the contributions that the Africans had reportedly made "in the very evolution of human life" with a view to instilling self-belief in his interlocutors. He wanted to make them believe that they were capable of reclaiming the social status they had once enjoyed. He sought to convince them that the attainment of the "African Renaissance" was possible.

Mbeki was under no illusion that the "African Renaissance" that he advocated would be met with resistance and scepticism from certain quarters. Accordingly, he warned his audience:<sup>394</sup>

\*it [a movement for the renewal of Africa] is engaged in an extremely complex struggle which would be opposed by forces of reaction from both within and without the continent;

\*it would achieve both forward movement and suffer occasional setbacks;

\*the continental offensive can only be sustained if the active populations of all countries are confident that none of the countries of the continent, regardless of the extent of its contribution to the Renaissance, seeks to impose itself on the rest as a new imperial power; and,

\*the forces for change have to be built up and consolidated within each country, without ignoring or underestimating the imperative and the potential for an increasing co-ordinated trans-national offensive for the mutually beneficial renewal of the continent.

Mbeki proceeded with his argument by making a number of presumptions which, in his view, supported his contention that the "African Renaissance" was realisable. In this regard, he asserted that a number of conditions had to be created:<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>395</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*



Accordingly, ways have to be found to ensure that:

\*the OAU [Organisation of African Union] is further strengthened so that in its work, it focuses on the strategic objective of the realisation of the African Renaissance;<sup>396</sup>

\*links are built across Africa's borders among all social sectors to increase the levels of co-operation and integration;

\*steps are taken to ensure that both Africa and the rest of the world define the new (21<sup>st</sup>) century as an "African Century", in furtherance of the objective of the mobilisation of the peoples of the world to support the offensive for an African Renaissance; and,

\*work is done to persuade the rest of the world, including such important institutions as the UN [United Nations], the IMF [International Monetary Fund], the World Bank, the WTO [World Trade Organisation], the EU [European Union], MERCOSUR [*Mercado Común der Sul*],<sup>397</sup> ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] and others, to the point of view that we share with them the strategic view that is obligatory that we all support the vision of an African Renaissance and that they should lend support to this process, guided by what the peoples of Africa themselves want.

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<sup>396</sup> At the time of Mbeki's speech, the continental organisation was still called the OAU. However, on 26 May 2001 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, it was renamed and became known as the African Union (AU). The AU was launched in South on 9 July 2002.

<sup>397</sup> MERCOSUR is an economic and political agreement among Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela and Bolivia. Its stated primary object is "to increase the efficacy and competitiveness of the all member economies by opening markets, promoting economic development in the framework of a globalized world, improving infrastructure and communications, making better use of available resources, preserving the environment, generating industrial complementation and coordinating macroeconomic policies", See Merco Press, "About Mercosur" (12 August 2013): <http://en.mercopress.com/about-mercosur>. (Accessed 12 August 2013).

Mbeki employed the aforementioned presumptions with the intention to outline a programme of action that had to be embarked upon to realise the “African Renaissance”. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca point out:<sup>398</sup>

In addition to admitting facts and truths, all audiences admit presumptions. But, although presumptions also enjoy universal agreement, adherence to them falls short of being maximum, and hearers expect their adherence to be reinforced at a given moment by other elements. In fact, those who admit a presumption ordinarily reckon on this reinforcement.

Lending credence to Perelman’s and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s contention that an audience expects presumptions to be reinforced, Mbeki had recourse to an argumentation by illustration. He reminded his audience of instances where Africans had survived against all odds and had taken matters into their own hands:<sup>399</sup>

None of us were present when the slaves were forced into the dungeon on the Isle of Goree in Senegal and on the island of Zanzibar.

But we would not be wrong if we came to the conclusion that those who survived these dungeons as well as their transportation across the oceans, did so because of a strong will to survive.

None of us were present when the people of the Congo were slaughtered in their millions, to satisfy the rapacious and insatiable greed of a Belgian monarch.

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<sup>398</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 71.

<sup>399</sup>Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

But we would not be wrong if we came to the conclusion that the Congolese people did not resort to mass suicide to escape the horror, because of a firm conviction that, in the end, as a people they were indestructible.

Continuing with his account of what, in his opinion, typified the tenacity of the Africans to resolve the problems on their own, Mbeki maintained:<sup>400</sup>

We were present when the colonial and racist powers put up the most determined resistance to deny the people of Algeria, Kenya, the Portuguese colonies, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa their freedom.

We know that the peoples of these countries and our Continent as a whole were not discouraged by what seemed to be overwhelming odds against them, because they were determined that the people's cause for national emancipation could never be defeated.

We bore witness to the unspeakable genocide that descended on the people of Rwanda in 1994.

*We know that, in the end, these extraordinary Africans ended the slaughter themselves* [emphasis added] because they took it upon themselves to make the determination that Africa will not perish at the hands of her own sons and daughters.

Mbeki appealed to his interlocutors to emulate the heroic acts which other Africans in the illustrations that he had given had performed. He persuaded them (his interlocutors) to show the same zeal in their pursuit of the "African Renaissance":<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>400</sup>Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>401</sup>Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

The same spirit and commitment to overcome must inform all of us now as we build on the victories we have scored, to engage what will clearly be a titanic struggle to achieve Africa's Renaissance.

Being reminded of the challenges that those who had come before them had to endure and how they had overcome them, Mbeki's interlocutors would have been persuaded that the "African Renaissance" that Mbeki called for was within reach. Indeed, as Corbett spells out:<sup>402</sup>

A common way to inspire an audience with confidence in the practicality of a proposed course of action is to cite examples of people who have accomplished a similar or identical thing. The examples will be persuasive in proportion to the similarity of the actions and circumstances.

## **2.5 State of the Nation Address – 4 February 2000**

Mbeki commenced his speech by taking stock of the advances that South Africa had made since the un-banning of the political parties in the country and the release of political prisoners by the then President F.W. de Klerk on 2 February 1990. On this memorable day, de Klerk, then at the helm of the South African Government since September 1989, had officially dismantled apartheid. In a nutshell, de Klerk had announced a commitment with majority rule in a unitary state which included the homelands, an independent judiciary, a commitment to equal justice for all under human rights manifesto and a free economy.

Having recourse to epideictic rhetoric, Mbeki lauded South Africans and the peoples of the world for, among other things, the strides made in ending apartheid, the holding of "two successive general elections", turning the economy around and

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<sup>402</sup>Edward P.J. Corbett, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 119.

of creating a condition where “hope has taken the place of despair”.<sup>403</sup> Mbeki maintained that the achievements made had engendered a sense of pride in the majority of the country’s citizens. In this regard, Mbeki asserted:<sup>404</sup>

I am, therefore, privileged to have this opportunity to extend the heartfelt congratulations to all our people, regardless of race, colour and gender, for the extraordinary and sustained effort over the past 10 years which has enabled the overwhelming majority among us to say: “We are proud to be South African!” [Applause.]

The inclusive character of Mbeki’s assertion in the aforementioned paragraph sought to promote what, in the words of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, is called the “communion of the audience”.<sup>405</sup> Everyone in Mbeki’s audience would have felt that he/she was being valued and appreciated. Indeed, this is characteristic of epideictic rhetoric which seeks to please or inspire.

After heaping praises on his audience, Mbeki turned his attention, as it were, to the serious business of the day or “state of the nation” as he understood it. He averred that many South Africans continued to be subjected to “poverty”, “racism”, “sexism and the violations of their human dignity”. Citing racism as one of the challenges that had the potential of jeopardising the gains made, Mbeki extensively quoted from an electronic mail in which a certain company engineer had made the following racist remarks:<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>403</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Address by President of the Republic, 4 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2000): 3.

<sup>404</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 3-4.

<sup>405</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 51.

<sup>406</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 4.

I would like to summarise what the kaffirs<sup>407</sup> have done to stuff up this country since they came into power. If a white buys a house, he pays transfer duties. If a kaffir buys a house it is free of duties because he was previously disadvantaged. More than 20% of the GDP is embezzled by the kaffir politicians and corrupt civil servants. The UIF [Unemployment Insurance Fund] and state pension funds have been embezzled. Our girlfriends and wives are in constant threat of being brutally raped by some Aids-infested kaffir or gang of kaffirs. Every day someone you know is either robbed, assaulted, hijacked or murdered. Half of these black bastards have bought their driver's licences from corrupt traffic cops. All I am saying is that Aids is not working fast enough!

Perceivably, the electronic mail that Mbeki referred to might have elicited anger especially from black South Africans, as well as those who did not subscribe to racism. It is, however, worth noting that the issue of racism predated Mbeki's presidency. It had earlier on been brought up by the ANC as one of the issues that had to be tackled in the new South Africa. Delivering its "January 8 Statement", the party had contended:<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>407</sup> The word "kaffir" is derived from the Arabic word for a non-believer or infidel. In Islam, the root word of "kaffir" means closed, denoting someone who has closed his/her heart from the truth constituted by Islam. Derived from this word, the general meaning of "kaffir" is "non-Muslim", referring to those who are perceived to deny the truth of Islam. See Gabeba Baderoon, "The Provenance of the Term "Kafir" in South Africa and the Notion of Beginning" (2004): [http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/religion/documents/ARISA/2004\\_MS4.pdf](http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/religion/documents/ARISA/2004_MS4.pdf). (Accessed 12 August 2013). However, according to the Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles, the word "kaffir" is a derogatory and abusive word used to denote Black people in South Africa under apartheid. Indeed, in the democratic South Africa, the word "kaffir" constitutes a hate crime. The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (No. 4 of 2000) declares the word "kaffir", inter alia, as hate speech.

<sup>408</sup> African National Congress, "Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 84<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the ANC" (8 January 1996): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=64>. (Accessed 2 May 2012).

The distribution of wealth, income and opportunity in our society continues to be determined in terms of race and colour, a situation that will perpetuate itself if we do not elaborate policies and implement programmes to end this continued entrenchment of racism.

Similarly, in 2000, the ANC NEC observed:<sup>409</sup>

We have not won the struggle against **racism** – a defining element of the problem of the colour line which the 20<sup>th</sup> Century failed to solve! Thus does it become necessary and possible for us to say that [t]he challenge facing the 21<sup>st</sup> Century is the solution of the problem of the colour line.

When Mbeki cited the company engineer, he had recourse to an argumentation by example.<sup>410</sup> This was intended to lend credence to his contention that racism was still an issue in the democratic South Africa. On the one hand, Mbeki's technique had the potential to persuade his audience to concur with him that this was, indeed, the case. On the other hand, some of Mbeki's interlocutors might have argued that the example he had given was just an isolated incident and therefore was not a true reflection of the general thinking of the majority of white South Africans. Probably, Mbeki's argument would have carried more weight if he had provided a sizeable number of examples of racist utterances or incidents.

In an apparent anticipation of the arguments to be advanced to counter his view(s) on racism, Mbeki said:<sup>411</sup>

Our successes in the struggle to move our country from apartheid to democracy have led many in our country to reach the premature conclusion

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<sup>409</sup> African National Congress, "Statement of the National Executive Committee on the Occasion of the 88<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the ANC" (8 January 2000): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=60>. (Accessed 2 May 2012).

<sup>410</sup> Chaïm Perelman, Trans. W. Kluback : *The Realm of Rhetoric* (Notre Dame: University of Notre , 1982): 106.

<sup>411</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 5.

that racism in South Africa is dead. This is despite the obvious and naked fact that to this day, and unavoidably, the racial divisions, inequalities and prejudices of the past continue to characterise our society.

Some in our country are so determined to close their eyes to this reality that those who are forced to swallow the bitter fruit of racial inequality and arrogance are regularly rebuked for speaking out against the pain they continue to endure.

Mbeki argued that the example that he had referred to served as a vindication that racism had to be tackled head-on:<sup>412</sup>

Such unadorned statements as those made by the company engineer serve a very important function in that they bring us face to face with the brutality of the racism that will continue to exist in our society unless all of us engage this monster consciously and systematically.

Despite his strong convictions, Mbeki created an impression that he was willing to solicit the views of other South Africans on racism. This was evidenced by his contention that:<sup>413</sup>

After discussions between Government and the Human Rights Commission, agreement has been reached that the commission will, later this year, convene a national congress against racism. We are convinced that this important initiative will help to move our country faster towards the realisation of the goal contained in our Constitution of the creation of a nonracial [*sic*] society and impact positively on our continuing struggle for a nonsexist [*sic*] society.

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<sup>412</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 5.

<sup>413</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *op cit.* 5.



Mbeki's assertion that the "National Congress against Racism" was intended to give expression to the constitutional obligation of creating "a non-racial society" and the "struggle for a non-sexist society" had an ethical appeal. He wanted to demonstrate to his audience that he was qualified to speak on racism. As the custodian of the country's Constitution, he was duty-bound and had the authority to uphold its founding provisions which include, *inter alia*, the promotion of "non-racialism and non-sexism".<sup>414</sup>

## **2.6 Speech at the Opening Session of the National Conference on Racism – 30 August 2000**

Mbeki was often accused – especially by opposition parties – of "playing a race card" with a view to justifying the incompetence on the part of his leadership, as far as dealing with the challenges besetting the country was concerned.<sup>415</sup> Indeed, Durrheim, Mtose and Brown observe:<sup>416</sup>

Tony Leon, then leader of the Democratic Alliance (DA), the official political opposition, suggested that Mbeki's 'litany of racist caricatures ... bordered on the pornographic'. The DA health spokesperson, Ryan Coetzee, accused Mbeki of playing the race card, turning a health issue into a race issue and of refusing that rape was pervasive in the country and was partly responsible for the spread of AIDS.

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<sup>414</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996: 3.

<sup>415</sup> Lawrence Schlemmer, "Thabo Mbeki's Strategy" (2000): <http://www.hsf.org.za/resource-centre/focus/issues-11-20/issue-20-fourth-quarter-2000/thabo-mbekis-strategy>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>416</sup> Kevin Durrheim, Xoliswa Mtose and Lindsay Brown, *Race Trouble: Race, Identity, and Inequality in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2011): 195.

Notwithstanding this charge, Mbeki was adamant that not sufficient progress had been made to bring about a non-racial South Africa that the country's Constitution envisioned.<sup>417</sup>

Mbeki seemed to have a fair degree of awareness of the public perceptions from those sectors that differed with him on racism. During the Opening Session of the National Conference on Racism held on 30 August 2000, Mbeki gave an elaborate reflection on this:<sup>418</sup>

The public discussion that has taken place in our country in the last few months on the issue of racism, demonstrates the point unequivocally that in this area, *we are faced with one of the most contentious issues on our national agenda* [emphasis added].

Its discussion does not lead to the national feel-good atmosphere we all experience whenever our national sports teams score a victory over a foreign competitor or when the benign events occur that help us to forget the persisting racial divisions in our society.

Arguments are advanced honestly that such a discussion, about racism, can only lead to the division of our country into mutually antagonistic racial camps.

It is also said that it might very well encourage racial conflict, destroying the progress we have achieved towards national reconciliation, towards the birth of a happy rainbow nation.

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<sup>417</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Statement at the Opening of the Debate in the National Assembly, on "Reconciliation and Nation Building" (29 May 1998): <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1998/mbek0529.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

<sup>418</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Speech at the Opening Session of the National Conference on Racism" (30 August 2000): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/0008301012a1001.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

It is evident that the racial discourse was so vexed. In the eyes of some, venturing into it had the potential of tampering with the very “rainbow nation” that Mandela had worked so hard to create. This then necessitated striking a healthy balance between addressing racism and preserving national reconciliation.

Making a further assessment of the arguments advanced by the antagonists in the race debate, Mbeki observed:<sup>419</sup>

It has been argued that those who point to the persistence of racism in our country are themselves racist. Those who propagate affirmative action are accused of seeking to introduce reverse racism, or, more directly, of resort to anti-white racism.

Some assert that the description ‘racist’ is merely an epithet used by bad people to insult others, as well as a means of intimidating and silencing those who hold views critical of the government.

Alternatively, it is said that the issue of racism is brought up by unscrupulous politicians, in an effort to mobilise black constituencies to support them. After all, so it is said, we ended apartheid and therefore racism, when we became a non-racial democracy in 1994.

Giving the counter-views of those who may be depicted as pro- the racism debate, Mbeki told his interlocutors:<sup>420</sup>

On the other hand, others within our society argue that those who are most vocal in seeking to suppress discussion of this issue are those who benefited from centuries of colonial and apartheid racial domination.

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<sup>419</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>420</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

These will go on to say that the privileged do not want this discussion because they want to maintain their privileged positions at all costs.

It is also said that in order to achieve this result, the privileged work hard to convince both themselves as well as the rest of society, that what is being complained of does not, in fact, exist, except for isolated incidents.

This is characterised as the denial mode, in terms of which the dominant instruments of propaganda, which, by definition, are at the disposal of the privileged, are used to obstruct recognition of reality.

The aggrieved will go further to argue that the privileged sectors of our society, accustomed to setting the national agenda, continue in the effort to set the national agenda, regardless of what the majority of our citizens might desire.

Of course, by this time, the latter have been empowered by the establishment of the democratic system to believe that they have the democratic right, openly and legitimately, to set this national agenda.

The point is also made that our process of national reconciliation has been somewhat of a charade. In this regard, it is said that only the victims of racism have responded to the call to forgive and to let bygones be bygones.

The charge is made that the perpetrators and beneficiaries of racial oppression and exploitation have acted merely to defend their interests, refusing to extend their own hand towards the victim, in a true spirit of reconciliation.

Among others, the response of certain sectors of our society to the request to them to make submissions to the TRC helped to reinforce the view that the

beneficiaries of white minority rule were unwilling to contribute to the process of national reconciliation.

The same can be said of the initial response of sections of the media to the decision of the Human Rights Commission to hold hearings on the issue of racism in the media.

As he presented the arguments for and against (both sides of the story) on the race question in South Africa, Mbeki assumed the role of an educator. Instead of giving his personal standpoint on the subject matter – at least, up to so far – Mbeki endeavoured to tell his audience about what the prevailing views on racism were. Commenting on the role of an educator, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca point out:<sup>421</sup>

In education, whatever its object, it is assumed that if the speaker's discourse does not always express truths, that is, theses accepted by everyone, it will at least defend values that are not a matter of controversy in the group which commissioned him.

As already been stated, Mbeki considered racism to be at the forefront of public discourse in South Africa's new democracy. He refuted the notion that sufficient progress had been made to deal with racism and was of the view that it warranted constant attention. He urged his audience to discuss racism frankly, freely and openly. Suppressing it, Mbeki believed, was to guarantee its perpetuation.<sup>422</sup>

Undeterred by the controversy that the racism debate generated and in line with his profound conviction that one could not talk about "South Africanness"

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<sup>421</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 53.

<sup>422</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* See Ian MacDonald, "Is Thabo Mbeki anti-White?" (22 April 2005): [http://www.sagoodnews.co.za/newsletter\\_archive/is\\_thabo\\_mbeki\\_anti-white\\_.html](http://www.sagoodnews.co.za/newsletter_archive/is_thabo_mbeki_anti-white_.html). (Accessed 4 April 2012).

until/or unless the issue had been debated, Mbeki made six “propositions” as the premises of his argument:<sup>423</sup>

First: the practice of racism is both anti-human and constitutes a gross violation of human rights.

Second: as it has been practiced throughout the centuries, the black people have been the victims of racism rather than the perpetrators.

Accordingly, what we have to deal with is white, anti-black racism, while giving no quarter to any tendency towards black, anti-white racism, whether actual or potential, as well as anti-Semitism.

Third: racism is manifested in a variety of ways, these being the ideological, existing in the world of ideas, and the socio-economic, describing the social, political, economic and cultural power relations of domination of and discrimination against the victims of racism.

Fourth: for many centuries racism has been a fundamental defining feature of the relations between black and white, a directive principle informing the structuring of these relations.

Fifth: the legacy of racism is so deeply entrenched that no country in the world has succeeded to create a non-racial society. [...]

Sixth: global experience stretching over a long period of time, demonstrates that the creation of a constitutional and legal framework for the suppression of racism is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition to end this violation of human rights.

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<sup>423</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Speech at the Opening Session of the National Conference on Racism” (30 August 2000): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/0008301012a1001.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

Commenting on the use of propositions in argumentation, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca observe:<sup>424</sup>

The premises in argument consist of propositions accepted by the hearers. When the hearers are not bound by the exact rules that compel them to recognize certain propositions, the whole structure raised by the speaker has no other basis than a factor of psychological nature, the adherence of the hearers. And more often than not, the speaker only presumes that this adherence exists. When his interlocutors disagree with the speaker's conclusions, they can, if they see fit, challenge the presumed agreement on the premises with a denial which will undermine the whole argument at its base.

While the other "propositions" that Mbeki made might have been refutable, the first one was arguably less contentious. His interlocutors might have readily concurred with him that "racism is both anti-human and constitutes a gross violation of human rights". Mbeki did not therefore have to try hard to gain the adherence of his interlocutors. It may have been accepted as a "self-evident truth". Conversely, he had to put a lot of effort into winning over his interlocutors as far as the other propositions were concerned. Notwithstanding this, some in Mbeki's audience would have derived comfort from the contention that racism was not peculiar to South Africa. The logical question would have been therefore what had been/was being done elsewhere to address the race issue. Were there lessons to be drawn from other parts of the world?

Employing the commonplace of comparison or an argument by comparison, Mbeki shifted his focus to the South African context with a view to ascertaining whether there were similarities or differences to be drawn. His conclusion was that, indeed, there were parallels between what was happening internationally and at

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<sup>424</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 104.

home. He then argued that racism dated back to the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck on the country's shores:<sup>425</sup>

Racism has been a fundamental organising principle in the relations between black and white in our country, ever since the Dutch immigrants settled at the Cape of Good Hope.

As the dominant group in our country, the white minority worked to structure all aspects of our national life consistent with the objective that whites should always remain the dominant group and the black majority, the dominated.

When Mbeki made reference to "the white minority" dominating "the black majority", he was making a value judgement. Implicit in his contention was that "the black majority" had been subjugated owing to their race. Obviously, Mbeki's assertion would have struck a chord with those in his audience who subscribed to the equality of races.

According to Mbeki, this racial subjugation had been exacerbated by the apartheid system and the legacy thereof was that:<sup>426</sup>

The social and economic structure of our society is such that the distribution of wealth, income, poverty, disease, land, skills, occupations, intellectual resources and opportunities for personal advancement, as well as the patterns of human settlement, are determined by the criteria of race and colour.

To buttress his assertion, Mbeki had recourse to the argument from authority as he quoted what the then President of the Constitutional Court, Justice Arthur Chaskalson had reportedly said. According to Mbeki, Justice Chaskalson, of Jewish

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<sup>425</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>426</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*



and white descendant, had made the following observation as he recounted his experience when he entered the legal profession:<sup>427</sup>

Then, the dominant defining characteristic of our family, within the broader contest of South African society, was not our ethnic or religious religion, but the fact that we were white. Because of that, we were entitled to all the benefits then accorded by law to people who were white. We prospered, as so many of the Jewish community did, not only because of our work, but also because of the opportunities offered to us as whites. We were no longer part of the marginalised group within society; we had become a privileged group, and part of a society in which others were subjected on a daily basis to the discrimination and humiliation which had been the lot of so many of our ancestors.

That the authority invoked was that of the then President of the Constitutional Court – a custodian of the highest court in the land as regards the constitutional matters – would have grabbed the attention of Mbeki's audience. It would have had a more persuasive effect and ethical appeal. Indeed, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca attest:<sup>428</sup>

Often, before someone is involved as an authority, his standing will be buttressed; one shows that he is a competent witness. For the greater the authority, the more unquestionable does his pronouncement become.

Having recourse to the commonplace of antecedent and consequence, Mbeki attributed the skewed power relations with regard to the socio-economic conditions between white and black South Africans to racism which had come about due to colonialism and apartheid. This may be viewed as a fallacy that is rhetorically referred to as the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, which, when loosely translated, denotes

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<sup>427</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>428</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 308.

“after this, therefore because of this”.<sup>429</sup> This fallacy derives from the assumption that because there is a relationship between events, something happening after something else, there is also a causal relationship. It qualifies as what Corbett and Connors term “faulty causal generalisations”.<sup>430</sup>

Mbeki opined that despite arguments by some that the transition to democracy had altered race relations in the country, in effect, the status quo persisted.<sup>431</sup>

Our transition to a non-democracy in 1994 and the subsequent creation of the constitutional and the legal framework we [...] have not ended the inherited racist, discriminatory and inequitable divisions of our country and people.

Remarkable in Mbeki’s speech was his display – at least at this stage of his presidency – of the importance that he attached to “collective leadership”, insofar as the race discourse was concerned. He made a clarion call to his interlocutors to be vocal and not necessarily concur with his diagnosis. This indicated his openness to contestation and a willingness to listen to others’ points of view. As he stated unequivocally:<sup>432</sup>

Having heard the charges that the government acts in a manner that seeks to intimidate those who differ with it, *I would like to take this opportunity to encourage all our people to break through the barrier of fear and to speak their minds* [emphasis added].

By this we refer to the concept put forward at some time in the history of China when, for better or for worse, the political establishment advanced the

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<sup>429</sup> Edward P. J. Corbett & Robert J. Connors, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 69.

<sup>430</sup> Edward P. J. Corbett & Robert J. Connors, *ibid.* 68-69.

<sup>431</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>432</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

slogan – let a hundred flowers bloom! let a hundred of schools of thought contend!

Modestly, Mbeki counselled his audience and made an appeal:<sup>433</sup>

Given the difficult solutions we have to find to the hundreds of problems that confront all of us, with none of us occupying a privileged position of being the exclusive domicile of wisdom, we cannot but agree that, in our instance as well, let a hundred schools of thought contend!

We speak here of the contention of ideas and not the reduction of ideas to persons, such that intellectual debate is reduced to skirmishes, battles and a war among individuals, however much any idea might be identified with a particular individual.

A closer examination of this passage makes one conclude that Mbeki sought to create an environment conducive to deliberative rhetoric. He seemed to subscribe to the Kantian view which holds that humans are equal and autonomous beings capable of judgement.<sup>434</sup> Granting his interlocutors a blank cheque, as it were, created an impression that racism concerned everyone and that everyone was qualified to talk about it. This would have legitimised the discourse on racism and hopefully consensus would have been reached, even it meant agreeing to disagree. Indeed, Habermas opines that a consensus achieved in an inclusive discursive process is the ultimate legitimacy criterion of public decisions.<sup>435</sup>

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<sup>433</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>434</sup> See James Rachels, *The Elements of Moral Philosophy* (New York: Random House, 1986).

<sup>435</sup> Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms* (Cambridge, Ma: The MIT Press, 1996): 110.

## 2.7 Response to the State of the Nation Address – 10 February 2000

Continuing with the racism debate, during his response to the State of the Nation Address, Mbeki read a letter that he had reportedly received from a certain South African, Paul A. Dunn, who was reacting to his assertions on racism. In the said letter, Dunn maintained:<sup>436</sup>

It is with great shame that I write to you today as a white citizen of the Republic of South Africa. I live in Russia temporarily for study reasons and read this morning of the absolutely abominable and offensive e-mail from a fellow white citizen. Certainly, in your wisdom, you know that not all South Africans, despite their colour, are racists. However, I know that in the Afrikaans segment, from which I also come, there are still those who are racists. Be assured that you have my own individual support in the struggle against racism. In my heart I long for the day when we will not refer to each other as black and white, but as fellow South Africans.

Mbeki made reference to a second letter from another white South African, Mr Lemmer, who “was sceptical [...] when the ANC first won the elections”.<sup>437</sup> Confessing that he used to revel in the ANC’s shortcomings and would cite these as an indication of incompetence on the part of the ANC, Mr Lemmer asserted that he had had a change of heart and had committed himself to making a positive contribution to the creation of a non-racial South Africa. Recounting his road to Damascus, Mr Lemmer had written:<sup>438</sup>

I was an active member of the right-wing group. I was a founder member of the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party – Reconstituted National Party formed in

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<sup>436</sup>Thabo Mbeki, “President’s Address, 10 February”, *Debates of the National Assembly* (Cape Town: Hansard 2000): 748-749.

<sup>437</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 749.

<sup>438</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 749-750.

1969], the AWB [Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging], the CP [Conservative Party] and the National Front. I worked with good loyal Afrikaner South Africans in all the aforesaid organisations. If I analyse, in retrospect, our motivations, then, in my case, it was born purely out of fear and not racial prejudice or hate. I am an Afrikaans South African, living in Japan and Taiwan for the past seven years. I work for a very large Japanese multinational company, developing their export market internationally. I have to admit that I used to be one of the sceptical white South Africans when the ANC first won the elections. I used to find great pleasure in listening to my white South African compatriots gossip regarding mismanagement and mistakes of the newly elected ANC government. Fortunately this has changed, I have just returned from holiday, touring South Africa, and although difficult at first, I eventually had to admit that for the first time in history, South Africa has a responsible government that offers much hope to all its citizens. [...]. There are so many things that impressed me, things that I thought were never possible in the New South Africa. I found no bitterness or any feeling of revenge mixing with my fellow black South Africans. Perhaps for the first time, I am proud to carry a South African passport, and for this reason I want to become part of the process and effort of the government in its sometimes difficult task. You can be sure that from now on wherever and whenever I rub shoulders or meet with the international businessmen, investors and tourists, I will do everything in my power to depict the positive picture South Africa and the Government deserve.

The two cases chosen by Mbeki (letters from Mr Dunn and Mr Lemmer), rhetorically speaking, qualify as an argument by model.<sup>439</sup> The actions of the individuals cited served as models of the kind of behaviour worthy of being emulated. As the rhetor (Mbeki) urged his interlocutors:<sup>440</sup>

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<sup>439</sup> Chaïm Perelman, Trans. W. Kluback: *The Realm of Rhetoric* (Notre Dame: University of Notre, 1982): 110.

<sup>440</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 751.

[...] To meet this challenge, we will need more Daniel Lemmers and a continuous recognition of the fact that the search for partisan political advantage will not necessarily take us to where we need to get with regard to the economic objectives we have to accomplish.

The fact that the individuals that Mbeki referred to in his speech (who could be perceived as “progressive”) were Afrikaners might have dispelled the notion that all white South Africans were racist. It brought to light that there were those who were prepared to embrace the democratic South Africa. Some of Mbeki’s interlocutors might have even argued that this category of people far outnumbered the ones that still harboured racist views. Conversely, if this category could be regarded as an exception, it served as proof that people’s racist mindset or attitudes could change or could be changed.

However, in an attempt to buttress the view that there were still hurdles to overcome before the goal of creating a non-racial South Africa could be attained, Mbeki had recourse to the commonplace of statistics as he asserted:<sup>441</sup>

At least 94% of the chartered accountants in our country are white. Similarly, at least 95% of professional engineers are white.

Mbeki’s employment of the commonplace of statistics had an appeal to *logos*, as well as *pathos*. In the former case, the orator (Mbeki) intended to drive home the point that transformation in the technical fields (chartered accountancy and professional engineering) had not yet taken place as they were still dominated by white South Africans. The statistics that he gave painted a bleak picture as regards the creation of a non-racial South Africa.

Similarly, the statistics used would have rung alarm bells in some of Mbeki’s interlocutors and persuaded them that racism was still entrenched and prevalent. They would have then come to a conclusion that the creation of a non-racial society

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<sup>441</sup>Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 750.

was still a distant reality or was taking place at a snail's pace. Mbeki called his audience to action as he asserted:<sup>442</sup>

I do not believe that it would be sufficient for us merely to remark on these figures and then do nothing. Among other things, we will have to engage the issue of human resource development [...] and the radical improvement of the management of our schools.

From the above passage, one can deduce that Mbeki proceeded from the assumption that an agreement between him (the rhetor) and his audience had been reached. Having cited the letters written by Mr Dunn and Mr Lemmer, as well as using statistics, Mbeki believed that he had done all that was necessary to gain the adherence of his interlocutors. Consequently, he had to embark on the course of action. Mbeki opined that "human resource development [...] and the radical improvement of the management of [...] schools" were, among others, some of the interventions that could be used to mitigate the effects of racial inequality in the country.

## **2.8 State of the Nation Address – 9 February 2001**

On this occasion, Mbeki launched his argument by asserting that some positive strides had been made to create a non-racial South Africa. Juxtaposing the past with the present, he had recourse to epideictic rhetoric as he lauded both black and white South Africans who, in his view, had helped to "build a better South Africa!"<sup>443</sup> Urging his audience to derive inspiration from these exemplary South Africans, Mbeki argued:<sup>444</sup>

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<sup>442</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *op cit.* 750.

<sup>443</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Address by President of the Republic, 9 February", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2001): 3.

<sup>444</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 3.

These ordinary but true heroic South Africans are not daunted by the difficulties they know we confront. They are not discouraged or overwhelmed by the litany of negative messages about our country to which all of us are exposed daily.

According to Mbeki, it was their tenacity, notwithstanding adversities, that made these South Africans worth emulating:<sup>445</sup>

Indeed the difficulties that our country faces serve as an imperative to these fellow South Africans to persist along their chosen path of working even harder to build a new society. It is thanks to their common efforts that we can make bold to say that we have continued to move forward away from a painful past. To build on these constructive efforts, we call on all our people across the colour line to dedicate this year to building unity in action for change.

The depiction of the actions of these South Africans as outstanding can be categorised as an argument by model. Indeed, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca attest:<sup>446</sup>

The person to whom prestige attaches will be described in terms of his role as a model. In order that people may be more easily inspired by his conduct, emphasis will be laid on some particular characteristic or act of his or even a particular slant may be given to his image or situation.

Perhaps in anticipation of his assertion being challenged as being unsubstantiated, Mbeki had recourse to the argumentation by example.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 4.

<sup>446</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 364.

<sup>447</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 4.



[...] In this regard, I would like to congratulate Carl Niehaus, Mary Burton, Antjie Krog and others for their initiative to contribute to the socioeconomic [sic] upliftment of their black fellow South Africans. [Applause.]

Assuming that he had established adherence to his argument after having provided the aforementioned examples of individuals who had contributed to the country's socio-economic development, Mbeki had recourse to the argument by illustration:<sup>448</sup>

There are others in our society who have also taken the lead and therefore also deserve a sincere word of appreciation. These include Afrikaner farmers and professionals and historically white schools that have voluntarily decided to devote time and resources to the development of the disadvantaged sections of our population. [Applause.]

Mbeki told his interlocutors that while relative progress had been made to “de-racialise” South Africa, inequalities among South Africans persisted.<sup>449</sup> He maintained that these inequalities were along racial lines. Appealing to the argument from authority, he averred:<sup>450</sup>

[...] Reflecting the persistence of poverty among Africans as well as disparities even at the high income levels, the bureau [BMR – Bureau for Market Research] reports that more than 84% of the low income accrued to Africans. Of income earned by the high income group, 71,9% went to whites and 22 per cent to Africans.

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<sup>448</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 4.

<sup>449</sup> “Interview with President Mbeki”, *Time Europe*, (11 September 2000): <http://www.time.com/time/europe/magazine/2000/0911/mbeki.html>. (Accessed 2 April 2012).

<sup>450</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Address by President of the Republic, 9 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2001): 7.

Though some of Mbeki's interlocutors were concerned about his perpetual reference to the racial divide in the country, he had an unflinching resolve to discuss it. Being mindful that the race issue was unpalatable to those who held the view that it had the potential of undermining national reconciliation that Mandela had inculcated, Mbeki maintained that this was a necessary evil.<sup>451</sup>

To achieve this objective, we will tell the truth as we see it. We will continue to focus our energies on ending the racist legacy, which stares us in the face every day. We will not be persuaded that the best way to deal with racism in our country is to pretend that the problem does not exist.

With missionary zeal, Mbeki further argued:<sup>452</sup>

I will stand up to proclaim these truths everywhere, whatever the political cost to myself. Perhaps needless to say, I will never seek to purchase popularity and approval by those who have the capacity to amplify their voices, by communicating what I know to be false, dishonest and dishonourable.

Contrary to those who opined that by repeatedly referring to racism, Mbeki risked undoing "the good work" that Mandela had commenced, he saw this as a logical sequence. Put differently, Mbeki did not see a disjuncture between Mandela's administration and his, but continuity. He summed up the correlation as thus:<sup>453</sup>

Needless to say, our second democratic government has worked to build on the foundations laid during the first five years since 1994. During this first

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<sup>451</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Speech at the End of the Consideration of the Budget of the Presidency" (22 June 2001): <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/2001/mbek0622.htm>. (Accessed 2 April 2012).

<sup>452</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>453</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "The Tasks Facing the ANC Two Years into Our Second Term", *ANC Today* 1, 23 (2001): See <http://www.anc.org.za/docs/anctoday/2001/at23.htm>. (Accessed 2 April 2012).

period and unavoidably, we had to concentrate on the formulation of policies and the passage of legislation that would create the framework for us to begin the process of reconstruction and development of our country.

Mbeki maintained that his administration had to focus largely on the implementation of the policies that had been formulated with a view to eradicating “the legacy of colonialism and apartheid”. Undoubtedly, one of these policies was the creation of a non-racial South Africa without which the “new” South Africa would have remained a mere pipe dream. Mbeki sought to infuse his argument with logical appeal as he implied that logic dictated that once the policies had been formulated, they had to be implemented. Needless to say, the implementation risked upsetting those who had benefitted from the status quo. Mbeki, however, told his audience:<sup>454</sup>

The achievement of this objective constitutes the essence of the foundations we built during the first five years of democratic rule.

The impressive strides made aside, Mbeki spent a fair amount of time on the challenges that the country still faced. These ranged from “raising employment levels”, “reducing poverty” to “persistent inequalities”. Having spelt out what needed to be done to address these challenges, Mbeki underlined the importance of “collective leadership” as he made an appeal to all stakeholders with a view to translating a Government plan of action into reality. In this regard, he said:<sup>455</sup>

For us to achieve maximum results with regard to these economic initiatives will require not only the commitment and energetic involvement of government but the building of a strong partnership with both business and labour.

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<sup>454</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>455</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

I therefore renew our appeal to our social partners to work together with us in a mutually beneficial partnership for change.

Speaking to the National House of Traditional Leaders, Mbeki echoed the same sentiments as he extended the invitation to the traditional leadership. He alluded to the symbiotic relationship that existed between his Government and those who occupied leadership positions, not least, the traditional leaders:<sup>456</sup>

Our meeting today is part of our ongoing engagements to seek common solutions to the challenges that face our ever-changing society and to confront questions that modern society has thrown up in relation to the role and function of the traditional leadership in the context of our own transformation process.

Mbeki's engagement with various stakeholders – at least, at this stage of his presidency – gave concrete expression to the words he had uttered during his 1999 acceptance speech as the elected President of South Africa. On that occasion, Mbeki had entered into the “social contract” with the people of South Africa. He had undertaken that his Government would interact with the people in order to establish whether “its policies are producing the intended results”. An aberration from this, he had stated, would have been “[...] inconsistent with the democratic system we seek to build”.<sup>457</sup>

In effect, the undertaking was the affirmation of the preamble to South Africa's Constitution which unequivocally states that the democratic South Africa should be “based on the will of the people”.<sup>458</sup> The impression that this assertion had created was that the era of imposition would therefore be foreign to how his

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<sup>456</sup>Thabo Mbeki, “Address to the National House of Traditional Leaders” (3 August 2001): <http://www.polity.org.za/polity/govdocs/speeches/2001/sp0803.html>. (Accessed 5 July 2012).

<sup>457</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Speech on Accepting His Election as the President of South Africa” (14 June 1999): <http://www.dfa.gov.za/docs/speeches/1999/mbek0614.htm>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>458</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996: 1.

Government conducts itself. Put differently, political power would be exercised according to the will of the people. Consent and not coercion, Mbeki had alluded, would be one of the hallmarks of his leadership.

As it has been previously stated, public participation is one of the cornerstones of South Africa's democracy. The more informed people are, the better they will understand what Government is attempting to do and what its resource constraints are. It was against this backdrop that the presidential public participation programme, formally known as *izimbizo*, was conceived.<sup>459</sup>

*Imbizo* is the singular form for gathering in the Zulu language and *izimbizo* is the plural form of the same word.<sup>460</sup> In line with the *izimbizo* concept, the President and other officials visit remote areas in South Africa where they meet with ordinary people to exchange views on the status of service delivery and problems confronting communities. The term *imbizo* is not new to the South African lexicon. It has been part of the African indigenous knowledge system for many years. It carries the traditional association of a gathering between the community and the leaders (*izinduna* or headmen or chiefs) of a tribe. In an *imbizo*, important community matters are raised and discussed, whereby the chiefs of the tribe respond. This process of listening to the people, prior to decision-making by the leaders, dates back to the pre-colonial era in African history. Indeed, recalling the proceedings of the traditional court in the then Thembuland, Mandela gives a detailed account of how the proceedings of an *imbizo* unfolded:<sup>461</sup>

Everyone who wanted to speak did so. It was democracy in its purest form. There may have been a hierarchy of importance among speakers, but everyone was heard: chief and subject, warrior and medicine man, shopkeeper and farmer, landowner and labourer. People spoke without

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<sup>459</sup> Odette Hartslief, "The South African Presidential Participation Programme (Presidential *Imbizo*): Engaging Communities for A Better Life" (2005): <http://www.engagingcommunities2005.org/abstracts/Hartslief-Odette-final.pdf>. (Accessed 15 July 2013).

<sup>460</sup> The term "*imbizo*" also exists in isiXhosa and its plural form is "*iimbizo*".

<sup>461</sup> Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom* (London: MacDonald Purnell, 1995): 20.

interruption and meetings lasted many hours. The foundation of self-government was that all men were free to voice their opinions and were equal in their value as citizens. (Women, I am afraid, were deemed second-class citizens.)

Mandela goes on:<sup>462</sup>

At first, I was astonished by the vehemence – and candour – with which people criticised the regent. He was not above criticism – in fact, he was the principal target of it. But no matter how serious the charge, the regent simply listened, showing no emotion at all. The meetings would continue until some kind of consensus was reached. They ended in unanimity or not at all. Unanimity, however, might be an agreement to disagree, to wait for a more propitious time to propose a solution. Democracy meant all men were to be heard, and a decision was taken together as a people. [...] Only at the end of the meeting, as the sun was setting, would the regent speak. His purpose was to sum up what was said and form some consensus among the diverse opinions. But no conclusion was forced on people who disagreed. If no agreement could be reached, another meeting would be held [...].

After a Cabinet decision in 2000, the *izimbizo* programme found a place in the democratic South Africa which promotes active involvement and direct participation of the public on various levels in the implementation of government programmes. Between 2001 and 2005, nine presidential *izimbizo* were reportedly held as follows: Limpopo and Eastern Cape in 2001, Free State and Gauteng in 2002, North West and Western Cape in 2003, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga in 2004 and Northern Cape in 2005.

Giving the genesis of *izimbizo*, the Government Communication Information System (GCIS) states:<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> Nelson Mandela, *ibid.*

During 2000, Cabinet decided that *Imbizo* as a style of interactive governance and communication should be adopted to promote increased dialogue between the government and people without mediation.

It goes on to say:<sup>464</sup>

[...] The aim is to give people an opportunity to raise issues about the programmes of government. This would, in the main, ensure that government listens and notes the issues raised and ensures adequate follow-up with responsible departments and bodies and where possible responds immediately, if action has already been committed or taken. Where it is not possible to respond immediately, government has to commit itself to get back and respond within a particular time frame.

The creation of a space for deliberation between the governors and the governed, in the form of presidential *izimbizo*, resonates with democracy and, in particular, participatory democracy. Referring to participatory democracy, Carole Pateman opines:<sup>465</sup>

I see the following elements as the most important in participatory democratic theory:

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<sup>463</sup> Government Communication Information System, "Addendum: Generic Key Performance Areas for Heads of Communication (HoCs): Imbizo Manual", *Government Communicators' Handbook, Part 7* (2003): 36. See Odette Hartslief, "The South African Presidential Participation Programme (Presidential *Imbizo*): Engaging Communities for A Better Life" (2005): <http://www.engagingcommunities2005.org/abstracts/Hartslief-Odette-final.pdf>. (Accessed 15 July 2013).

<sup>464</sup> Government Communication Information System, *ibid.* 37.

<sup>465</sup> Carole Pateman, "APSA Presidential Address: Participatory Democracy Revisited", *Perspectives on Politics* 10, 1 (2012): 10. See <http://www.cf.ac.uk/europ/resources/presidential%20address.pdf>. (Accessed 15 July 2013).

- The capacities, skills, and characteristics of individuals are interrelated with forms of authority structures. Individuals learn to participate by participating (the educative or developmental side of participatory democracy, the aspect most often mentioned). Thus, individuals need to interact within democratic authority structures that make participation possible.
- Participatory democratic theory is an argument about democratization. That is, the argument is about changes that will make our own social and political life more democratic, that will provide opportunities for individuals to participate in decision-making in their everyday lives as well as in the wider political system. It is about democratizing democracy [...]
- The changes required a structural; they necessitate reform of undemocratic authority structures.

Perhaps more importantly, for the governed to make any meaningful contribution to the deliberation process, they need to know how to argue their points of view. This is where the mastering of rhetoric becomes indispensable. Citizens stand a better chance of being taken seriously if they can argue logically (*logos*), if they demonstrate that they know what they are talking about or if they are credible (*ethos*) and if they can appeal to the emotions of a legislator (*pathos*).

On the face of it, one may be tempted to deduce that participatory democracy – in the form of presidential *izimbizo* – was at play in South Africa during Mbeki's presidency. However, if the remarks made by Jeremy Cronin, the Deputy General-Secretary of the SACP – in an interview with Dr Helena Sheehan, an academic philosopher and writer of politics, among others – were anything to go by, then the opposite was true. Depicting what was apparently the prevailing mood at the time on the part of some of the leaders of the Tripartite Alliance, Cronin averred:<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>466</sup>Helena Sheehan, "Interview with Jeremy Cronin" (24 January 2002): <http://webpages.dcu.ie/~sheehan/za/cronin02.htm>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).



[...] I think there are tendencies now of what some of us refer to as the zanufication [*sic*] of the ANC. You can see features of that, of a bureaucratisation of the struggle. Thanks very much. It was important that you were mobilised then, but now we are in power, in power on your behalf. Relax and we'll deliver. The struggle now is counter-productive. Mass mobilisation gets on the way. Don't worry. We've got a plan. Yes, it'll be slow, but be patient and so on. That kind of message has come through.

The reading of Cronin's remarks suggests that while there were initiatives like the presidential *izimbizo* which purportedly sought to encourage public participation, in reality though, meaningful engagement or deliberation had been stifled. This did not bode well for the vibrancy of South Africa's democracy. As Carole Pateman holds participatory democracy educates and empowers the participant and this is a key to the well-being of democracy.<sup>467</sup>

However, it is worth noting that Cronin's intimation that the ANC had embarked on muzzling robust debate was contested by the ANC. In an open letter to the delegates attending the ANC-SACP bilateral meeting, Peter Mokaba, then a member of the ANC NEC and the Head of Elections at the ANC Head Office, had this to say:<sup>468</sup>

Let me assure the SACP and its members that "discouraging debate ... and even to witch-hunt" has never been the practice in the ANC and the ANC-led Tripartite Alliance. In this revolutionary movement there has always been freedom of expression based on the true principles of constructive criticism and self-criticism of open debate. There will be no witch-hunt except that the witches of the ultra-left tendency should not seek to lodge and hide themselves in the woodworks of the Tripartite Alliance and its component

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<sup>467</sup> Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

<sup>468</sup> Peter Mokaba, "Letter from Peter Mokaba – To All Delegates at the ANC-SACP Bilateral Meeting" *Umsebenzi Online* 158, Third/Fourth Quarter (2001); See <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3053#article3>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

and blame us when we look for them. We need maximum unity of our people, the ANC, the Tripartite alliance and its components. No cadre or leader should afford to be afraid to speak their minds as they wish. The time is for men and women, cadres and leaders who have conviction of their ideas and are therefore forever ready to place them before all of us for discussions.

At all costs and as we go forward, we must avoid prevarication and obfuscation. The truth must be told, however hurtful to some. We should not maintain “friendship” among ourselves on the basis of telling one another lies.

Responding to Mokaba’s letter, Cronin welcomed Mokaba’s invitation but appealed for a “sober debate” about issues.<sup>469</sup> Indeed, the tone of Mokaba’s letter bordered on assault. The use of the words like “witches” and “ultra-left tendencies” could not create a space for rhetoric to flourish. If anything, Mokaba’s tone was threatening and factional. It barred any meaningful engagement between/among the interlocutors. Rhetoric is an antithesis of violence.<sup>470</sup> It seeks to encourage cooperation rather than confrontation. Rhetoric gives precedence over the power of the word, as opposed to the use of physical power. Rhetoric is about being respectful to the views of one’s interlocutor even if there is disagreement. Indeed, acknowledging that one’s interlocutor has a legitimate point increases the chances of being listened to.

Despite Cronin’s appeal for a “sober debate”, it would appear that the ANC did not heed his call. Indeed, South Africa’s newspaper, the *City Press*, reported that Cronin had been “roasted” by the members of the ANC NEC, including the then President Mbeki, for his utterances about the erosion of free debate within the ANC. The newspaper further alleged that Cronin was on the brink of being expelled from

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<sup>469</sup> Jeremy Cronin, “A Response to Peter Mokaba” *Umsebenzi Online* 158, *Third/Fourth Quarter* (2001). See <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3053#article4>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>470</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 55.

the ANC and was only saved by tendering a public apology.<sup>471</sup> Cronin was also vilified by Dumisani Makhaye, then a member of the ANC NEC, who made a vicious racist comment “[w]e don’t need a white messiah”.<sup>472</sup> Surprisingly, there was no public rebuke of Makhaye by the ANC, a party which had always projected itself as opposed to any form of racism.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Alliance wanted the external observers to believe that all was well insofar as the relations between the partners were concerned, the inverse was true. Indeed, Mbeki’s remarks to the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the SACP, held in July 1998 were telling. Lashing out at the SACP delegates, Mbeki maintained:<sup>473</sup>

Once again, and on behalf of the ANC, I would like to suggest that if the Communist Party is of the view that the ANC is set on a reactionary path of development, it is better that it is stated openly and substantiated with objective arguments, rather than advanced through techniques that are new to our movement, of spreading falsifications about the positions of any of the organisations of the Congress Movement, so that the accuser can pose as the genuine representative of the progress movement of our country.

Mbeki proceeded and became sterner. Borrowing the slogan of the *Partido Africana da Independência da Guiné e Carbo Verde* (PAIGC) – a political party that governed Guinea-Bissau from the independence of the then Portuguese Guinea in 1974 until the late 1990s and from 2004 to 2005 – he went further:<sup>474</sup>

Tell no lies! Claim no easy victories!

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<sup>471</sup> Jimmy Seepe, “Mbeki Roasts Cronin” (25 August 2002): <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Mbeki-roasts-Cronin-20020825>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>472</sup> Quoted in William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 294.

<sup>473</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Statement at the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the South African Communist Party” (2 July 1998): [http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98706\\_0x6359810565.htm](http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1998/98706_0x6359810565.htm). (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>474</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

[...] We would like to take advantage of this occasion to make the point that the assumption that some among you make [...] that the ANC is incapable of representing the most fundamental interests of the toiling masses of our country is wrong.

None of us should go around carrying the notion in our heads that we have a special responsibility to be a revolutionary watchdog over the ANC.

Implicit in Mbeki's assertion was that the SACP was being economical with the truth as it advanced its arguments. He therefore invited the SACP to discuss its concerns publicly with the ANC leadership so that the differences that might have existed would have been thrashed out. However, it is questionable whether Mbeki was being genuine in his invitation. Gumede recounts that it was not foreign to the ANC, especially during its ban, to try and suppress dissent. Referring to some of such incidents in the ANC's history, he states:<sup>475</sup>

Hani himself narrowly escaped imprisonment for criticising unaccountability among the ANC leadership. Fortunately for him, Tambo and senior leaders intervened. Pallo Jordan was not so lucky: for all his connections and political pedigree, he was jailed, but released early after senior leaders lobbied on his behalf.

By the Alliance's own admission, 2001 was the "lowest point" in its inter-relations. This was categorically spelt out in the Alliance Secretariat Report in which the parties conceded:<sup>476</sup>

[...] While 2001 commenced with a series of positive bilateral discussions, particularly between the ANC and COSATU, the end of the year, as we all

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<sup>475</sup> William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 47.

<sup>476</sup> African National Congress, "2002 Tripartite Alliance Summit: Alliance Secretariat Report" (5 April 2002): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2694>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

know, was perhaps the lowest point in Alliance relations since the democratic breakthrough.

It was the seriousness of the “public acrimony” that necessitated the Alliance to resolve, *inter alia*, that:<sup>477</sup>

[...] there was a broad agreement among all three Alliance partners that 2002 is the year in which we want to reposition the Alliance in order to exercise its profound responsibility to lead the society. [...] We must work to strengthen the collective and individual components of the Alliance and ensure that tensions that manifest themselves in the recent past do not recur, and are resolved through regular interactions.

The allies believed that it was imperative that they ironed out their differences given that when the Alliance sneezed – it was rightly or wrongly believed that – the whole of South Africa caught the cold.

## **2.9 State of the Nation Address - 8 February 2002**

Giving an account of the country’s political, social and economic state, Mbeki inferred that the country was faring better on the socio-economic front and was therefore changing the lives of South Africans for the better. He supported this assertion by having recourse to the argument from authority. Referring to the report penned by a team of academics from the University of Stellenbosch, led by Prof

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<sup>477</sup> African National Congress, *ibid.*

Willie Esterhuyse, Mbeki gloated about his Government successes.<sup>478</sup> The report in question made, *inter alia*, the following observations:<sup>479</sup>

The President made 43 promises in his speech. By 8 January 2002, 11 months after the speech was made, 65% of these have either been achieved or are credibly in progress; 16% have not been achieved. That gives a ratio of four items of progress versus one item not yet completed.

On a further 19% we do not have sufficient information to make a call. Sixty-five per cent versus 16% is, in our opinion a very good performance.

[Applause.]

Governance is not about pushing buttons and things happening instantaneously. Various obstacles like inertia, vested interests, competing agendas, lack of capacity and the like must be overcome.

The authority invoked by Mbeki would have minimised the possibility of major disagreement from his audience. Prof Esterhuyse was an esteemed figure whose role in bringing about a democratic South Africa could be hardly contested. He had the privilege of possessing both political, as well as academic credentials. While some might have had some reservations about Prof Esterhuyse as a person, there was no reasonable doubt that he could be depicted as a “wise” and “learned” person.<sup>480</sup> His views could therefore be regarded as being objective.

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<sup>478</sup>Prof Willie Esterhuyse is a renowned South African writer, philosopher and intellectual. He is credited for playing a leading role in opening the dialogue between the ANC and the apartheid government which paved the way for the interim Constitution which laid a basis for full democracy in South Africa. He served as Professor at the University of Stellenbosch from 1974 to 2002.

<sup>479</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Address by President of the Republic, 8 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2002): 7.

<sup>480</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 308.

To give impetus to the findings of Prof Esterhuyse and his team, Mbeki employed to commonplace of statistics with the intention of showing that the country was making headways in bringing about “a better life for all”. Giving an overview of the ANC performance in the previous years based on “data available in Government”, Mbeki argued:<sup>481</sup>

In the five calendar years leading to the end of 1998, 3 million South Africans had been provided with access to clean running water through the community water supply project. In only three years since 1999, 4 million more have been connected, bringing the total to 7 million. [Applause.] In the five calendar years to the end of 1998, 2,3 million electricity grid connections had been made. In the three years since 1999, 1,2 million new connections had been made, bringing the total to 3,48 million. [Applause.]

Mbeki went on and said:<sup>482</sup>

About 444 000 hectares had been redistributed in the land reform programme in the five years to the end of 1998. In the three years since then the number has increased to 600 000 hectares, bringing the total to over 1 million hectares. [Applause.] The pace has dramatically increased in the case of land restitution, with 48 claims settled at the end of 1998 while by the end of 2001 the total number of settlements had increased to 29 000. [Applause.] While the number of houses built or under construction was 514 000 at the end of 1998, the number currently stands at 1,2 million. [Applause.]

However, Mbeki was quick to tell his audience that although the progress made was a “cause for celebration”, there was still outstanding work to be done. Chief amongst this was the reduction of poverty. Mbeki singled out the massive rollout of social

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<sup>481</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “State of the Nation Address, 8 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2002): 10.

<sup>482</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 10-11.

grants as an intervention in this regard. This, he argued, would be made possible through “collective leadership”:<sup>483</sup>

Government will in the next few weeks approach religious bodies, trade unions, traditional leaders, youth structures, civic associations, women’s organisations and others for all of us to lend a hand so that in the next three years, we should register all who are eligible for the child grant and other social allowances.

In addition, Mbeki devoted ample time to one of the most controversial issues of his presidency: HIV and AIDS. Again, on this front, he called for the involvement of as many role-players as possible. Appealing for a holistic approach, he maintained:<sup>484</sup>

Government, working in partnership with all sectors, particularly the SA National Aids Council, Sanac,<sup>485</sup> will intensify its progressive programme against Aids, sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis and other communicable diseases.

Mbeki went on to state:<sup>486</sup>

With regard to AIDS in particular, our focus remains a massive prevention campaign directed at ensuring that the high rates of awareness translate into

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<sup>483</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 13

<sup>484</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 16.

<sup>485</sup> The South African National Aids Council (SANAC) is the highest body that advises Government on all HIV and tuberculosis (TB)-related policies, programmes and interventions in line with the National Strategic Plan for HIV, TB and sexually-transmitted infections (STIs). SANAC consists of Government, business and various civil society organisations who are engaged in programmes and advocacy to drive an evidence-informed and comprehensive response to HIV and TB across the country. See The South African National Aids Council, “About Us”: <http://www.sanac.org.za/about-us>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>486</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 16-17.



a change in lifestyles; care for the affected and infected; treatment of all diseases, including those associated with Aids; and research into a vaccine.

With the help of the argument by comparison, Mbeki argued that his Government's approach to HIV and AIDS had been recommended as an example worth emulating:<sup>487</sup>

This programme has been described by the head of UNAIDS, Dr Peter Piot, as the largest and most comprehensive in Africa and one of the largest in the world. [Applause.] He says that the programme has one of the highest levels of government investment and is already showing results.

Mbeki's argument would have appealed to the larger segment of his audience. This was so in light of the fact that the UNAIDS is a reputable, non-partisan structure which is at the forefront of the fight against HIV and AIDS. While the objectivity of other sources pronouncing on HIV and AIDS might have been viewed with scepticism, very few would have questioned the objectivity and the authority of UNAIDS on HIV and AIDS.

Providing more details on the strategy to combat the epidemic, he told his interlocutors:<sup>488</sup>

Proceeding from the accepted premise that there is no cure for Aids, we are convinced that, besides our individual and collective responsibility to take care of our own lives, protection and enhancement of the immune system is a critical intervention in both the prevention and management of Aids. By implication, therefore, poverty reduction and appropriate nutrition constitute an important front in this campaign.

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<sup>487</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 17.

<sup>488</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *op cit.* 17.

Giving an insight into Mbeki's contention that poverty was one of the factors to which attention had to be paid, as far as the fight against HIV and AIDS was concerned, Chikane states:<sup>489</sup>

The argument that poverty was one of the major factors responsible for human immunodeficiency and that poverty complicated the treatment of AIDS followed the debate about AIDS as a 'syndrome'. Mbeki suggested that poverty was one of the reasons for the virulent spread of HIV and AIDS. He argued that poor people who had no access to proper nutrition were generally more vulnerable to disease.

If one concurs with Chikane's account, Mbeki had recourse to the commonplace of antecedent and consequence.<sup>490</sup> Mbeki asserted that there was a correlation between poverty and HIV and AIDS. Furthermore, he was of the view that the antiretroviral drugs could not be effective and could even be harmful if one did not have access to healthy nourishment.

Indeed, in an interview with a British journalist and presenter, Jon Snow, conducted on 3 May 2001, Mbeki had made his views clear on the link between poverty and HIV and AIDS. Reacting to the argument that he had reportedly stated that HIV did not cause AIDS, Mbeki grabbed the opportunity to put the matter to rest. At the same time, he expatiated on how he drew a link between poverty, on the one hand, and HIV and AIDS, on the other. On this score, he had this to say:<sup>491</sup>

But I didn't, that was misreporting as you get so often happening. The point I was making, which I would make still, is this. It seems to me from reading all the things that have been written about this, that in the collapse of people's

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<sup>489</sup>Frank Chikane, *The Things That Could Not Be Said: From Aids to Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2013): 270.

<sup>490</sup> Edward P. J. Corbett & Robert J. Connors, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 104.

<sup>491</sup>Jon Snow, "Interview of President Thabo Mbeki" (3 May 2001): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2001/010507945a1001.htm>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

immune systems, a virus is part of that but there are other factors, which cause the collapse of the immune systems as a result of which people suffer from AIDS.

Mbeki went on to say:<sup>492</sup>

And therefore we need a comprehensive approach to the matter. The matter of nutrition: ask any doctor and they will say the matter of nutrition and therefore the struggle against poverty, the matter of clean water, these are critical to the protection of the immune system. So I was saying, we can't just say we focus on one thing. This is a country that is very poor and indeed that level of poverty will impact on the capacity of the immune system to survive. Let's have a more comprehensive approach to this matter. That is what I was saying.

What is apparent in Mbeki's views on poverty and HIV and AIDS is that they were imbued with what he perceived to be logic. Chikane – who worked closely with Mbeki by virtue of the position he held (Director-General in the Presidency) and therefore was privy to some information which was not in the public domain – gives an account of how Mbeki had conducted an extensive research on nevirapine. In addition, Chikane gives a narrative of Mbeki's concern about how the drug was prescribed differently in poorer countries than in richer countries.<sup>493</sup> According to Chikane, Mbeki wanted these issues to be debated and juxtaposed with orthodox. All Mbeki sought, it may be argued, was for the users of the drugs to make an informed decision. Mbeki's quest for this discourse to take place, led to him, Chikane proffers, being rightly or wrongly labelled as an AIDS "denialist" or "dissident".<sup>494</sup>

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<sup>492</sup> Jon Snow, *ibid.*

<sup>493</sup> Frank Chikane, *The Things That Could Not Be Said: From Aids to Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2013): 261-278.

<sup>494</sup> Frank Chikane, *ibid.* 289.

## 2.10 State of the Nation Address – 14 February 2003

Thabo Mbeki's speech marked almost a decade after the adoption of South Africa's interim Constitution in 1993 which had set the stage for the first democratic elections and the transition to democratic rule. Indeed, the democratisation of South Africa was to some an epitome of making the impossible possible. It was therefore opportune that Mbeki commenced his statement by spending ample time on global peace. He grabbed the opportunity to persuade his audience that the "miracle" that had taken place in South Africa could also happen elsewhere in the world. Focusing the attention of his audience on what was on everyone's lips at the time, the alleged "weapons of mass destruction" in Iraq, Mbeki asserted:<sup>495</sup>

As we speak, a number of our citizens are preparing to travel to Iraq. These are the experts who led our country's programme to destroy our nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction, as well as the missiles for the delivery of these weapons in conditions of war. The work they did has resulted in the South African example of disarmament being recognised internationally as an example of best international practice. [Applause.]

Here, Mbeki employed the argumentation by example.<sup>496</sup> He contended that South Africa had once found itself in a similar situation as Iraq was at the time and had dealt with the issue of "weapons of mass destruction" with great aplomb. Indeed, this analogy is a rhetorical fallacy because the circumstances or conditions under which the two countries (South Africa and Iraq) found themselves were not exactly the same. There was therefore a possibility that the results to be attained would have been different.

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<sup>495</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "State of the Nation Address, 14 February" *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2003): 5.

<sup>496</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 350.

Evidently, Mbeki's interlocutors would have derived pride from knowing that their country was held in high regard in the international arena. Perceivably, not everyone would have concurred with Mbeki's assertion. In anticipation of the counter-argument that his inference was unwarranted, Mbeki amplified his contention:<sup>497</sup>

Recently, we proposed to the Government of Iraq and the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Kofi Annan, that this team should visit Iraq to share with the government, scientists, engineers, technicians and people of Iraq our experience relevant to the mission of the United Nations and Iraq to eradicate weapons of mass destruction under international supervision.

Mbeki went further:<sup>498</sup>

I am pleased to inform the hon members that Iraq has accepted our offer, which we have already discussed with the leadership of the weapons inspectors. We trust that this intervention will help to ensure the necessary proper co-operation between the United Nations inspectors and Iraq, so that the issue of weapons of mass destruction is addressed satisfactorily, without resort to war.

In an interview with the journalists of the country's SABC, Redi Direko and Vuyo Mvoko, Mbeki gave the context in which South Africa's participation in the resolution of Iraq's "weapon of mass destruction" had arisen:<sup>499</sup>

Well Vuyo, we are proceeding from the position, which everybody stated, that they would rather [*sic*] that this matter was solved peacefully. You'll remember that when the inspectors reported to the Security Council on the

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<sup>497</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 5.

<sup>498</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 6.

<sup>499</sup>The Presidency, "Interview of President Thabo Mbeki by SABC TV2" (16 February 2003): <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=1911>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

27<sup>th</sup> of January, reference was made to the South African disarmament process – that that process reflected what was desired and so we thought it was important to see, what assistance we can lend to the Iraqis so that they can then implement their own disarmament programme in the manner that the Security Council approved of.

The context that Mbeki provided would have put any assumption that South Africa was exaggerating its importance to rest. As Perelman correctly points out:<sup>500</sup>

[...] argumentation by example does not consider that which is evoked to be unique, to be tied indissolubly to the context from which the described event arises. On the contrary, it seeks in the specific case the law or the structure which the example reveals. Thus a story which tells how a man through his work and talent climbs the social ladder, even if an explicit lesson is not drawn from it, is nonetheless a lesson in optimism and faith in a society which makes such success possible.

While the situation in which the Iraqis were might have been somehow different from the one in which South Africa had found itself, learning about what had happened in South Africa would have enabled them to draw lessons that they could apply to their case. In Mbeki's view, what the South Africans had done served as a model that could be replicated anywhere in the world. However, this did not imply that South Africa was imposing its views on the world. As Mbeki stated categorically in his response to the State of the Nation:<sup>501</sup>

I would like to take this opportunity to assure our neighbours and the peoples of the rest of Africa that the government we lead has no great power

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<sup>500</sup>Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 106.

<sup>501</sup>Thabo Mbeki, "Response to the Parliamentary Debate on the State of the Nation Address" (18 February 2003): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2003/03021815461003.htm>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

pretensions. *We claim no right to impose our will on any independent country.*  
[emphasis added].

Mbeki elaborated:<sup>502</sup>

We will not force anything on anybody but will act within the context of our international agreements approved by this Parliament, which obliges us to respect the obligations that fall on us in the context of our bilateral relations, SADC [the Southern African Development Community], the African Union, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Whatever we may think of ourselves, none of these give us the unilateral right to force anything on any other independent country.

Shifting his attention to the “state of the nation”, Mbeki assured his interlocutors that despite certain hurdles that still lay ahead, South Africa, particularly from the economic point of view, was in a good state. Employing the commonplace of statistics, he remarked:<sup>503</sup>

Indeed the country has managed to stay the course of growth, with the growth of the gross domestic product for 2002 estimated at 3,1%. Gross fixed capital formation grew by almost 8% during the year. We have now had 10 consecutive years of positive growth. Manufacturing grew by 5,4% in 2002, the fastest growth since 1995. Our currency has wrested back the losses it suffered during 2001. During 2002 it recorded its first annual gain against the US dollar in 15 years.

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<sup>502</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>503</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “State of the Nation Address, 14 February” *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2003): 9.

Proceeding with his account of the positive strides that the country had made, Mbeki averred:<sup>504</sup>

In the first three quarters of 2002, household consumption expenditure grew by an average of 3,2% while disposable income increased by over 3,5%. Household debt as a percentage of disposable income is at its lowest level since 1993. In the third quarter of 2002, gross savings as a percentage of GDP increased above 15% for the first time since 1999.

Mbeki's contention would have been music to the ears of the ANC and its supporters who would have maintained that the ANC Government was doing a sterling work. Indeed, they would have inferred that the implementation of GEAR by the ANC had been vindicated and that the statistics that Mbeki had provided confirmed this. By relying largely on statistics, Mbeki might have wanted to infuse his argument with credibility (*logos*).

Some sections of Mbeki's audience, however, might have argued that Mbeki was making unwarranted inferences as he arrived at this conclusion:<sup>505</sup>

We have no doubt that our policies have been and are a correct response to the practical reality we inherited. The changes taking place in our country attest to this. The lives of our people are changing for the better. Gradually we are moving away from the entrenched racial, gender and spatial rigidities of the past. Our economy is demonstrating a resilience and dynamism that is the envy of many across the world. Truly, the tide has turned. [Applause.]

Indeed, reacting to Mbeki's statement that "the tide had turned", some of the country's opposition parties differed with him. For his part, the leader of the IFP, Mangosuthu Buthelezi remarked:<sup>506</sup>

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<sup>504</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 9.

<sup>505</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 11.



One of the major problems I had with the speech related to poverty. While I applaud the government's social grant initiatives, I think we need to begin to capacitate people in rural areas to produce food, otherwise what government says will be palliatives.

Similarly, the leader of the United Democratic Movement (UDM), Bantu Holomisa, maintained:<sup>507</sup>

The tide has not turned especially in the creation of jobs and poverty alleviation.

Likewise, the leader of the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), Rev Kenneth Meshoe said that Mbeki's speech was "disappointing".<sup>508</sup>

Interestingly, there was no unanimity even within the Alliance regarding Mbeki's assertion that the economic situation in the country was rosy. Indeed, decrying the economic hardship of the majority of South Africans thanks to the economic policies that had been pursued by the ANC Government, COSATU did not mince its words:<sup>509</sup>

GEAR reinforced the vicious cycle of poverty by supporting an economic strategy that did little to support greater equality. Because its proposals for

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<sup>506</sup>"Mbeki Neglected AIDS, Zim, Crime – Opposition Parties", *Polity* (2003): <http://www.polity.org.za/article/mbeki-neglected-aids-zim-crime-opposition-parties-2003-02-14>. (Accessed 9 September 2013).

<sup>507</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>508</sup> *Ibid.* The ACDP was formed in December 1993. It comprises mainly Christians with conservative ideological leanings and it opposes, among others, abortion, homosexuality and pornography. Due to this and despite being the smallest of the seven parties then in the National Government the ACDP was the only party to vote against the current South African Constitution because, in its view, it "[...] was in conflict with Christian [p]rinciples". See African Christian Democratic Party, "Our History" <http://www.acdp.org.za/our-party/our-history/>. (Accessed 2 October 2013).

<sup>509</sup>Congress of South African Trade Unions, "The People's Budget" (2001): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=2171#2.2>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

restructuring the economy remained weak, it effectively maintained South Africa's historic growth trajectory. That growth path effectively emphasises mineral production and refining for export – which generates few jobs, strengthens big business, and reinforces the underdevelopment of the rural areas. Meanwhile, tight money policies were enforced through measures to increase interest rates, discouraging domestic investment.

COSATU became more scathing:<sup>510</sup>

In the event, the failure of GEAR strategy emerged in massive job losses, slow growth and low investment in the past three years.

In a nutshell, the gist of COSATU's contention was that the country's economic growth did not necessarily translate into the improvement of the working and living conditions of the majority of South Africans. It followed then that Mbeki's argument that "[t]he lives of our people are changing for the better" could not be further from the truth.

Indeed, the findings of the 2000 Income and Expenditure Survey (IES) cited by John Daniel and Jessica Lutchman echoed the sentiments expressed by COSATU. The said findings concluded that:<sup>511</sup>

South Africans, on average, became poorer between 1995 and 2000. Increases in social spending have not as yet translated into higher average incomes and expenditures.

Anshu Padayachee and Ashwin Desai concur with both COSATU and the findings of the IES that while the country's economy had grown, this did not amount to the

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<sup>510</sup> Congress of South African Trade Unions, *ibid.*

<sup>511</sup> John Daniel & Jessica Lutchman (eds.), *State of the Nation: South Africa 2004-2005* (Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 2005): 484

betterment of the lives of majority of the people. Accordingly, Padayachee and Desai boldly state:<sup>512</sup>

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) sought to address the issue of economic development and sustainable growth. The efficacy of these programmes remains debatable. [...]. This combination of social policies in some areas and of a conservative macroeconomic programme in others led to a sort of de-racialisation of the apex of the class structure but left the largest part of the population exactly where it was: marginalised, poor and overwhelmingly black.

On the international front, Mbeki talked about, among other things, the situation in Zimbabwe. Mbeki had been mandated by the SADC countries to facilitate the peace process in Zimbabwe due to the political instability which had taken root in that country.<sup>513</sup> As it has been previously stated, the crisis in Zimbabwe would be viewed by some observers as one of the Achilles heels of Mbeki's presidency. Dubbed by Mbeki's critics as the "quiet diplomacy" towards Zimbabwe, these proponents held a view that South Africa had to exert more pressure on Zimbabwe to bring about a democratic government. Conversely, Mbeki firmly believed that the Zimbabweans had to come up with their home-brewed solution. This view was anchored, *inter alia*, in the ANC's position on the role of South Africa on the African continent. Outlining

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<sup>512</sup> Anshu Padayachee and Ashwin Desai, "Post-Apartheid South Africa and the Crisis of Expectation – DPRN Four" (7 April 2011): <http://rozenbergquarterly.com/?p=4597>. (Accessed 23 August 2013).

<sup>513</sup> The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is an inter-governmental organisation which had its headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana. Formed on 17 August 1992 in Windhoek, Namibia, SADC's objectives are "to achieve development, peace, and security, and economic growth, to alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the peoples of Southern Africa, and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration, built on democratic principles and equitable and sustainable development". SADC comprises 15 southern African states, namely, Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. See Southern African Development Community, "About SADC": <http://www.sadc.int/>. (Accessed 23 August 2013).

its stance in this regard, from the African Renaissance perspective, the ANC had stated:<sup>514</sup>

There are two ways that South Africa can meaningfully contribute to the African Renaissance:

- a. it can bully “others”, whether they like it or not; or
- b. it should work through existing continental, multilateral structures to advance and support the defence of the progressive principles and ideals that have collectively been agreed to. It is the latter role that South Africa will have to consider; deploy its resource and political experience to advance and accelerate the implementation of the African Union and the NEPAD. The realisation of the Africa’s renaissance will be difficult to achieve without South Africa’s commitment to play its role in the continent.

Giving insight into Mbeki’s stance on Zimbabwe, in particular, and the ANC’s foreign policy, in general, Chikane cogently argues:<sup>515</sup>

What we are dealing with here is Mbeki’s particular approach in conflict resolution, which fell within the overall perspective of the rights of people and nations to determine their own destiny. But for Africans and people of the developing world Mbeki’s facilitation approach, which was in line with the decisions of the SADC and the AU, was the best hope for Zimbabweans and the region. The approach respected the sovereign right of Zimbabweans

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<sup>514</sup> African Nation Congress, “51<sup>st</sup> National Conference: Discussion Documents – The ANC and the Challenges Facing the African Continent” (30 August 2002): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2506>. (Accessed 23 August 2013).

<sup>515</sup> Frank Chikane, *The Things That Could Not Be Said: From Aids to Zimbabwe* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2013): 92.

to independently make their own decisions about the future of their country, rather than be dictated to by outsiders.

Mbeki's ideological perspective, as presented by Chikane, would have been persuasive as it sought to reinforce the age-old "Westphalian" notion of a state's independence and "legal impermeability in relation to foreign powers".<sup>516</sup> As far as the Zimbabwe situation was concerned, the underlying argument was that no country had a right to intervene in or interfere with the Zimbabwe's domestic affairs.

Chikane goes further:<sup>517</sup>

The key strategic focus of this facilitation process was to create conducive conditions that would allow Zimbabweans freely and democratically to decide on the constitution they would like to have to govern their country, and then allow them to elect leaders of their choice rather than having leaders imposed on them from outside.

For his part, William Gumede sheds some light on what might have influenced the ANC's foreign policy, under Mbeki's stewardship. According to Gumede:<sup>518</sup>

Mbeki opted for 'quiet diplomacy' on Zimbabwe because he was still haunted by South Africa's failure to prevent the execution in 1995 of Nigerian activist and playwright Ken Saro Wiwa. In the ANC government's first foray into African politics, Nelson Mandela had sent his deputy president [then Thabo Mbeki] to persuade the cruel and corrupt Nigerian dictator, Sani Abacha, to spare Saro Wiwa's life. Having served as the ANC representative in the West

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<sup>516</sup>Miyoshi Masahiro, "Sovereignty and International Law": [https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/ibru/conferences/sos/masahiro\\_miyoshi\\_paper.pdf](https://www.dur.ac.uk/resources/ibru/conferences/sos/masahiro_miyoshi_paper.pdf). (Accessed 10 September 2013).

<sup>517</sup> Chikane, *ibid.* 92.

<sup>518</sup> William M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 178.

African state for much of the 1980s, Mbeki was well acquainted with the Nigerian situation, and had agreed with Mandela that isolating the Abacha regime was likely to prove counterproductive.

But when Mbeki met with Abacha and his cronies, the military strongman made it clear that he was not impressed with newly democratic South Africa cosying up to the West, and accused both Mandela and Mbeki of being puppets.

Notwithstanding the mounting pressure exerted on Mbeki's Government to take a harsher action on Zimbabwe, this fell on deaf ears. As his response to the interview on the SABC revealed, Mbeki was not persuaded by such arguments:<sup>519</sup>

Some people want us to impose sanctions, people want us to participate in a process of the removal of the government of Zimbabwe and, so long as we don't do those things, they will criticise. [...] The matter of who governs Zimbabwe is a matter that is in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe. The matter of who governs the people of South Africa is in the hands of the people of South Africa.

Pertaining to Zimbabwe, Mbeki employed an argument of reciprocity.<sup>520</sup> He argued that it was in the hands of Zimbabweans to decide how they had to resolve the problems that they had as it was equally for South Africans to determine their own destiny. One cannot resist imagining whether Mbeki would have been satisfied with this line of argument if it had been advanced in the context of the fight against apartheid. Would it have been permissible, in Mbeki's view, if the international community had contended that South Africans had to be left on their own devices?

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<sup>519</sup> South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), "Interview of President Thabo Mbeki" (16 February 2003": <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2003/03021911461001.htm>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>520</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 221.

## CHAPTER 3

### 3.1 State of the Nation Address – 6 February 2004

This speech marked the first decade of South Africa's democracy. Coincidentally, it was the year of the country's third general elections under "one man, one vote" as it was called at the time or universal franchise. Consequently, Mbeki had his eyes on his re-election as the country's President. Mbeki commenced his speech by quoting extensively from Mandela's 1994 State of the Nation Address. He did so with a view to assessing the road that the democratic South Africa had traversed. In this regard, he maintained:<sup>521</sup>

Since time immemorial, the overwhelming majority of our people had known nothing but despair. They knew this as an incontestable matter of fact that tomorrow would be better than yesterday. It was also fixed and given that the following day would be worse. But then, April 27, 1994 came and things changed radically and irrevocably for all South Africans.

Mbeki's assertion was infused with emotional appeal (*pathos*). The "overwhelming majority of our people [read: black South Africans]" that he referred to would have recalled with sadness what life used to be prior to 1994. They would have cast their minds back to the kind of suffering that they used to be subjected to. This would have been to the advantage of Mbeki's ANC given that his speech was delivered during the election year. Some eligible voters would have therefore, rightly or wrongly, felt that the ANC had to be given another chance.

Arguing that although 1994 had brought "hope" to many, especially those who had been previously disenfranchised, Mbeki told his audience that the

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<sup>521</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Address by President of the Republic, 6 February", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2004): 8.

challenges that had to be contended with were not only political. There were still socio-economic challenges which made 1994 not *the* be-all and end-all.<sup>522</sup>

For the black, especially the African majority, suddenly a new dawn broke. After these masses cast their votes, they still had nothing in their stomachs and in their pockets. They walked away from the polling booths to return to their miserable shacks and their children, made listless by hunger and the brutish thugs who prowled the unlit dirt roads of the shantytowns, ready to pounce on their victims with no sense of mercy.

The imagery that Mbeki used painted a picture of the extent of the socio-economic challenges that the ANC Government, as it had been elected in the 27 April 1994, had to grapple with. Mbeki proceeded with his narration as he said:<sup>523</sup>

They walked the long distances to return to their homesteads of rural squalor; to the mornings of the drudgery of women with buckets full of dirty water on their heads; to the daily diet of mealie-pap; to the dark, still and menacing nights broken only by the weak, flickering light of the paraffin lamp; and to the dying embers of an exhausted fire on the humble hearth.

Again creating the impression that he empathised with the suffering (*pathos*) of those Africans who were still finding it difficult to make ends meet and whom he constantly referred to as “our people”, Mbeki remarked:<sup>524</sup>

The burden of disease impacting on *our people* [emphasis added], including AIDS, continues to be a matter of serious concern, as do issues that relate to the fact that many of *our people*, including the youth, lack the education and skills that our economy and society need.

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<sup>522</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 8.

<sup>523</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *op cit.* 8.

<sup>524</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 11.



Mbeki continued:<sup>525</sup>

There are still many of *our people* who live in shacks and others who have no access to clean water, proper sanitation and electricity. Imbalances and inequalities that impact on fellow citizens on the basis of race, gender and geographic dispersal continue to persist.

The constant use of “our people” in ANC parlance has a rhetorical appeal using *pathos*. It creates an impression that a speaker identifies himself/herself with his/her audience. He/she creates a sense that he/she shares its pain. The interlocutors of the ANC speaker then would believe that the party cares about their wretched state/condition.

Having recourse to the commonplace of comparison or an argument by comparison, Mbeki maintained that notwithstanding the socio-economic hardships that still beset certain sectors of the country’s population, the lives of the people had improved for the better. He buttressed this view by comparing the pre- and post-1994 dispensations as he averred:<sup>526</sup>

The real story is that before 1994:

- Estimates of the housing backlog ranged from 1,4 million to 3 million units and people living in shacks were between 5 million and 7,7 million;
- 60% of the population had no access to electricity;
- 16 million people had no access to clean water;
- 22 million did not have access to adequate sanitation;
- [T]here were 17 fragmented departments of education with a disproportionate allocation of resources to white schools;
- [T]here was 70% secondary school enrolment.

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<sup>525</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 11.

<sup>526</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 12.

A decade later:

- About 1,9 million housing subsidies have been provided and 1,6 million houses built for the poor of our country;
- [M]ore than 70% of households have been electrified;
- 9 million additional people now have access to clean water;
- 63% of households now have access to sanitation.
- [T]here has been successful formation of an integrated education system, even though there is clear need for more resource allocation and capacity building in poor areas;
- [N]utrition and early childhood intervention have been established to improve better results for children from poor backgrounds;
- [B]y 2002 secondary school enrolment had reached 85%.

Employing an argumentation by example, Mbeki gave two examples of instances which, in his view, demonstrated the Government's commitment to improving the lives of the people. In this regard, he said:<sup>527</sup>

On Thursday last week we were at Msinga in KwaZulu-Natal. One of the participants at the imbizo complained that though people had cellular phones in this rural and mountainous area, they could not use them. He explained that this was because the cellular companies had not erected the necessary masts.

The staff of the President's Office immediately contacted Vodacom and informed them of the complaint made at the imbizo. I am very pleased to say that two days ago one of the local leaders at Msinga called to say that the service providers had come to the area within hours to attend to the complaint. [Applause.] In less than a week, the people of Msinga had been

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<sup>527</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 15.

given the possibility to communicate among themselves and with the rest of the country and the world by telephone. [Applause.]

Giving the second example, Mbeki narrated:<sup>528</sup>

We held our last imbizo in KwaZulu-Natal at Gamalakhe near Harding, in the Ugu District Municipality. At this imbizo a local resident drew our attention to instances of corruption in our prisons. He then gave us details of his experience of this corruption. [...]. Again I am pleased to say that within days of receiving this information, Judge Jali has already instructed people assisting in KwaZulu-Natal to meet the complainant and follow up on his allegations. [Applause.]

However, not everyone concurred with Mbeki's contention that the lives of the South Africans during the ten years of South Africa's democracy had improved for the better. This was evidenced by his response to the State Nation Address when he acknowledged that the leaders of some of the opposition parties (the then Democratic Alliance and the IFP) had differed with him. On that occasion, Mbeki observed:<sup>529</sup>

Those who hold the view that the situation in our country is worse today than it was 10 years ago will have an opportunity to convince the people that this assertion is in fact true. In this regard, the Hon Tony Leon said, "the South Africa reality is that for millions of our fellow citizens, life is no better now than it was in 1994. In spite of political freedom, life is actually worse."

Mbeki went on and maintained:<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>528</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 15-16.

<sup>529</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Response to the State of the Nation Address" (11 February 2004): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2004/04021115461001.htm>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>530</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

The Hon Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi echoed this sentiment when he said: “poverty in rural areas is today worse than before 1994, when we took over the running of this country.”

At face value, Mbeki’s assertion might have appeared to be an invitation to open debate. Indeed, his contention that “[t]hose who hold the view that the situation in our country is worse today than it was 10 years ago will have an opportunity to convince the people that this assertion is in fact true”, created that impression. However, Mbeki’s response to the Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu raised doubts about his genuine commitment to meaningful debate. Delivering the Second Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture in November 2004, Tutu had made, *inter alia*, the following remarks:<sup>531</sup>

We want our society to be characterised by vigorous debate and dissent where to disagree is part and parcel of a vibrant community, that we should play the ball not the person and not think that those who disagree, who express dissent, are ipso facto disloyal or unpatriotic. An unthinking, uncritical, kowtowing party line-toeing is fatal to a vibrant democracy. I am concerned to see how many have so easily been seemingly cowed and apparently intimidated to comply.

Somehow nostalgic, Tutu had also stated:<sup>532</sup>

In the struggle days it was exhilarating because they spoke of a mandate – you had to justify your position in vigorous exchanges. That seems no longer to be the case. It seems sycophancy is coming into its own. I would have wished to see far more open debate for instance of the HIV/AIDS views of the

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<sup>531</sup>Desmond Tutu, “The Second Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture” (23 November 2004): <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/the-second-nelson-mandela-annual-lecture-address>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>532</sup> Desmond Tutu, *ibid*.

President in the ANC. Truth cannot suffer from being challenged and examined. There surely can't have been unanimity from the outset. I did not agree with the President but that did not make me his enemy. He knows that I hold him in high regard but none of us is infallible and that is why we are a democracy and not a dictatorship. The government is accountable, as are all public figures, to the people. I would have hoped for far more debate and discussion.

Tutu had also proffered:<sup>533</sup>

We should debate more openly, not using emotive language, issues such as affirmative action, transformation in sport, racism, xenophobia, security, crime, violence against women and children. [...]. It should be possible to talk as adults about these issues without engaging in slanging matches. My father used to say, "Don't raise your voice; improve your argument."

All what Tutu was appealing for was the creation of an enabling environment where meaningful and vigorous engagement would take place. He encouraged the couching of arguments in a manner that would convince or persuade, hence his reference to what his father subscribed to: "Don't raise your voice; improve your argument". Tutu made a request for the discussion of issues which were of major interest to the populace in a sober manner.

Mbeki did not seem to have taken kindly to Tutu's remarks. Contrary to the Archbishop's appeal not to use "emotive language" and "engaging in slanging matches", Mbeki responded by lashing out at him as he, among other things, said:<sup>534</sup>

The Archbishop has never been a member of the ANC, and would have very little knowledge of what happens even in an ANC branch. How he comes to the conclusion that there is "lack of debate" in the ANC is most puzzling.

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<sup>533</sup> Desmond Tutu, *op cit.*

<sup>534</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Aluta Continua", *ANC Today*, 4, 47 (2004) : 2.

Rational discussions about how the ANC decides its policies require some familiarity with the internal procedures of the ANC, rather than gratuitous insults about our members, based on a refusal to “accept the bona fides of all” for which he appealed.

Mbeki went further and said:<sup>535</sup>

As in all instances, it would be good that those who present themselves as the greatest defenders of the poor should also demonstrate decent respect for the truth, rather than indecent resort to empty rhetoric. The assertion that our movement and government intervene in the public discourse to suppress open and free debate is false. Nobody can produce one shred of evidence to contest this statement. [...] Together we must avoid the resort to populism and catchy newspaper headlines that have nothing to do with the truth and everything to do with the pursuit of self-serving agendas. Rational discussion also demands that we should take the effort to think, rather than submit to the dictates of a reassuring herd instinct.

Mbeki’s response created an impression that no one who dared to criticise him would escape his wrath.<sup>536</sup> One could therefore not help but conclude that Mbeki had not heeded Tutu’s advice of playing the ball and not the person. Indeed, Mbeki’s rebuke of Tutu was depicted as “[...] another example of Mbeki’s bitter resentment of criticism from independent voices outside the ruling African National Congress”.<sup>537</sup>

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<sup>535</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 4.

<sup>536</sup> William Mervin Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 295.

<sup>537</sup> David Blair, “Mbeki Lashes Out as Tutu Attacks ANC ‘Favouritism’” (27 November 2004): <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/southafrica/1477657/Mbeki-lashes-out-as-Tutu-attacks-ANC-favouritism.html>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

In addition, commenting on Mbeki's apparent stifling of debate, an authoritative weekly newspaper focusing on international politics and business news and opinions, *The Economist*, observed:<sup>538</sup>

Domestic critics feel that he is becoming so over-mighty and so intolerant of criticism, that he may undermine the vibrant democracy that the ANC helped create.

Interestingly, the Secretary-General of the SACP, Blade Nzimande, concurred with some of the issues that Tutu had raised, with Tutu's view on Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) being a case in point. The BEE – designed to break white control of South Africa's economy by creating a new class of black entrepreneurs – had been criticised by Tutu for creating a small circle of wealthy people who tended to be "recycled" and affiliated to the ANC.<sup>539</sup>

Speaking at the Centre of International Political Studies of the University of Pretoria, Nzimande also expressed his reservations about certain aspects of the implementation of the BEE. In this regard, he said:<sup>540</sup>

[...] However, at the same time, unless BEE is firmly located within the broader imperative of transforming the current accumulation regime, it can simply reinforce it, with cosmetic and minimal co-option of a new black elite without fundamentally changing the accumulation regime.

It is because of this that government has added an important prefix to BEE, 'broad based'. *This is because, the type of BEE practiced during much of the first*

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<sup>538</sup>Quoted in "Thabo Mbeki: A Man of Two Faces" (Special Report), *The Economist* (2005): <http://www.economist.com/node/3576543>. (Accessed 5 September 2012).

<sup>539</sup>Desmond Tutu, "The Second Nelson Mandela Annual Lecture" (23 November 2004): <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/news/entry/the-second-nelson-mandela-annual-lecture-address>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>540</sup> Blade Nzimande, "Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa: Notes towards A Lecture" (4 May 2005): <http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=68>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

*decade of our freedom has essentially been elitist, benefiting a tiny minority of black population without any substantive impact on the overwhelming majority of our people [emphasis added].*

As he concluded his lecture, Nzimande accentuated that:<sup>541</sup>

[...] BEE must be about addressing the needs of the overwhelming majority of our people.

### **3.2 State of the Nation Address – 11 February 2005**

The year 2005 was the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Freedom Charter which is viewed as having laid a foundation for the democratic South Africa.<sup>542</sup> It was also the commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary for the forced removal of the residents of Sophiatown by the apartheid system, based on the colour of their skin. It is reported that more than 60 000 residents were left homeless due to this act.<sup>543</sup> Similarly, Mbeki reminded his interlocutors that 2005 marked 20 years after the formation of one of the ANC's ally, COSATU.

The celebrations and commemorations that Mbeki referred to in his speech qualified as *epideictic* rhetoric. In a symbolic gesture, Mbeki had in his audience individuals who had witnessed these momentous epochs of the country's history. Moreover, Mbeki paid homage to the then Chief Justice, Judge Arthur Chaskalson, who had tendered his resignation as President of the Constitutional Court. Judge

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<sup>541</sup> Blade Nzimande, *ibid.*

<sup>542</sup> Christopher Mbazira, *Litigating Socio-Economic Rights in South Africa: A Choice between Corrective and Distributive Justice* (Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press, 2009): 2.

<sup>543</sup> South African Government News Agency, "Pain of Forced Removal Still Real for South Africans" (10 February 2009): <http://oldsanews.gcis.gov.za/rss/09/09021010451003>. (Accessed 29 August 2013).



Chaskalson was the first President of the Constitutional Court, the highest court in South Africa concerning constitutional matters. In addition, Mbeki paid tribute to:<sup>544</sup>

[...] the late Gavin Relly, Zac de Beer and Tony Bloom who led the delegation that braved the threats and scorn of the then apartheid regime, to meet Oliver Tambo and other leaders of the liberation movement in Lusaka in 1985. [Applause.]

Mbeki went further and said:<sup>545</sup>

I would also like to pay tribute to the late Kobie Coetsee who, 20 years ago, initiated the first contact between the apartheid regime and Nelson Mandela ... [Applause.] ... which led among other things to the release of Nelson Mandela 15 years ago today. [Applause.]

It may be argued that by spending so much time on paying tributes, Mbeki sought to create a sense of fellowship within his audience. He wanted to remind his interlocutors of the heroic acts which these fellow South Africans had performed with the intention to instil in them the feeling of what they could become. He sought to persuade them that they too could perform noble deeds. Indeed, Rob McCormarck points out that:<sup>546</sup>

Epideictic rhetoric is a call to fellowship, a gesture towards the laying or re-laying of a common ground, what ancient rhetoricians call *sensus communis* – a sense, or feeling, of community, a basis for community, a feeling of friendship and respect sufficient to underpin the productive dialogue of

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<sup>544</sup>Thabo Mbeki, "Address by President of the Republic, 11 February", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Hansard: Cape Town, 2005): 7.

<sup>545</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 7.

<sup>546</sup>Rob McCormarck, "Epideictic Rhetoric: Renewing Vision, Vibe and Values": <http://www.waalc.org.au/09conf/docs/12EpideicticRhetoric.pdf>. (Accessed 29 August 2013).

difference and dispute as different voices articulate different ways of seeing and interpreting where we are, where we have been and come from, what we could do and what we should do.

Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca put it thus:<sup>547</sup>

The purpose of an epideictic speech is to increase the intensity of adherence to values held in common by the audience and the speaker [...]. The speaker engaged in epideictic discourse is very close to being an educator. [...] Any society prizing its own values is therefore bound to promote opportunities for epideictic speeches to be delivered at regular intervals: ceremonies commemorating past events of national concern, religious services, eulogies of the dead, and similar manifestations fostering a communion of minds.

Epideictic is a speech in which people are called together to see themselves constituting a larger whole. Put differently, it is what Anderson calls an “imagined community”.<sup>548</sup> By not only commemorating or celebrating the heroic acts of one sector of South Africa’s population and rather attempting to give as holistic a picture as was possible, Mbeki strove to create some form of oneness or inclusiveness. He sought to engender the sentiment that all his interlocutors were equally capable of performing heroic acts. Indeed, Mbeki averred:<sup>549</sup>

Like Angel Jones and Marina Smithers of the Homecoming Revolution, we know very well that our country and continent provide the best and most promising locations for the solution of many of the problems that trouble the

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<sup>547</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 52-55.

<sup>548</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

<sup>549</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 7.

whole of humanity. All of us face the task to respond to this historic challenge.

Using the argument from authority, Mbeki maintained that the country was faring well, as far as the economy was concerned. To buttress his view, Mbeki quoted from a report which had been compiled by the economist, Rudolf Gouws, of the Rand Merchant Bank who had made the following observations:<sup>550</sup>

Real domestic output growth accelerated through last year to reach an annualised 5,6 per cent in the third quarter – a rate last seen in 1996 – with contributions coming from all sectors of the economy. In terms of economic growth, South Africa has long been underperforming its emerging-market peer group, but the newfound higher growth path is bringing the country more in line with other successful emerging-market nations.

According to Mbeki, Gouws had also asserted:<sup>551</sup>

The current economic upswing, which began in September 1999, is not only the longest upward phase of the business cycle in the post-WWII period, but should also be sustainable in the future. One of the reasons is that the economy is in the process of changing from one driven predominantly by consumption (government as well as households), to one driven to a greater degree by fixed investment.

As a consequence of the stronger growth, the employment picture in South Africa has gradually begun to improve. While South Africa certainly still has a major unemployment problem, there are encouraging signs.

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<sup>550</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 8.

<sup>551</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 8.

Mbeki informed his audience that he concurred with the observations that had been made by Gouws. Justifying his concurrence, Mbeki had recourse to the commonplace of statistics as he argued that the economic upsurge had translated into the ability of Government to render more services and better the lives of the people. In this regard, Mbeki said:<sup>552</sup>

Since 1994 close to 2 million housing subsidies have been allocated to the poor. Education remains our largest single budgetary item with primary school enrolment rates remaining steady at about 95,5% since 1995 and the secondary school enrolments currently at 85%.

The gross annual value of the social wage was about R88 billion in 2003 with the poor being the largest beneficiaries.

In a further attempt to prove the impressive delivery record of his Government, Mbeki again employed an argument from authority. In this instance, the purpose of this technique was to perhaps, as Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca hold, “[...] round off well-developed argumentation”.<sup>553</sup> Mbeki did this by referring to the report of the University of South Africa (UNISA) Bureau of Market Research. Titled the “National Personal Income of South Africans by Population Group, Income Group, Life Stage and Lifeplane”, the report, according to Mbeki, had stated:<sup>554</sup>

In 2001 4,1 million out of 11,2 million households in South Africa lived on an income of R9 600 and less per year. This decreased to 3,6 million households in 2004, even after taking the negative effect of price increases on spending power into account. On the other hand, the number of households receiving a real income of R153 601 and more per annum rose from 721 000 in 1998 to 1,2 million in 2004.

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<sup>552</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 9.

<sup>553</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 307.

<sup>554</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 10.

The fact that the findings cited by Mbeki had been made by the university – which is viewed as a centre of knowledge and which is objective – would have made his argument more credible. His interlocutors would have been persuaded by the fact that the speaker had invoked the opinion of the expert.

### 3.3 State of the Nation Address – 3 February 2006

Mbeki reminded his audience that the year 2006 marked the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the adoption of the South Africa's Constitution which had taken place on 8 May 1996. The participatory nature of the constitution-making process indicated the hope that the majority of South Africans had, as it was encapsulated in the Constitution.<sup>555</sup> Indeed, the Constitution spelt out the kind of the country that was envisioned. It was the country which sought to, *inter alia*, “[i]mprove the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person”.<sup>556</sup>

Having recourse to an argument from authority, Mbeki told his audience that the country was on its way to meeting some of the objects of the Constitution. In this regard, Mbeki said:<sup>557</sup>

This year opened with the inspiring news that our people were highly optimistic about their future and the future of the country, ranking eighth in the world on the optimism index. Gallup International, which issued this report, said we had three times more optimists than pessimists, and that the optimism figure had even doubled since 2002. [Applause.]

Moving closer to home, Mbeki cited the findings of a national survey institution, Markinor, which had come to a similar conclusion:<sup>558</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> On the extent of the constitution-making process, see Philippe-Joseph Salazar, *An African Athens: Rhetoric and the Shaping of Democracy in South Africa* (Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum): 64.

<sup>556</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, 1996: 1.

<sup>557</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Address by President of the Republic, 3 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2006): 10.

The results obtained by Gallup International have been confirmed by a recent domestic poll conducted by Markinor. According to this poll, 65% of our people believe that our country is going in the right direction, 84% think that our country holds out a happy future for all racial groups ... [Applause.] ... and 71% believe that government is performing well. [Applause.]

In a further attempt to reinforce the veracity of his assertion, Mbeki made reference to other two sources, again international and national. In this regard, he stated:<sup>559</sup>

With regard to the economy, late last month the Grant Thornton International Business Owners Survey reported that 84% of South Africa's business owners are optimistic about the year ahead, making them the third most optimistic internationally. [Applause.] Again last month, the First National Bank and the Bureau of Economic Research reported that the consumer confidence index was at the highest in 25 years. [Applause.]

Mbeki's continuous use of both international and national sources as he buttressed his argument might have been in anticipation of some of his interlocutors who might have not been persuaded by his assertions. Mbeki might have been under the impression that while some might have expressed doubts about the credibility of his local sources, they would have found the international sources, due to their reputations, more persuasive. The international sources would have appeared even to the sceptics to be unbiased. Indeed, Perelman contends:<sup>560</sup>

Besides, in a controversy it is most often not the argument from authority which is questioned but the *authority* who is called upon.

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<sup>558</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 11.

<sup>559</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 11.

<sup>560</sup> Chaïm Perelman, *The Realm of Rhetoric* – Translation by Kluback W. Notre Dame (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1982): 94.

Averting committing what Corbett and Connors depict as “the fallacy of the half-truth”, Mbeki stretched his argument and unpacked the findings of one of the surveys that he had referred to.<sup>561</sup> He maintained that while the future looked bright, there was room for improvement as there were still areas where the findings had revealed that the country lagged behind. On this score, Mbeki told his interlocutors:<sup>562</sup>

The Markinor survey to which we have referred indicates some of the concerns of our people. Whereas as we have indicated, 71% believe that government is generally performing well, only 56% think the government is responding well to our economic challenges, with the figure dropping to 54% with regard to the cluster of Justice functions.

Mbeki proceeded and gave an in-depth analysis of his source.<sup>563</sup>

We must also note that the government’s approval rating with regard to the economy moves in tandem with the levels of income. Significantly, 72% approve the government’s efforts in various areas of social delivery. In contrast, only 45% believe that the sphere of local government is performing well.

It was vitally important to disclose these facts because a failure to do so would have distorted the findings of the survey. Had Mbeki left out this part, this would have dented his *ethos*. Again, Corbett and Connors counsel:<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> Edward P. J. Corbett & Robert J. Connors, *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 64.

<sup>562</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 13.

<sup>563</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 13.

<sup>564</sup> Edward P. J. Corbett & Robert J. Connors, *ibid.* 73.

If a discourse is to reflect a person's moral character, it must display an abhorrence of unscrupulous tactics and specious reasoning, a respect for the commonly acknowledged virtues, and an adamant integrity. If the discourse is to manifest a person's good will, it must display a person's sincere interest in the welfare of the audience and a readiness to sacrifice any self-aggrandisement that conflicts with the benefit of others.

By giving the downside of the findings of the Markinor survey, Mbeki sought to show the respect of the diverse views which had been highlighted in the survey. This would have portrayed him as a credible speaker who was not hell-bent on convincing his interlocutors that all was well in the country, while the reverse was true. It was crucial for Mbeki to do that as it was possible that some of his interlocutors might have read the survey that he was referring to and would have therefore underlined his selective use of the findings.

Regarding what remained to be done to bring about what he called the "Age of Hope", Mbeki underlined the primacy of "collective leadership" to problem-solving as he stated:<sup>565</sup>

The hon members and the country at large are aware that, under the leadership of Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, the three spheres of government have been working for some months to elaborate the specific interventions that will ensure that Asgisa, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa, succeeds in its purposes, which include the reduction of the unemployment levels.

Launched in July 2005, ASGISA was a Government intervention intended to, among other things, respond to skills shortages in the country and have poverty and

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<sup>565</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 14-15.



unemployment by 2014. It was touted as the “national shared growth initiative, rather than merely a government programme”.<sup>566</sup>

Mbeki proceeded:<sup>567</sup>

In this regard, I would like to thank the members of the private sector, the trade union movement, women, youth and civil society who have participated in this process, making valuable input into an important initiative that must be owned and implemented by our people as a whole.

At face value, one would be tempted to conclude that there was a buy-in from South Africans of all walks of life pertaining to what needed to be done to address the remaining challenges. Mbeki’s assertion implied that the ANC, under his leadership, was willing to entertain the views of the various role-players. It is, however, interesting to note that one of the ANC’s allies, COSATU, held a different view. Indeed, COSATU claimed that the ANC Government was “drifting towards dictatorship”.<sup>568</sup> COSATU’s then General-Secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, was quoted as having said:<sup>569</sup>

A frightening culture has developed in the ANC of cutting corners and not only to ignore internal democratic processes but to be contemptuous of them.

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<sup>566</sup> South African Government Information, “Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (Asgisa)” (n.d): <http://www.info.gov.za/asgisa/asgisa.htm>. (Accessed 27 September 2013).

<sup>567</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 15.

<sup>568</sup> Leon Engelbrecht, “COSATU: ANC Drifting towards Dictatorship” (25 May 2006): <http://mg.co.za/article/2006-05-25-cosatu-anc-drifting-towards-a-dictatorship>. (Accessed 30 November 2007).

<sup>569</sup> Andrew Quinn, “COSATU Sees S. Africa “Drift towards Dictatorship” (25 May 2006): [http://www.redorbit.com/news/international/516766/cosatu\\_sees\\_safrica\\_drift\\_toward\\_dictatorship/](http://www.redorbit.com/news/international/516766/cosatu_sees_safrica_drift_toward_dictatorship/). (Accessed 30 November 2007).

Some of the instances that bore testimony to this were, according to Vavi, the intimidation of journalists by senior ANC officials, as well as the general stifling of debate and closing of democratic space. However, Vavi's assertion was refuted by the then Secretary-General of the ANC, Kgalema Motlanthe, who argued:<sup>570</sup>

Statements about tendencies toward dictatorship and the centralisation of powers within the ANC and government presidencies ... are not borne out by reality. [...] Unless properly rebutted, these statements may cause confusion and uncertainty among the membership of the alliance and among the broader public.

Motlanthe's rebuttal was less reassuring, especially in light of the fact that Mbeki had reportedly depicted the Secretary of the SACP, Blade Nzimande, for expressing his views on the historical mission of the Tripartite Alliance as "extraordinary arrogant".<sup>571</sup> Nzimande was labelled as such notwithstanding the fact that COSATU had echoed Nzimande's views.

### **3.4 State of the Nation Address – 9 February 2007**

Having recourse to epideictic rhetoric, Mbeki commenced his speech by eulogising and mourning the death of Adelaide Tambo, the then widow of the former ANC President, Oliver Tambo, who had died on 31 January 2007. In this regard, Mbeki told his interlocutors:<sup>572</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> South African Press Association (Sapa), "Mbeki not Drifting towards Dictatorship – ANC" (29 May 2006): <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mbeki-not-drifting-towards-dictatorship-anc-1.279528>. (Accessed 30 November 2007).

<sup>571</sup> Tim Modise, "Mbeki A 'Cowardly Dictator'" (12 October 2006): <http://www.news24.com/Columnists/Archive/TimModise/Mbeki-a-cowardly-dictator-20061012>. (Accessed 23 October 2013).

<sup>572</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Address by the President of the Republic, 9 February", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2007): 3.

When she died, we knew that Mama Adelaide Tambo had recently been discharged from hospital. But because we also knew that she had the tenacity and the strength of will to soldier on among the living, we had intended to welcome her and other members of her family as our guests on this august occasion. But that was not to be.

Mbeki then proceeded and gave an account of what, in his opinion, his Government had done to contribute to the country's socio-economic development, as well as what remained to be done. However, the main thrust of Mbeki's speech was what he referred to as "social cohesion". Pertaining to this, Mbeki contended:<sup>573</sup>

A critical leg of these social interventions should be the intensification of joint efforts among all South Africans to improve *social cohesion* [emphasis added]

Mbeki went further and posed the question:<sup>574</sup>

Have we all fully internalised our responsibility in building *social cohesion* [my emphasis] and promoting a common sense of belonging, reinforcing the glue that holds our nation together?

Depicting "social cohesion", Struwig *et al*, using Janmaat's and Han's definition, define it as thus:<sup>575</sup>

Social cohesion refers to the property by which whole societies, and the individuals within them, are bound together through the action of specific

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<sup>573</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 12.

<sup>574</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 13.

<sup>575</sup> Jaré Struwig, Yul Derek Davids, Benjamin Roberts, Moses Sithole, Virginia Tilley, Gina Weir-Smith and Tholang Mokhele, "Towards A Social Cohesion Barometer for South Africa" : <http://www.psppd.org.za/MediaLib/Downloads/Home/ResearchEvidence/Towards%20a%20social%20cohesion%20barometer%20for%20South%20Africa.pdf>. (Accessed 7 April 2014).

attitudes, behaviours, rules and institutions which rely on consensus rather than pure coercion.

If one were to concur with this definition of “social cohesion”, Mbeki was inviting his audience to actively partake in finding solutions to the challenges that confronted the country. Doing this, however, necessitated some agreement on the rules of engagement. Put differently, Mbeki appealed for “collective leadership” as he realised that the task at hand could not be handled by Government alone. Mbeki urged everyone to work towards achieving what may be referred to as “South Africanness”. Indeed, Mbeki averred:<sup>576</sup>

[...] measures required to improve social cohesion cannot be undertaken by government alone. We must, together as South Africans, speak of freedom from want and from moral decay, and work to attain the happiness that comes with it.

By employing an argument of inclusion, one gets the sense that Mbeki was making a clarion call for an open discussion. As Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca maintain:<sup>577</sup>

The assumption is that in discussion the interlocutors are concerned only with putting forward and testing all arguments for and against, bearing on the various matters in question. When successfully carried out, discussion should lead to an inevitable and unanimously accepted conclusion, if the arguments, which are presumed to weigh equally with everyone, have, as it were, been distributed in the pans of a balance.

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<sup>576</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 13.

<sup>577</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *The New Rhetoric: A Treatise on Argumentation* – Translated by John Wilkinson and Purcell Weaver (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1969): 37-38.

This depiction of a discussion is, in many respects, akin to how deliberative democrats construe the model of deliberation among equal and autonomous individuals.

### 3.5 State of the Nation Address – 8 February 2008

Mbeki began his speech by referring to certain incidents or moments in history which had exemplified the tenacity of South Africans and a unity of purpose. Casting the mind of his interlocutors on some of these trying moments, Mbeki stated:<sup>578</sup>

I speak here today in the presence of my mother, Epainette Mbeki ... [Applause] ... MaMofokeng, who came to communicate an unequivocal message from the rural masses of the Transkei, among whom she has lived for many decades. She says these masses demand of all of us who claim to be their leaders, that we tell them and others like them elsewhere in our country, whether we remain committed to the undertaking we have made that tomorrow will be better than today. [...].

Mbeki amplified his argument:<sup>579</sup>

We welcome to this occasion Mr Arthur Margeman, representing the veterans of the Alexandra bus boycott of fifty years ago, who include Nelson Mandela. [Applause]. We are also privileged to have among us Ms Jann Turner, the daughter of Rick Turner who was murdered by apartheid 30 years ago. [Applause.]

We are also pleased to have among us Mr Dinilesizwe Sobukwe, son of the outstanding patriot and leader, Robert Sobukwe, who also passed away 30

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<sup>578</sup> Thabo Mbeki, "Address by the President of the Republic, 8 February", *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2008): 66.

<sup>579</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 67.

years back after enduring many years of imprisonment, banishment and other forms of repression. [Applause.] We acknowledge, both among the Honourable Members and our guests, the many founders of the United Democratic Front, 25 years ago. [Applause.]

By invoking the experiences of “the rural masses of the Transkei”, the names of people like Arthur Margeman, Rick Turner, Robert Sobukwe and “the founders of the United Democratic Front”, Mbeki invited his interlocutors to exude the same degree of “indomitable spirit” which their forbearers had shown.<sup>580</sup> Mbeki appealed to his interlocutors to persevere for the sake of the democratic South Africa for which many had suffered for, had been tortured for, had been put in detention for, had been exiled for and, worse still, had laid down their lives for. He wanted to instil in them the belief that in the face of all the adversities, they too could overcome and they would, in turn, go down in the annals of history as one of “the greats”.

As he invoked these historic moments in his exordium, Mbeki employed what Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca call the “conditioning of the audience” by the speaker.<sup>581</sup> Mbeki wanted his interlocutors to be in a particular frame of mind. This was so given that what was supposed to have been his penultimate State of the Nation Address took place at the time when the country was confronted by a number of challenges.<sup>582</sup> A summation of these challenges was captured by Mbeki as he stated some of what were undoubtedly the preoccupations of the majority of South Africans at the time:<sup>583</sup>

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<sup>580</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 67.

<sup>581</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 495.

<sup>582</sup> On 22 September 2008, the ANC NEC resolved to “recall” Thabo Mbeki as the President of South Africa for what it said was “[...]in the interest of making the country move forward”. See, Jacob Zuma, “Focus on the Challenges Facing our People”, *ANC Today*, 8 (37) 2008: <http://www.anc.org.za/docs/ancoday/2008/at37.htm>. (Accessed 23 October 2013).

<sup>583</sup> Thabo Mbeki, “Address by the President of the Republic, 8 February”, *Debates of the Joint Sitting* (Cape Town: Hansard, 2008): 70.

They [South Africans] are concerned about some developments in our economy, especially the steady increase in interest rates, in food and in fuel prices, which further impoverish especially the poor. Some among these worry about the possible impact on our own economy of the threat of economic recession in the United States.

Mbeki continued and told his audience:<sup>584</sup>

They are worried about whether we have the capacity to defend the democratic rights and the democratic Constitution which were born of enormous sacrifices. This is driven by such developments as the prosecution of the National Commissioner of Police, the suspension of the National Director of Public Prosecutions, fears about a threat to the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law, and the attendant allegations about the abuse of state power for political purposes.

It was no exaggeration that these were trying times in South Africa. Indeed, Gevisser aptly paints a picture of what, in the eyes of many, was the “true state of the nation” as Mbeki delivered his speech:<sup>585</sup>

[...] *2008 became the darkest year yet in postapartheid [sic] South Africa*: [emphasis added] because of the power crisis, because of the xenophobic violence, because of gathering recession that began to hit consumers even before the international credit crisis of September. Property prices plummeted, the rand fell, and there was evidence of the greatest emigration wave since the early 1990s. This exacerbated the already-intense skills crisis that was one of the greatest challenges facing the South African economy. After a decade and a half of political stability, the uncertainty arising from Mbeki’s defeat at Polokwane played a significant part in this upheaval. South Africa had

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<sup>584</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>585</sup> Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009):333.

entered a second transition, a period not unlike the transition to democracy in the early 1990s: huge expectations from one sector of the population, great anxiety from another; an old executive under Mbeki that appeared to have lost its will to govern, a new one in the wings under Zuma trying to assert its authority and needing to reassure the jittery markets.

Making use of an argument from authority, Mbeki extensively quoted from Charles Dickens' novel titled *A Tale of Two Cities*. He did this in an attempt to capture how the prevailing mood of South Africans at the time of the delivery of his speech could be depicted:<sup>586</sup>

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we have everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we are all going direct the other way – in short, the period was so far like the present period that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on being received, for good or evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

In a nutshell, Mbeki concurred that there were challenges but contended that they could be interpreted differently by different people. Others would be optimistic and others would be pessimistic. Giving his audience his own interpretation, Mbeki asserted:<sup>587</sup>

You will ask whether I agree with this assessment, whether I too believe that we have entered an era of confusion, in which all of us cannot but lose our way, unsure of our steps, unsteady on our feet, fearful of the future!

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<sup>586</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 69.

<sup>587</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 70.



My answer to this question is a definite “No”. Like the rest of our government, I am convinced that the fundamentals that have informed our country’s forward march in the past 14 years remain in place. They continue to provide us with the strong base from which must proceed as we keep our eyes firmly focussed on the continued pursuit of the goal of a better life for all our people.

It was incumbent upon Mbeki as the President of the country to assure South Africans who were demoralised that all was not lost. This was more so in light of the fact that although Mbeki was the President of the country, he was no longer the President of the ANC having been defeated by Jacob Zuma in the ANC’s 52<sup>nd</sup> electoral Conference held in December 2007.<sup>588</sup> Though no longer the President of the ANC, Mbeki had to convey the unequivocal message that he was still at the helm of the country and that what had happened in December 2007 had no bearing on him steering the ship.

The fact that Mbeki openly admitted that there were challenges can be rhetorically viewed as “advance defence”.<sup>589</sup> A failure to highlight these challenges would have given ammunition to the opposition parties during their response to Mbeki’s State of the Nation Address. Conversely, his admission or concession might have boosted his credibility in the eyes of his interlocutors. He might have come across as noble.

Mbeki sought to instil optimism in his audience, arguing that, collectively, South Africans were able to overcome what in the eyes of some appeared to be insurmountable challenges. Indeed, he averred:<sup>590</sup>

I say this with unshakable conviction, because I am certain that South Africans are capable and geared to meet the challenge of history – to strain

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<sup>588</sup> Jacob Zuma, “52<sup>nd</sup> National Conference: Closing Speech” (20 December 2007): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=2538>. (Accessed 6 October 2013).

<sup>589</sup> Chaïm Perelman & Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, *ibid.* 501.

<sup>590</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.* 90

every sinew of our being – to respond to the national challenges of the day, including those relating to our economy, the political and economic situation in Africa and elsewhere in the world, and seize the opportunities that our country's progress over the past 14 years has provided.

With all hands on deck, and committed to conducting our business in an unusual and more effective fashion, we shall sustain the process of our reconstruction and development and take it to even higher levels [...].

This part of Mbeki's speech might have not only been addressed to his immediate audience in South Africa, but also to the universal audience. The enormity of the challenges warranted the reassurance of the potential investors that notwithstanding all the challenges South Africa, under Mbeki's leadership, was able to weather the storm.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

Unlike Mandela who spent the most part of his presidency trying to reconcile and build a fledgling, democratic South Africa, Mbeki, in large part, had to contend with the unenviable task of the country's socio-economic transformation. Attending to this challenge was bound to generate controversy as it inevitably implied altering the prevailing status quo. The changes that had to come as a result of the interventions aimed at bringing about the country's socio-economic redress implied that some people (the previously advantaged) had to move out of their comfort zone. It was therefore inevitable that there would be resistance from certain quarters.

While, on the one hand, Mbeki created the impression that he wanted "collective leadership" to thrive, on the other, he displayed an aversion to debate especially from those who held views that differed from his. His oscillation led to a generally-held view that he was stifling a vibrant and rigorous debate. Mbeki's handling of HIV and AIDS debate, as well as the Zimbabwe issue alienated many. Agreeing or disagreeing with him aside, Mbeki's views on these matters were,

according to his biographer, Mark Gevisser, underpinned by his African Renaissance philosophy.<sup>591</sup> Mbeki firmly believed that Africans were capable of determining their own destiny.

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<sup>591</sup> Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2007): 764.

## CHAPTER 4

### 4.1 Conclusion

This study has brought to the fore a number of observations. One of these is that there is a concerted effort on the part of those who are at the helm of the ANC (the Presidents) to ensure or at best to create the impression that there is “collective leadership” within the ruling party. In addition, an impression is created that this “collective leadership” also extends to the relations between the ANC and its Alliance partners, as well as South Africans from various walks of life. As it has been previously stated, Mandela’s farewell speech encapsulated this as he stated<sup>592</sup>

Indeed, Madame Speaker, I have noted with deep gratitude, the generous praise that has often been given to me as an individual.

But let me say this:

To the extent that I have been able to achieve anything, I know that this is because I am the product of the people of South Africa.

I am the product of the rural masses who inspired in me the pride in our past and the spirit of resistance.

I am the product of the workers of South Africa, in the mines, factories, fields and offices of our country, have pursued the principle that the interests of each are founded in the common interest of all.

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<sup>592</sup> Nelson Mandela, “Speech at the Final Sitting of the First Democratically Elected Parliament” (26 March 1999); <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/990326530p1004.htm>. (Accessed 1 April 2013).

I am the product of South Africa's intelligentsia, of every colour, who have laboured to give our society knowledge of itself and to fashion our people's aspirations into a realisable dream.

I am the product of South Africa's business people – in industry and agriculture, commerce and finance – whose spirit of enterprise has helped turn our country's immense natural resources into the wealth of the nation.

To the extent that I have been able to take our country forward to this new era it is because I am the product of the people of the world who have cherished the vision of a better life for all people everywhere. They insisted, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, that that vision should be realised in South Africa too. They gave us hope because we knew by their solidarity that our ideas could not be silenced since they were the ideas of all humanity.

In a similar vein, in his farewell letter to Cabinet subsequent to his "recall", Mbeki purportedly underlined the primacy of "collective leadership". In this regard, among other things, he said:<sup>593</sup>

First of all I would like to thank you for having agreed to serve in the National Executive when you were requested to do so. This demonstrated your selfless commitment to serve the people of South Africa, which told me that I was indeed very privileged to have the possibility to work as part of such *a collective* [emphasis added] of South African patriots.

All of us, together, have always understood that as members of the National Executive, we carry the heavy responsibility to stand in the front ranks of the

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<sup>593</sup>Thabo Mbeki, "Farewell Letter to Cabinet" (24 September 2008): <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politicsweb/view/politicsweb/en/page71656?oid=104443&sn=Detail>. (Accessed 23 September 2013).

national forces charged with the historic task to achieve the goals of the national democratic revolution.

Moreover, Mbeki maintained:<sup>594</sup>

You, an outstanding and immensely talented collective of patriots, have, during the years we have worked together, placed and demonstrated confidence in me as the leader of the National Executive.

It is, however, a truism that the ANC's "collective leadership" refrain is not readily accepted, especially by observers. Reflecting on this, in the context of the questions that were raised about Thabo Mbeki's suitability as he was about to succeed Nelson Mandela as the President of South Africa, Chikane observes:<sup>595</sup>

Mandela was seen as *the only embodiment* [emphasis added] of the policies of reconciliation, peace and nation-building, as *the only person within the ANC* [my emphasis] who was ready always to walk the extra mile to accommodate the interests of whites. His protestation that the policies he followed were the policies of the ANC fell on deaf ears among those who believed that he was the odd man out in the party.

Chikane concedes:<sup>596</sup>

Indeed, Mandela was different and unique, but he always pursued vision of a united and reconciled South Africa within the policy framework of the ANC.

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<sup>594</sup> Thabo Mbeki, *ibid.*

<sup>595</sup> Frank Chikane, *Eight Days in September: The Removal of Thabo Mbeki* (Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2012): 93.

<sup>596</sup> Frank Chikane, *ibid.*

It would, however, be fallacious to conclude that there has always been or that there is always a space for “collective leadership” within the ANC. Indeed, it was during Mandela’s stewardship that GEAR, as the country’s economic policy, was presented as a *fait accompli*. Though Mandela was still the President at the time, he had mandated Mbeki, then his Deputy, to spearhead GEAR. Notwithstanding the implications for this policy as it advocated a radical economic trajectory, Mbeki pushed GEAR through without taking cognisance of the views of the Tripartite Alliance. Confirming this, Gevisser puts it:<sup>597</sup>

Mbeki was GEAR’s godfather, and he and Manuel [the then Minister of Finance] – supported by Mandela – advocated it with steely determination. One of the messages the new ANC government needed to get across was that, in an environment of heightened contestation, it was firmly in charge and that the communist tail no longer wagged the ANC dog. And so the policy was presented as a *fait accompli*; it was nonnegotiable [*sic*].

Gevisser continues:<sup>598</sup>

Knowing that GEAR would be unpopular, particularly to the ANC’s left-wing allies, Mbeki made a point of giving Manuel political cover, introducing it in parliament and then goading critics at the press briefing afterward with the line, “Call me a Thatcherite!” Mbeki insisted that there was no other way, and his defense [*sic*] of GEAR would bring out a belligerence in him never seen before: He would dismiss the policy’s critics as ideological, puerile, irrational, mendacious, racist, and politically expedient.

Undoubtedly, under these circumstances, there was no space for rhetoric to flourish as the views of various stakeholders were not canvassed. Instead of persuading its allies why GEAR was the best economic policy option for South Africa – as a

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<sup>597</sup>Mark Gevisser, *Thabo Mbeki: The Dream Deferred* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2009):250.

<sup>598</sup> Mark Gevisser, *ibid.*

precedent had been set during the formulation of the RDP which had been characterised by mass participation – Mandela’s Government resorted to muzzling those who held differing views as it contended that the policy was “non-negotiable”.<sup>599</sup> One cannot help but concur with Gumede who holds:<sup>600</sup>

Leaders who explain themselves and can be questioned instead of merely issuing dictates and introducing policies that are beyond criticism are far more likely than those who discourage dissent and crush debate.

Moreover, while the ANC was adamant that initiatives such the presidential *izimbizo* sought to encourage public participation, utterances by some of the Alliance’s prominent figures that the ANC under Mbeki displayed the signs of Zimbabwe African National Union –Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) tempt one to conclude that, at times, the ANC was merely paying lip service to “collective” leadership”. Indeed, this prompted Cronin to talk about the “zanufication [*sic*] of the ANC”.<sup>601</sup> Echoing Cronin’s sentiments, Lodge observes:<sup>602</sup>

Policy making within the Tripartite Alliance was participatory and even democratic in character up to the 1994 election. Since then, macro-economic policy-making has become an increasingly circumscribed undertaking. The predisposition of individual ministers is the most important determinant of how widely the policy-making process is shared.

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<sup>599</sup>Congress of South African Trade Unions, “COSATU 6<sup>th</sup> Congress” (1997): <http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=2154>. (Accessed 2 May 2012).

<sup>600</sup> William M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 306.

<sup>601</sup>Helena Sheehan, “Interview with Jeremy Cronin” (24 January 2002): <http://webpages.dcu.ie/~sheehan/za/cronin02.htm>. (Accessed 29 April 2011).

<sup>602</sup> Tom Lodge, “Policy Processes within the African National Congress and the Tripartite Alliance”, *Politikon* 26, 1 (1999): 29.



Giving an example of this propensity, Lodge states:<sup>603</sup>

The ANC's policy apparatus has functioned only intermittently since 1994. Its official policy-making procedures remain very complex and their design makes it difficult for the organisation to exercise direct influence over government departments or the parliamentary caucus. The drafting of GEAR, the most significant policy initiative since the ANC's adoption of the RDP, within the Ministry of Finance, and the confinement of the political process leading to its adoption to the Deputy President's office and at a late stage, cabinet are the most telling indicators of the main sites of policy formation.

Similarly, Gumede gives a comprehensive narrative of how "collective leadership" was held in abeyance by the ANC, especially during Mbeki's presidency. In what typified an "iron fist" leadership style, Gumede maintains:<sup>604</sup>

Cabinet ministers almost never challenge Mbeki, lest they lose their privileged positions. Asked for her opinion on a specific matter during a cabinet meeting, Sigcau once responded: 'You decide, Thabo, you know you can count on my support on any issue. By all accounts, this attitude has become the norm rather than the exception.

He goes further:<sup>605</sup>

Parliamentarians, too, have been cowed into submission. SACP general secretary Blade Nzimande quit the assembly in 1999 amid bitter private complaints that he had been deliberately marginalised for taking Mbeki and the ANC policies to task.

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<sup>603</sup> Tom Lodge, *ibid.*

<sup>604</sup> William M. Gumede, *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2005): 297.

<sup>605</sup> William Gumede, *ibid.* 297.

Several other back-bench rebellions have been quashed. When the ANC whip Thabang Makwetla demanded more oversight power for the ANC's parliamentary wing, he was redeployed to the provinces. MPs [Members of Parliament] have long been held in check by a special committee headed by deputy president Jacob Zuma, appointed by the ANC leadership as a 'super whip' who directly reports to Mbeki.

South Africa will be enriched if its populace were to meaningfully partake in how the country should be governed. In addition, the members of the ANC and its Alliance partners need not to kow-tow to the powers-that-be, but have to be vociferously critical of the ANC Government and its policies. As Gumede correctly points out:<sup>606</sup>

Dissenters might well cause tension, but, importantly, they are also likely to improve the performance of the ANC and its policies. Institutions have a better chance of success if their leaders are subject to scrutiny, and if their actions are continually monitored and reviewed.

This necessitates, *inter alia*, that citizens should be well equipped, as far as argumentation is concerned, so that they can be in a position to couch their arguments in a persuasive manner. They should be able to argue in a manner which will draw the attention of a reasonable person.

Gumede goes on and opines:<sup>607</sup>

If critics in a free society are portrayed as disloyal, unpatriotic or enemies of the state, there is a great cause for concern. Freedom of speech is a meaningless right if group pressure demands conformity [...].

Perhaps those at the helm of the ANC should take a leaf of Tambo's book. Of the

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<sup>606</sup> William Gumede, *ibid.* 306

<sup>607</sup> William Gumede, *op. cit.* 306.

leadership style of his former mentor, Oliver Tambo, Mbeki had this to say:<sup>608</sup>

In the exercise of his leadership, Comrade OR [Oliver Reginald Tambo] was always ready and willing to listen to everybody, whatever their rank within the organisation. He would come to meetings having researched the topics that were to be discussed, having formulated a view, having thought through what it was that we had to do and what it was that we ought not to do.

He would not, however, air his views at the beginning of the discussion, but would rather wait, listen, to people, take copious notes, and let everybody speak as they saw fit. Once he had heard what others had to say and reflected on it, only then would he speak. Nobody who worked with OR could ever claim that he did not consider their views when arriving at a decision.

While it is understandable that the leader of Government is, at times, bound to make unpopular decisions, he/she should always strive to take the citizens into his/her confidence. Winning the hearts and the minds of the populace will stand a leader in good stead, as opposed to presenting issues as “non-negotiable” or alienating those who differ with him/her.

Last but not least, the study has revealed one of the challenges placed on the President of the ANC who is, at the same time, the President of the country. Section 83(c) of the Constitution entrusts the President with promoting “the unity of the nation and that which advance the Republic”.<sup>609</sup> This constitutional provision requires the country’s President to be an expression of the unity of the nation, rather than the expression of narrow political interests. The President is expected to “advance” the interests of “the Republic” rather than the political party. This then becomes a litmus test for the country’s President who is also the President of the ANC because while he/she has to uphold the country’s Constitution, he/she equally has to pay due regard to the dictates of “collective leadership”, an attribute that is

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<sup>608</sup> Luli Callinicos, *Oliver Tambo : Beyond the Engeli Mountains* (Claremont : David Philip, 2004) : 7.

<sup>609</sup> *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996*: 52.

viewed in ANC circles as part of its heritage and which continues to be expected of its leaders.

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APPENDIX A : MANDELA, NELSON, "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC, 24 MAY", 2-16.  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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# JOINT SITTINGS

OF

## BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

(HANSARD)

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24 May to 15 November 1994

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(Vol 1)

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ISBN 0 621 16405 4 (Vol 1)  
ISBN 0 621 16407 0 (Set)





REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**DEBATES**  
**OF THE**  
**JOINT SITTING**  
**(HANSARD)**

**FIRST SESSION — FIRST PARLIAMENT**

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same speech, indicates the original language.

1

TUESDAY, 24 MAY 1994

2

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly met in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 14:15.

Madam Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers and meditation.

**CALLING OF JOINT SITTING**

Madam Speaker read a message from the President calling a joint sitting, as follows:

I hereby request, under the provisions of section 57(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 (Act No 200 of 1993), that a joint sitting of the National Assembly and the Senate be convened to start on Tuesday, 24 May at 14:15, to enable me to address Parliament and for further proceedings in that regard.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria on this 19th day of May, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-four.

N R MANDELA,  
President.

By Order of the President-in-Cabinet:

J NAIDOO,  
Minister of the Cabinet.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC:  
Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker, President of the Senate and Deputy President, Deputy Presidents, Chief Justice, distinguished members of the National Assembly and the Senate,

Provincial Premiers, Commanders of the Security Forces, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, esteemed guests, ladies and gentlemen:

The time will come when our nation will honour the memory of all the sons, the daughters, the mothers, the fathers, the youth and the children who, by their thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans, that we are Africans and that we are citizens of the world.

The certainties that come with age tell me that among these we shall find an Afrikaner woman who transcended a particular experience and became a South African, an African and a citizen of the world. Her name is Ingrid Jonker.

She was both a poet and a South African. She was both an Afrikaner and an African. She was both an artist and a human being. In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted by death, she asserted the beauty of life. In the dark days when all seemed hopeless in our country, when many refused to hear her resonant voice, she took her own life.

To her and others like her, we owe a debt to life itself. To her and other like her, we owe a commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the wretched and the despised.

In the aftermath of the massacre at the anti-pass demonstration in Sharpeville she wrote:

The child is not dead  
the child lifts his fists against his mother  
who shouts *Afrika* . . . !  
The child is not dead  
Not at Langa nor at Nyanga  
nor at Orlando nor at Sharpeville  
nor at the police post at Philippi  
where he lies with a bullet through his  
brain . . .  
the child is present at all assemblies and  
law-giving  
the child peers through the windows of houses  
and into the hearts of mothers  
this child who only wanted to play in the sun  
at Nyanga  
is everywhere  
the child grown to a man treks on through all  
*Afrika*  
the child grown to a giant journeys  
over the whole world  
without a pass!

And in this glorious vision, she instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child. It is these things that we must achieve to give meaning to our presence in this Chamber and to give purpose to our occupancy of the seat of Government.

And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burden, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

The Government I have the honour to lead and, I dare say, the masses who elected us to serve in this role are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society. Accordingly, the purpose that will drive this Government shall be the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

The acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes we elaborate, the Government institutions we create, the legislation we adopt, must be whether they serve these objectives. Our single most important challenge is therefore to help establish a social order in which the freedom of the individual will truly mean the freedom of the individual. We must construct that people-centred society of freedom in such a manner that it guarantees the political liberties and the human rights of all our citizens.

The provisions expressive of these noble goals already exist in the transitional Constitution. It will be the task of the Constitutional Assembly to revisit this issue to ensure that we have all the necessary constitutional instruments that will guarantee that none can take away or in any way restrict the freedoms and rights of any of our people.

As an affirmation of our Government's commitment to an entrenched human rights culture, we shall immediately take steps to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations that we shall subscribe to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In addition, we shall take steps to ensure that we accede to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Social and Economic Rights and other human rights instruments of the United Nations.

Our definition of the freedom of the individual must be instructed by the fundamental objective to restore the human dignity of each and every South African. This requires that we speak not only of political freedoms.

My Government's commitment to create a people-centred society of liberty binds us to the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation, freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression and freedom from fear. These freedoms are fundamental to the guarantee of human dignity. They will therefore constitute part of the centrepiece of what this Government will seek to achieve, the focal point on which our attention will continuously be focused.

The things we have said constitute the true meaning, the justification and the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, without which it would lose all legitimacy. When we elaborated this programme, we were inspired by the hope that all South Africans of goodwill could join together to provide a better life for all. We were pleased that other political organisations announced similar aims.

Today I am happy to announce that the Cabinet of the Government of National Unity has reached consensus not only on the broad objective of the creation of the people-centred society of which I have spoken, but also on many elements of a plan broadly based on the programme for reconstruction and development.

Let me indicate some of the more important agreements. Annually, in the combined budgets of the central Government and the provinces, we shall provide for an increasing amount of funding for the plan. This will start with an appropriation of R2,5 billion in the 1994-95 Budget that will be presented next month. This should rise to more than R10 billion by the fifth year of the life of this Government.

The Government will also use its own allocation of funds to the Reconstruction and Development Programme to exert maximum leverage in marshalling funds from within South Africa and abroad. In this regard I am pleased to report that we have been holding consultations with some of the principal business leaders of our country. Consequently, we are assured that the business sector can and will make a significant contribution towards the structuring and management of such reconstruction and develop-

ment funds, towards the effective identification and implementation of projects and by supporting the financing of the socioeconomic development effort.

I am also pleased to report that many of our friends abroad have already made commitments to assist us in generating the reconstruction and development funds we need. We thank them most sincerely for their positive attitude, which arises not from objectives of charity, but from the desire to express solidarity with the new society we seek to build. We accept the duty of co-ordinating the management of the total resources that will be generated, without seeking to prescribe to other contributors or undermining the continued role of nongovernmental and community-based organisations.

The initial R2,5 billion will be found from savings and the redirection of spending, as included in the preliminary 1994-95 Budget proposals presented to the Cabinet. I would like to thank all departments of State for their co-operation in carrying out this adjustment to their planning at short notice. As we allocate larger amounts in future, we shall require further adjustments by departments, partly to correct the bias in the spending patterns which are a legacy of the past.

The longer period should allow such changes to be properly planned. But they will still make great demands on the managerial capacity and spirit of co-operation of the Cabinet and the whole Public Service.

\*We are confident that, motivated by the desire to serve the people, the Public Service will discharge its responsibilities with diligence, sensitivity and enthusiasm, among other things paying attention to the important goal of increasing efficiency and productivity.

This Government is equally committed to ensure that we use this longer period properly to bring organs of civil society fully into the decision-making process.

†This will include the trade union movement and civic organisations, so that the Government should at no time become isolated from the people. At the same time, steps will be taken to build the capacity of communities to manage their own affairs.

Precisely because we are committed to ensuring sustainable growth and development leading to

a better life for all, we shall continue existing programmes of fiscal rehabilitation. We are therefore determined to make every effort to contain real general Government consumption at present levels and to manage the budget deficit with a view to its continuous reduction. Similarly, we are agreed that a permanently higher general level of taxation is to be avoided.

To achieve these important objectives will require consistent discipline on the part of both the central and the provincial governments. Furthermore, this disciplined approach will ensure that we integrate the objectives of our Reconstruction and Development Programme within Government expenditure and not treat them as incidental to the tasks of government, marginalised to the status of mere additions to the level of expenditure.

There are major areas of desperate need in our society. As a signal of its seriousness in addressing these, the Government will, within the next 100 days, implement various projects under the direct supervision of the President. Let me briefly explain these.

Children under the age of six and pregnant mothers will receive free medical care in every State hospital and clinic where such need exists. Similarly, a nutritional feeding scheme will be implemented in every primary school where such need is established. A concrete process of consultation between the major stake-holders in this area will be organised immediately.

A programme is already being implemented to electrify 350 000 homes during the current financial year. A campaign will be launched at every level of government, a public works programme designed and every effort made to involve the private sector, organised labour, the civics and other community organisations in rebuilding our townships and restoring services in rural and urban areas, while addressing the issue of job creation and training, especially for our unemployed youth.

Many details of the overall reconstruction and development plan remain to be discussed, agreed and put in place, but I believe that the broad outline I have given and the immediate initiatives I have mentioned will allow hon members to share my joy at the progress already made by the Government of National Unity with regard to this important matter.

We shall carry out this plan within the context of a policy aimed at building a strong and growing economy which will benefit all our people.

I would like to deal with a few matters in this regard.

In support of sustainable economic growth and the macroeconomic objectives of the Government, it will remain the primary objective of monetary policy to promote and maintain overall financial stability.

The SA Reserve Bank has the important function of protecting the value of our currency and striving for relative price stability at all times. We are pleased that Dr Chris Stals will continue to serve as Governor of the Reserve Bank.

The battle to reduce the rate of inflation will continue. The realisation of many of our objectives for the fair and equal treatment of all our people will not be possible unless we succeed in avoiding high inflation in the economy. We also face a major challenge in re-entering the global economy, while stable prices are vital to the restructuring of our industries and dealing with the critical issue of job creation.

We are blessed with a heritage of a sophisticated financial sector. Our financial markets are well placed to play an important part in the allocation of scarce funds to give effect to our economic development programme. It is, however, also necessary that we think in new ways to meet the challenges of reconstruction and development. We therefore welcome recent developments that provide for the creation of community banks. We would also like to encourage the greater participation of established financial institutions in the important area of Black economic empowerment and support for the development of small and medium business.

The latter two areas of economic activity will receive the greatest attention of the Government because of their importance in deracialising and democratising the economy and creating the jobs which our people need. So will we pay attention to the important matter of consumer protection to shield the ordinary people of our country from unscrupulous business practices.

It is also clear that we must pay increased attention to tourism. The jobs and foreign currency which tourism generates will strongly influence our economy. The active and imaginative intervention of all stake-holders in this area

of our national life must take advantage of the excellent atmosphere created by our peaceful transition to democracy to make tourism a major positive force in the future. We look forward to the private sector as a whole playing a central role in achieving the significantly high and sustainable rates of economic growth to which we have referred.

We are convinced that the growth prospects of this sector will be enhanced by the measures of fiscal discipline contained in our approach to the Reconstruction and Development Programme and by the continued steady course of monetary policy. Furthermore, as growth proceeds, more domestic savings will progressively become available to finance increased investment at reasonable rates of interest.

The Government is also acutely conscious of the fact that we should work firstly to return the capital account of the balance of payments to equilibrium and, in due course, to ensure a net inflow of resources, consistent with the experience of other countries that enjoy more rapid growth rates.

The present situation of a dual currency and the existence of an exchange control apparatus is a direct result of the conflict in which our country was embroiled in the past. As the situation returns to normal, these arrangements will be subjected to critical scrutiny. It should be possible to match the steady growth of confidence at home and abroad with other confidence-enhancing modifications to everybody's benefit.

The Government will also address all other matters that relate to the creation of an attractive investment climate for both domestic and foreign investors, conscious of the fact that we have to compete with the rest of the world in terms of attracting, in particular, foreign direct investment.

I am pleased that we have already started to address the important question of our trade policy, guided by our GATT commitments and the determination systematically to open the economy to global competition in a carefully managed process.

Soon we shall also begin trade negotiations with, among others, the European Union, the United States, our partners in the Southern African Customs Union and our neighbours in the Southern African Development Community to

provide a stable and mutually beneficial framework for our international economic relations. We shall also be looking very closely at the question of enhancing South-South co-operation in general as part of the effort to expand our economic links with the rest of the world.

Consistent with our objective of creating a people-centred society and effectively to address the critical questions of growth, reconstruction and development, we shall, together with organised labour and the private sector, pay special attention to the issue of human resource development. Both the public and the private sectors will be encouraged to regard labour as a resource and not a cost. Education and training must therefore be looked at very closely to ensure that we empower the workers, raise productivity levels and meet the skills needs of a modern economy.

Important work will have to be done in and significant resources devoted to areas of science and technology, including research and development.

The Government is also convinced that organised labour is an important partner whose co-operation is crucial for the reconstruction and development of our country.

That partnership requires, amongst other things, that our labour law be reformed so that it is in line with international standards, apartheid vestiges are removed and a more harmonious labour relations dispensation is created, on the basis of tripartite co-operation between the Government, labour and capital.

The Government is determined forcefully to confront the scourge of unemployment, not by way of hand-outs, but by the creation of work opportunities.

The Government will also deal sensitively with the issue of population movements into the country, to protect our workers, to guard against the exploitation of vulnerable workers and to ensure friendly relations with all countries and peoples.

The Government is also taking urgent measures to deal firmly with drug trafficking, some of which is carried out by foreign nationals who are resident in the country.

We must end racism in the workplace as part of our common offensive against racism in general.

No more should words like "Kaffirs", "Hottentots", "Coolies", "boy", "girl" and "baas" be part of our vocabulary.

I also trust that the matter of paying the workers for the public holidays proclaimed in order to ensure their participation in the elections and the inauguration ceremonies will now be resolved as a result of recent consultations. This would be a welcome demonstration by the private sector of its involvement in the beautiful future we are all trying to build.

We have devoted time to a discussion of economic questions because they are fundamental to the realisation of the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Below I mention some of the work in which the relevant governments are already involved to translate these objectives into reality.

The Government will take steps to ensure the provision of clean water on the basis of the principle of water security for all, and the introduction of proper sanitation sensitive to the protection of the environment.

We are determined to address the dire housing shortage in a vigorous manner, acting together with the private sector and the communities in need of shelter.

Health also remains a fundamental building block of the humane society we are determined to create through the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. We must address the needs of the aged and disabled, uplift disadvantaged sectors such as the women and the youth, and improve the lives of our people in the rural communities and the informal settlements.

We must invest substantial amounts in education and training and meet our commitment to introduce free and compulsory education for a period of at least nine years. Everywhere we must reinductate the culture of learning and of teaching and make it possible for this culture to thrive.

We must combat such social pathologies as widespread poverty, the breakdown of family life, crime, alcohol and drug abuse, the abuse of children, women and the elderly and the painful reality of street children. We are giving urgent attention to the long waiting lists for the payment of social grants which have developed in some areas, owing to a lack of funds.

I am especially pleased that we have a Ministry dedicated to the issue of the environment. Its work must impact on many aspects of national activity and address the question of the wellbeing of society as a whole and the preservation of a healthy environmental future, even for generations not yet born.

As we began this address, we borrowed the words of Ingrid Jonker to focus on the plight of the children of our country. I would now like to say that the Government will, as a matter of urgency, attend to the tragic and complex question of children and juveniles in detention and prison.

The basic principle from which we shall proceed from now onwards is that we must rescue the children of the nation and ensure that the system of criminal justice must be the very last resort in the case of juvenile offenders. I have therefore issued instructions to the departments concerned, as a matter of urgency, to work out the necessary guidelines which will enable us to empty our prisons of children and to place them in suitable alternative care.

This is in addition to an amnesty for various categories of serving prisoners as will be effected in terms of what I said in my Inauguration Address two weeks ago.

In this context, I also need to make the point that the Government will also not delay unduly with regard to attending to the vexed and unresolved issue of an amnesty for criminal activities carried out in furtherance of political objectives. We shall attend to this matter in a balanced and dignified way. The nation must come to terms with its past in a spirit of openness and forgiveness and proceed to build the future on the basis of repairing and healing.

The burden of the past lies heavily on all of us, including those responsible for inflicting injury and those who suffered. Following the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, we shall prepare the legislation which will seek to free the wrongdoers from fear of retribution and blackmail, while acknowledging the injury of those who have been harmed, so that the individual wrongs, injuries, fears and hopes affecting individuals are identified and attended to.

In the meantime, summoning the full authority of the position we represent, we call on all concerned not to take any step that might, in any

way, impede or compromise the processes of reconciliation which the impending legislation will address.

The problem of politically motivated violence is still with us. We depend on our country's security forces to deal with this problem using all resources at their disposal. In this, and in their efforts to deal especially with criminal violence, they have our personal support and confidence. We have also directed that all relevant Ministries should engage the structures set up in terms of the National Peace Accord so that these can be invigorated to pursue their noble mission in the context of the changed circumstances in our country.

The Government will otherwise not spare any effort in ensuring that our security forces enjoy the standing they deserve, that of being accepted by all our people as the defenders of our sovereignty and our democratic system, the guarantors of a just peace within the country and the safety and security of all citizens and their property.

Let me also take this opportunity to reiterate our assurance to the rest of the Public Service that the Government is firmly committed to the protection of the rights of all members of this service. We are also determined to work with the organisations of the service to ensure that we have the democratic, nonracial, nonsexist, honest and accountable corps of public servants which members of the Public Service themselves desire. In this context, we must also make the observation that the Government will not waver from the principle of achieving parity in remuneration and conditions of service among all workers in the public sector.

The youth of our country are the valued possession of the nation. Without them there can be no future. Their needs are immense and urgent. They are at the centre of our Reconstruction and Development Plan. To address them, acting with the youth themselves, the Government will engage the representative organisations of the youth and other formations, among other things, to look at the sifting of a broad-based national commission on youth development among the structures of Government.

Building on this base, the Government and the commission would then work together to ensure that the nurturing of our youth stands at the centre of our reconstruction and development,

without being consigned to a meaningless ghetto of public life.

Similar considerations must attach to the equally important question of the emancipation of the women of our country. It is vitally important that all structures of Government, including the President himself, should understand this fully: that freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.

All of us must take this on board: that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme will not have been realised unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of the women of our country has radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society.

In addition to the establishment of the statutory Gender Commission provided for in the Constitution, the Government will, together with the representatives of the women themselves, look at the establishment of organs of government to ensure that all levels of the public sector, from top to bottom, integrate the central issue of the emancipation of women in their programmes and daily activities.

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, the dream of Ingrid Jonker will come to fruition. The child grown to a man will trek through all *Afrika*. The child grown to a giant will journey over the whole world—without a pass!

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, our new flag will be hoisted in an historic ceremony at the OAU headquarters in Addis Ababa, with the OAU having already agreed to accept us as its latest member.

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, the UN Security Council will meet to lift the last remaining sanctions against South Africa and to position the world organisation to relate to our country as an honoured, responsible and peace-loving citizen.

As such, the Government is involved in discussion to determine what our contribution could be to the search for peace in Angola and Rwanda, to the reinforcement of the peace process in Mozambique, to the establishment of a new world order of mutually beneficial

co-operation, justice, prosperity and peace for ourselves and for the nations of the world.

Yesterday the Cabinet also decided to apply for our country to join the Commonwealth. This important community of nations is waiting to receive us with open arms.

We have learnt the lesson that our blemishes speak of what all humanity should not do. We understand this fully: that our glories point to the heights of what human genius can achieve.

In our dreams we have a vision of all our country at play in our sportsfields and enjoying deserved and enriching recreation in our theatres and

galleries, on our beaches, mountains and plains and in our game parks, in conditions of peace, security and comfort.

Our road to that glorious future lies through collective hard work to accomplish the objective of creating a people-centred society through the implementation of the vision contained in our Reconstruction and Development Plan.

Let us all get down to work!

I declare this session of Parliament formally open.

The Joint Sitting rose at 15:12.

### PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 09:00.

Madam Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers and meditation.

### CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA THIRD AMENDMENT BILL

(Second Reading debate)

The MINISTER FOR PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Madam Speaker, numerous and regular amendments to any constitution are undesirable and ought to be avoided as far as possible. Although this is the third set of amendments to our 1993 Constitution in a very short space of time, I wish to emphasise various aspects which will hopefully place this whole issue in a proper perspective and do away with any perceptions that the status and the supremacy of the Constitution are of no import and that it can be amended at whim.

South Africa has just undergone a peaceful reformation by means of negotiation and agreements between numerous political role-players. One of those agreements is that the negotiated transitional Constitution will dictate how the country is to be governed for the next five years, while a final constitutional text will be adopted by a Constitutional Assembly.

This constitutional developmental approach was widely and continuously debated up to the adoption of the 1993 Constitution and subsequently. In the end it was accepted by the vast majority of South Africans.

This extended negotiation process had certain consequences, namely that we have a constitution which is to remain in existence for the transitional period, that it is a constitution of political compromise, that it is unusually detailed and contains provisions which are generally not found in constitutions and, finally, that it is unique in that it provides for a government of national unity with forced coalitions.

The uniqueness of the 1993 Constitution as well as the developmental nature of the process will entail more frequent amendments than would otherwise have been the case. Furthermore, all amendments must be enacted by the National Assembly and the Senate sitting together, which means that in reality it will be the Constitutional Assembly enacting amendments to the current Constitution.

\*Amendments to a constitution can fall into two categories. The first category is that amendments which affect the essence of a constitution and which are usually of a political, sensitive and emotional nature. The first two Acts amending the Constitution earlier this year, even before the Constitution came into operation, are striking examples of this. The second category, on the other hand, concerns practical matters.

The amendments before Parliament today fall into the second category and are aimed at dealing with practical matters. Although these amendments are technical in nature and do not affect the essence of the Constitution they are, as any constitutional amendment should be, of cardinal importance and essential. Unlike the previous two amending Acts which came into force before the commencement of the Constitution, these are the first amendments to the Constitution that are being made since the commencement of the Constitution.

We are now implementing the Constitution. For the new dispensation to succeed, the implementation process must of necessity also be successful and proceed as smoothly as possible. The main objective of the Bill is therefore to ensure that we achieve success in this regard and furthermore to facilitate the implementation process.

†The first clause of the Bill, as it was printed originally, contained an amendment of section 42 of the Constitution. The amendment sought to ensure that a member of Parliament would not be disqualified should he or she be appointed as a special assistant in the Office of the President or of an Executive Deputy President.

In the meantime the select committees and others asked whether positions of such a nature should not rather be parliamentary offices. This point of view prevailed and I

prisoner-of-war camp in Germany. He escaped to become a leader of the French Resistance, where his distinguished record resulted in his being chosen as a member of the provisional government in liberated Paris in 1944.

This experience of passing from the status of a prisoner to that of a distinguished member of the governing establishment of the country is one which is shared by many hon members present today. [Applause.]

The date on which Mr Mitterrand is to address this House, 4 July, is a significant one. Exactly 218 years ago today, the fledgling American Congress voted its approval of the American Declaration of Independence. That independence was due in part to French military support of the former American colonies in their bid for independence, but of perhaps more lasting importance in the successful achievement of that independence and all it signified, was the philosophical underpinning provided by the great French political philosophers of the day.

Of course, this does not suggest that French influence throughout the world is confined to the realm of political philosophy! A prime example of local French influence is to be found in the winelands of the Western Cape. It was the skill and industry of the French Huguenots, who came to this country in 1688 and settled in the Drakenstein valley around Franschhoek, that made Cape wine famous throughout Europe in the eighteenth century. Today wine is one of our country's major industries. Records show that no less a person than Louis Philippe, King of France, purchased Cape wines in the 1830s, and the palace benefited from a 12 % discount on the price. I would commend that the hon Minister of Trade and Industry bear this important information in mind when he is negotiating terms for South African trade! [Applause.]

Today, more than two centuries later, the ideas of Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau on tolerance, individual freedom and the nature of good government, in particular the doctrine of the separation of powers, the sovereignty of parliament and the derivation of the legitimacy of parliament from the expression of the people's will, are concepts that are as fresh and relevant as they ever

were, particularly for a country whose immediate task it is to frame a charter for its future, a constitution which must enjoy the allegiance of all its people and, when necessary, serve as a bulwark to protect the individual citizen against the power of the State.

This being so, the presence here today of this world statesman, whose career in parliament and in government spans almost half a century, is of great historical significance for us, and we welcome him.

Bienvenu Monsieur le Président! Re ya ho amohela. [We welcome you.]

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker, President of the Senate and Deputy President, President of the French Republic, Francois Maurice Mitterrand, distinguished members of the National Assembly and the Senate, members of the diplomatic corps, esteemed guests, comrades, ladies and gentlemen, it is a great honour for me to welcome to the free soil of South Africa and these Houses of Parliament His Excellency the President of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand and his delegation.

From the bottom of my heart and on behalf of the Government of National Unity and the people of our country, I wish to express our heartfelt appreciation to you for accepting our invitation to visit South Africa at this our dawn of a glorious new era. Welcome to Cape Town, to the southern tip of liberated South Africa; indeed, to the southern tip of liberated Africa. [Applause.]

We are assembled here to mark the first state visit to a free and democratic South Africa. You honour us, Your Excellency, with the first address to our democratic Parliament by a visiting head of state.

As Madam Speaker has said, just over 30 years ago in these Houses of Parliament—then the den of racial infamy—Harold MacMillan, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, spoke of the winds of change sweeping across Africa, to the chagrin of the architects of apartheid and racial discrimination. Today, you join us as we

celebrate the cleansing effect of the breeze of freedom. It is, in our view, on the deserving that such a humble honour should be bestowed.

We are assembled here in tribute to one of the trailblazers of democracy. For centuries, the French democratic revolution inspired nations, leaders and movements across boundaries and oceans. To us in South Africa it is a moment of joy that we should welcome the descendants of those great revolutionaries whose simple but profound ideals of *liberté, égalité* and *fraternité* are only starting to find concrete expression in our freedom and dignity as a nation.

When we took part five years ago at the bicentenary of the French Revolution, we were reinforced in our confidence that we would overcome by the determination you showed in support of our cause. Your country and your people know from recent history the pain and suffering of racism and chauvinism. As the world celebrates the 50th anniversary of the liberation of France and other parts of Europe from fascism and Nazism, there can be no better guest to have in our midst.

Your Excellency, Mr President, your feats have already been referred to by the Speaker. Your feats in the French Army, your being wounded and captured, your internment and escape as a prisoner of war, and your role in the French Resistance thereafter have been to us and will always be a shining symbol of the indomitable human spirit.

With regard to our own country, we shall forever be indebted to the French people and government for the support you have given us over the years—the kind of support which was, in many respects, quite unique. Therefore we embrace you, Your Excellency, as one of us, as a colleague in the quest for freedom and the social upliftment of ordinary people. Our union today will certainly lay the foundation for a growing partnership between our governments and peoples in pursuit of a better quality of life and a peaceful and caring world. As part of the African continent, we in South Africa will always value our relations in these challenging times as Africa sets out on a new course of revival as a free continent.

Personally, I wish to reiterate that I shall always remember with fondness the meetings we have had, and your personal interest in the progress of our transition to democracy. That you are here with us today is testimony also to the calibre of your wise counsel and unwavering support.

Madam Speaker has already referred to the significance of your visit on this day. I think it is my duty to indicate something we share with you Mr President. The President of the new Government of National Unity in this country was inaugurated on 10 May and that is the exact date on which you, Your Excellency, were first inaugurated as the President of the Republic of France. [Applause]

#### DISCOURS PRONONCÉ PAR MONSIEUR FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND, PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE

Monsieur FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND: Monsieur le Président, Madame, messieurs les Vice-présidents, monsieur le Président du Sénat, mesdames et messieurs, je me retrouve ainsi devant votre Parlement. C'est un Parlement récemment élu. Il porte en lui d'une grande espérance. Il est marqué par une longue histoire de combat. Vous représentez, tous ensemble, une expérience unique sur la surface de la planète: parvenir à surmonter les contradictions—et quelles contradictions!—parvenir à dominer sa propre histoire—et quelle histoire! Tant d'exemples contraires nous sont proposés qui ferment les issues à tout espoir, que je ne puis que me sentir très honoré de me trouver exactement ici—devant vous!

Moi-même, j'ai été Parlementaire pendant 35 ans avant d'accéder à la responsabilité suprême de mon pays, et j'ai connu les grandeurs et les servitudes de cette vie de député ou de sénateur. Comme il m'arrive de le rappeler ici ou là, une singularité de l'histoire de France veut que le chef de l'État n'ait pas accès au Parlement en raison d'un souvenir qui date de la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, lorsque Napoléon Premier, qui n'était pas encore empereur, réalisa le coup d'état du 18 brumaire à l'intérieur du Parlement

APPENDIX B:

MANDELA, NELSON. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC, 27 MAY", 271-278

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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# DEBATES

OF THE

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

(HANSARD)

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FIRST SESSION—FIRST PARLIAMENT

9 May to 16 November 1994

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(VOLS 1 AND 2—DEBATES;  
VOL 3—INTERPELLATIONS,  
QUESTIONS AND REPLIES; AND  
VOL 4—INDEXES)

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ISBN 0 621 16397 X ( )  
ISBN 0 621 16407 0 ( )



gramme takes the role of civil society very seriously in the formulation of labour-market policy. This Government will not have to be forced to the bargaining table as a previous regime was after its costly unilateral 1988 amendments to the Labour Relations Act. Our Government will endeavour instead to actively engage the trade union movement and business in seeking to get consensus on labour-market and labour-law reform.

As a matter of priority, therefore, consideration will have to be given to the immediate harmonisation of the labour law of the land. This may sound strange to those who do not know that as things stand we still have segregated labour laws in some parts of our country, like Lebowa, for example.

We are also committed to ensuring that we engage in a system of social partnership to make sure that all policies which eventually become law have been thoroughly negotiated and discussed with the social partners. The RDP, which in a real sense of the word is a living indictment of the apartheid system, has emerged as a fundamental document for building a peaceful and prosperous socioeconomic and political order in our country.

However, our approach to the implementation of the RDP should not be based at throwing money at problems. It should be based on making sure that we have efficiency of expenditure of resources.

As I proceed to settle down, I would like to inform this House that I will be leading a delegation to Geneva to attend a meeting of international labour organisations, this having been made possible because the Cabinet has agreed that South Africa should now become a member of the ILO.

**THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC:** Madam Speaker, as we sat here over these last three days listening to the debate in this, our first democratically elected and fully representative Parliament, one could not help again and again coming deeply under the impression of the remarkable transition our country has experienced—a transition from being one of the most

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deeply divided societies in the world to one so inspiringly united around the commitment to a common future.

Of course, differences were expressed in the debate and different emphases were advanced, and that is as it should be because the recognition, expression and accommodation of differences are at the heart of democracy. However, the overriding tenor of the debate has been the unanimous support from all parties for the programme of reconstruction and development and for the idea of nation-building.

Speaker after speaker from all the different parties expressed support for and commitment to the idea of a single nation and the programme for eradicating the divisive and dehumanising racial and gender inequalities of the past.

There were indeed some really moving moments in this debate as speakers responded to the exciting, inspirational and liberating possibilities and realities of our newly found South Africanism. We heard some of our Afrikaner compatriots in this House hailing the dawn of the new democratic South Africa as an event of liberation for themselves rather than as an experience of loss, we heard the hon leader of the FF publicly acknowledging and paying tribute to the demonstrated desire of the majority party to create an inclusive nation in which there is place for all.

These were some of the moments which captured the new spirit abroad in our country. Those responses demonstrated an encouraging generosity of spirit, reciprocating the generosity so abundantly displayed by the oppressed and suffering people who had mandated their leaders and representatives to negotiate politically a future of peace, forgiveness and inclusivity.

That we could come together in the way we have—through the negotiation process, the elections and now this first session of our Parliament—must be a source of hope and confidence, and a solid basis on which to build and consolidate our young democracy and transform our society to sustain that democracy.

These developments vindicate the belief and conviction which we have expressed so often and

over so many years, namely that there continued to exist a rich pool of goodwill and desire for peace and racial harmony in our country in spite of the decades of racial oppression, division and segregation and official encouragement of racial hostility on the part of an unrepresentative minority government.

The unfolding developments in our country which have found such resounding expression in much of the debate in this House, begin to realise the ideas and goals set out in one of the greatest documents of this country, the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People in July 1955. For those in this House who may not be acquainted with the long history of struggle for democracy and nation-building on the part of the freedom-loving people, let me quote the preamble to the Freedom Charter:

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people;

That our people have been robbed of the birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

That only a democratic state, based on the will of the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

... we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes have been won.

[Interjections.] A number of speakers in the debate paid tribute to those persons and generations who preceded us in this struggle for democracy and inclusive nationhood. It is fitting that we were reminded of it, and that we remember it, so that our justifiable pride at what has been achieved by ourselves be tempered and

informed by a humility in the recognition that ours was but the last little step on a long and hard road built by generations of brave and noble patriots.

We need to remember, gathered here as the democratically elected representatives of the people, how democratically the contents of the Freedom Charter were arrived at. Thousands of field workers went out across the country, to every city and town, to small rural villages and kraals, to farms and workplaces, talking to the people, recording their demands, wishes and desires, culminating in the Congress of the People. We would do well to try to find ways to emulate that in the execution of our duties as parliamentary representatives of the people.

As we contemplate the more recent period in our history, a period in which all of us would probably have played some direct part, it is necessary for our perspective that we constantly remember that these changes have come about primarily and, in the first place, through the efforts of the people whom we represent here. Democracy and freedom are not handed out or handed down. They have been gained by the people, gained in and through struggle.

The eventual willingness of the old apartheid government to negotiate with the ANC about a transfer of power to the people as a whole was not simply out of magnanimity on the part of any individual or group of individuals. It was the determined and resolute struggles of the people and the organisations of the people which shook the apartheid order, which made apartheid untenable and unworkable. [Interjections.]

It is the resolve of the organised democratic formations of the youth, women, labour, civics, professionals, traditional leaders, the religious and educational sectors, sporting and cultural fraternities and many others which is being celebrated in the fruits of an emerging democratic order. It is the political organisations of the people which led the way towards the destruction of apartheid and the emergence of this new democratic order: the ANC, the SACP, Cosatu, the Patriotic Front, the PAC, the United Democratic Front, Azapo and others.

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Unless we recognise and acknowledge the central role played by the people and their organisations in gaining these democratic changes, we are in danger of disregarding our democratic obligations to those people.

These democratic gains have not just suddenly come about on some magical day or because of some magical event. Together with the struggles of the people there were the contributions, in various ways and over a very long period of time, by a variety of other persons and institutions. As has been said here, men and women like Lilian Ngowe, Helen Joseph, Moses Kotane and J B Marx, Drs Dadoo and Naicker, George Peak and Alex la Guma, Adv Bram Fischer and Michael Hamon, Robert Sobukwe and Steve Biko, Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo. The list is endless. Above all, however, it was the operations of uMkhonto weSizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army, as well as the support of the international community that brought apartheid crashing down to its knees. [Interjections.]

No account of the quest for democracy can ignore the courageous contribution of a Helen Suzman and her Progressive Party. For many years she represented the lone voice of justice and liberty in the halls of this Parliament. It was people like herself who, long before the apartheid rulers had come to recognise and acknowledge it, argued that no solution could be found for the problems of this country without involving and talking to the ANC.

Outside of Parliament, organisations like the Black Sash consistently opposed the racism and repression of the Nationalists and were invaluable allies of the people in their fight for democracy. Far-sighted Afrikaner thinkers like the journalist Schalk Pienaar, not to speak of the legendary Beyers Naudé, were early voices in the wilderness, warning their community against the folly and unjustness of the apartheid cause.

It is them and their contributions that we must remember alongside those of the struggling masses when we apportion credit for the attainment of the democracy in which we participated through parliamentary debate this week.

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And if we really wish to have some fuller historical sense of the process of negotiations which brought us to this point, I shall not be able to neglect mentioning the name of the former State President, Mr P W Botha. In his own way he was the real forerunner, paving the way for eventual negotiations. I met with him in July 1989 whilst I was still in prison and we issued a joint statement committing ourselves to peace and negotiations, setting the scene for what we could subsequently pursue. If we do not acknowledge that, we shall be distorting history, detracting from where credit is due and crediting others beyond their due.

HON MEMBERS: Hear! Hear!

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: We have come a long way since then. My colleague, the hon the Deputy President Mr de Klerk, then the State President, was in those early days of negotiations, after the unbanning of political organisations, fervently committed to a concept of a power-sharing troika which would make decisions without real reference to the democratic will and in a dispensation in which majority rule would not have been attained.

Today all hon members of this House, no matter which party they belong to, are here in the full knowledge that they are the legitimate representatives of the will of the people. We in the ANC resisted the undemocratic attempts to shackle majority rule. The plan for a government of national unity which we put forward and which is now operative, was inclusive and democratic.

We had all along, during the process of negotiations which culminated in the interim Constitution, held to and abided by that principle of inclusivity and the broadening of alliances. Our primary alliance with the organised labour in Cosatu and the SACP is within the framework of that inclusivity.

In the Patriotic Front we further broadened our framework of co-operation and alliance, including in the front organisations which had previously worked within and with apartheid structures. And that commitment to inclusivity for the sake of nation-building and stability has found its latest expression in the Government of

National Unity and the interim Constitution which facilitates the participation of a variety of parties.

Admonitions directed to our address about the dangers of a majority party abusing its majority to stifle and swamp smaller parties are, therefore, grossly misplaced. Our record in this regard should certainly speak for itself. We are not expecting uncritical adulation and applause. It is in the nature of parliamentary democracy that there be constant vigilance. It was the absence of such vigilance which allowed the majority party of minority rule to ride roughshod over the rights of the people for more than four decades.

However, people's confidence about the future should not be undermined by constant insinuations that the ANC is indifferent to the concerns of political minorities when we have consistently demonstrated how seriously we take those concerns.

Our objective is to continue operating in this balanced way, true to the precept of the Freedom Charter that all national groups shall have equal rights, the overriding obligation of course being to meet the needs and to improve the lives of the masses of suffering people. It was therefore very encouraging to note that all parties agree that the starting point for the establishment and consolidation of our democracy lies in raising the quality of life of the deprived.

The centrality of the Reconstruction and Development Programme in making democracy a success in our country cannot be overemphasised. These first five years of democratic governance are going to be decisive for our social and political future. We must make the RDP work. It is the duty of every member of the National Assembly, the Ministries and the Public Service to explore ways in which they can be the most effective agents for the promotion, execution and delivery of these programmes.

When we return for the debate on the Budget, some of the urgent tasks we set ourselves should have started to unfold and we should be presenting even more concrete ideas about plans to improve the lives of ordinary people.

We no longer have the constituency arrangement whereby members are accountable to a particular area and community. This stresses the importance of civil society organs remaining vibrant and alive to become partners in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. There is the danger that we might have had a drainage on the capacity of organisations by so many people from those organisations entering into Parliament. It may very well be part of our duty to assist in keeping those community-based and nongovernmental organisations in healthy shape.

After all, as has been remarked by speakers in the debate, our people-centred approach must at the same time mean that it is a people-driven approach, and for this the involvement of extraparliamentary organisations is absolutely essential.

Suggestions that in the Government of National Unity there may be one part which represents the potential spendthrifts in pursuit of development and on the other hand those who are experienced and responsible protectors of wealth creation, are spurious. It was the ANC which entered into meaningful and fruitful discussion and partnership with business leaders long before assuming office. Now in Government, we shall continue that partnership in order to ensure that development and growth go hand in hand.

As we come to the end of this historic sitting of South Africa's first democratic Parliament, we and the people of our country have every reason to look to the future with confidence and hope. The debate in this Assembly has been evidence of the seriousness of the public representatives of the people to make our democracy work and to build a better life for all.

Again I want to exhort: Let us get down to work.

Debate concluded.

The SPEAKER: Order! Hon members are requested to please leave their interpretation devices on the desks in the Chamber. Before I adjourn this House, I wish to inform hon mem-

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problems in this portfolio, for as long as it is left in my hands, in the direction of resolving the transportation crisis of this country.

I have never been chicken-hearted in my life. I am ready to discuss issues and to engage in dialogue, for as long as possible, with all the parties and any other role-players. However, I am positive that the time has arrived for all role-players to put their interests on the table and not be ashamed of those interests. However, they have, at the same time, to co-operate with the Government in finding a solution that meets the interests of all, and not only of one role-player or stake-holder.

Our commitment is that business must thrive, workers must get a living wage and that the public who are the users of transport, as well as members of the public who do not fall under the categories of employer and employee, must also benefit from the products and fruits of the RDP.

Therefore, my approach is that transport must be located in the context of a multi-disciplinary developmental approach. I will be approaching the matter with resolution and determination. If, at times, some people find me to be too tough on some of the parties, they will have to bear with me because we need to tighten our belts. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

The House adjourned at 19:49.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

### ANNOUNCEMENTS:

#### National Assembly:

Madam Speaker:

1. In terms of section 43(c) of the Constitution, 1993, the following member vacated his seat in the National Assembly, with effect from 17 August 1994:

Shabangu, J M.

### TABLINGS:

#### National Assembly and Senate:

#### Papers:

1. The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism:

List relating to Government Notices and General Notices—31 December 1993 to 29 July 1994.

2. The Minister of Finance:

List relating to Proclamation and Government Notice—27 to 29 July 1994.

3. The Minister of Agriculture:

- (1) Reports of—

(a) Abakor Limited for 1992–93;

(b) the National Marketing Council.

- (2) List relating to Government Notices—19 March to 27 May 1994.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The House met at 14:15.

Madam Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS—see col 1622.

## APPROPRIATION BILL

Debate on Vote No 1—President:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, the President and Deputy President of the Senate, Executive Deputy President, distinguished members of Parliament, esteemed guests, comrades, ladies and gentlemen, now and again, in the course of my remarks, I will pull out a white handkerchief and wipe my eyes. Do not be worried. There is nothing wrong. It is my own unique way of attracting your attention. [Applause.]

I stand before you, aware of the momentous times that we are traversing. These times also demand of us that we regularly give account, to this important Assembly, of the work entrusted to us by the electorate.

Much can be said about the content of the debate in the current session. On occasion, strong language was used to drive home a strongly held belief. Within the limits of what befits members of this House, this shows that we at last have a robust, vibrant democracy with broad consensus on the most important national questions.

Down the years human society has pitted itself against the evils of poverty, disease and ignorance. Progress has been achieved, while reverses have been sustained. It is incumbent on South Africa to be in the company of those who have recorded more success than failure.

At the end of the day, the one and only yardstick that we shall all be judged by is whether we, through our endeavours here, are creating a basis for bettering the lives of South Africans. This is not because people have some subjective

expectations fanned during an election campaign. Nor is it because they see, in the new Government, a magic wand.

For decades millions have suffered deprivation, and they have the right to seek redress. They fought and voted for change, and change the people of South Africa must have. [Applause.]

One hundred days ago the President and Deputy Presidents of the new democratic Republic were sworn in. Our people and the whole world marvelled at what has been variously characterised as a miracle and an epoch-making event. Are we worthy of that trust and confidence?

Our negotiation process delivered a unique transitional mechanism which accommodates major opposition parties in a Government of National Unity. Furthermore, we are, together, finding creative ways of utilising the talents of all other parties in the task of nation-building. Naturally we are striving to find the correct balance in this new terrain.

What is crucial, however, is that we have forged an enduring national consensus on the interim Constitution and the broad objectives of reconstruction and development. This consensus is neither an imposition of one party over others, nor a honeymoon premised on the fickle whims of a fleeting romance. What brings us together is the overriding commitment to a joint and national effort to reconcile our nation and improve its well-being.

The unique product of our negotiations, the interim Constitution and Charter of Fundamental Human Rights, and now the RDP, constitute the firm foundation for launching our nation from the mire of conflict, poverty, disease and ignorance. These agreements were reached because they were and still are absolutely necessary for South Africa. They are not about to fade away like a passing bliss.

This does not detract from the fact that there are different constituencies with divergent interests represented by our diverse parties here. We should not be fearful of the obvious consequence that there are bound to be differences of emphasis and approach on a variety of matters. To present a facade of unity on each and every issue would be artificial, undemocratic and patently pretentious.

APPENDIX C:  
MANDELA, NELSON. "AN APPROPRIATION  
BILL: DEBATE ON VOTE 1, 18 AUGUST"  
1537 - 1548

The more these issues are aired and opened up for public debate, the better for the kind of democracy we seek to be. Handled within the bounds dictated by the interests of coherent and effective government, such debate will definitely enrich our body politic. This applies equally to debate within parties about how to manage this novel experience.

From the outset the Government of National Unity set itself two interrelated tasks, namely reconciliation and reconstruction, and nation-building and development. This is South Africa's challenge today. It will remain our challenge for many years to come.

At the passing of 100 days after our inauguration our overwhelming impression of our reality is that our nation has succeeded in handling its problems with great wisdom. We have a Government that has brought bitter enemies together in a constructive relationship. Our Parliament and Cabinet have properly focused on the task of reconstruction and development, and we have a Government that is in control, and whose programmes are on course. This is the essence of our collective success. It is an achievement that no sceptic can take away from our nation.

In this regard we should congratulate all South Africans for the reconciliatory spirit with which they have handled the transition and for their patience as the new Government found its feet.

Yet, there are problems which need urgent attention, such as violence on the East Rand and in Natal, the wanton killing of security force members, the abuse and kidnapping of children and various other crimes. Among these, the trafficking in narcotics and drug abuse need the most serious and urgent attention. I have had discussions with the Ministers concerned, and these matters are being sufficiently canvassed in their budget debates. There can be no argument about the need to take urgent, visible and effective measures to eradicate these problems.

Questions have been asked about the long, slow pace in ending racism in some workplaces. Legislation exists or is being prepared to deal with these problems, but legislation on its own cannot change attitudes. We appeal to all South Africans to ensure that discrimination, abuse and any other backward attitude against others based on differences of gender, race, religion,

language or other distinctions are done away with.

The issue of a truth and reconciliation commission has generated much public debate and some apprehension. The Minister of Justice is working to achieve a broad agreement on this sensitive matter. In a nutshell, what this issue raises is how to deal with the past that contained gross violations of human rights, a past which threatens to live with us like a festering sore.

The question of amnesty for those who have done wrong is dealt with in the interim Constitution. The challenge is to ensure that amnesty helps to heal wounds of the past by also addressing the plight of the victims. A truth and reconciliation commission will therefore need to operate on the basis of certain core principles.

Firstly, it will manage and supervise the process of amnesty as required by the Constitution in accordance with the principle of disclosure and other criteria laid down by the law. Secondly, it will make recommendations on steps to be taken to ensure that such violations never take place again. It must build respect for the law, restore the dignity of victims and their families and provide some degree of reparation. Thirdly, such a commission will be neither a court nor a tribunal. In this respect we agree with the view of many sectors, including the Police Services, that any prosecutions and trials should be dealt with by the Attorney-General and recognised courts of law.

Needless to say such a commission will have to operate in an even-handed fashion on the basis of nonpartisan criteria. We are confident that this balanced approach, based on consultation among all our people and drawing on the positive experiences of other countries, will help resolve the matter in a manner that benefits the country as whole.

In reviewing the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, we should keep in mind the reality that the progress that we make in reconciling our nation will determine the pace at which this programme is implemented. On the other hand, reconciliation will remain shallow if it is not accompanied by far-reaching changes in all areas of life.

The RDP should therefore be understood as an all-encompassing process of transforming society in its totality to ensure a better life for all. It

addresses both the principal goals of transformation and ways of managing that transformation. The RDP is not a sum total of projects, no matter how important each project may be.

Among its major elements are, firstly, socio-economic programmes to improve the lives of all South Africans. In this regard we must ensure that ordinary people are fully involved in the planning and management of these programmes. Secondly, economic growth that is sustainable generates employment and development of human resources, and is characterised by a high degree of equity. The third element is the reforming of institutions, particularly the Public Service and the rest of the public sector to make them more representative, efficient and effective. The fourth element is an educational, scientific and cultural programme which reflects nonracial and democratic principles and morals.

Underpinning these objectives is our determination to use all resources available to the Government to their optimum without waste, duplication and mismanagement. This is best achieved by insisting on, among other things, fiscal discipline, the reorganisation of expenditure patterns and careful planning.

There is broad consensus around all these issues reflected in the policies pursued by the Government of National Unity. The process now under way to consult widely in drafting the White Paper on the RDP, should further consolidate this consensus, and ensure that the nation as a whole commits itself and acts as one to meet these objectives.

On 24 May, in the State of the Nation Address, we identified certain projects to be carried out urgently as a token of our commitment to reconstruction and development. We set the deadline of 1 September for their implementation. We should once more emphasise that on their own, these projects are not the RDP.

The RDP Fund, directed at these and other projects, is meant to initiate broader programmes of urban renewal, rural development, development of our human resources, elimination of poverty and the democratisation of social institutions.

One of the most crucial indices of success is how this fund is eliciting changes in the spending priorities of Government departments at all levels, while maintaining fiscal discipline. An

encouraging sign in this regard is that a further large amount has been added from Government departments, thus availing a much larger total for special RDP projects during this financial year. The projects identified on 24 May will be the first phase in ensuring the realisation of these long-term objectives.

What progress has been made with regard to the projects themselves? Firstly, on the issue of free medical care for children under six years of age and pregnant mothers, the response has been overwhelming, because this measure was sorely needed. As a result minor illnesses that would later have presented complications are being dealt with at the primary stage. Of course, this has amplified the very real problems of overcrowding and lack of facilities and drugs.

The Department for Health, in consultation with the provinces and other role-players, is devising appropriate strategies of handling them. Furthermore, we are finalising arrangements for allocations from the RDP Fund and the Department for Health for a major clinic-building programme.

This will go a long way in alleviating the difficulties in the most depressed areas. We have also allocated funds for an expanded Aids awareness and prevention campaign. The obvious must be stated over and over again: this epidemic has major social and economic implications for our nation and must be addressed with urgency.

Secondly, concerning the primary school feeding scheme: preparatory work has already been finalised to cater for half of the total number of primary school pupils in areas of desperate need, particularly in rural areas and informal settlements. Implementation should start by 1 September 1994.

The contribution of this scheme to children's development and to the culture of learning cannot be overemphasised. In addition, we are examining a further allocation to the campaign to promote this culture. We are also launching major national campaigns to tackle the vast backlog in the provision of adult basic education and for the rebuilding and rehabilitation of schools.

Thirdly, with reference to the electrification programme, this programme is proceeding apace. Despite problems here and there, we

should congratulate Eskom and some of the municipal authorities on the excellent work being done.

Fourthly, as far as the task of rebuilding townships and restoring services is concerned, plans have been finalised to begin such projects in the East Rand, Cape Flats, Duncan Village, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein and townships in KwaZulu-Natal. Areas of focus will primarily be those affected by violence. An effort has been made to ensure balanced geographical distribution while taking into account areas where there are structures ready to implement the programme.

The biggest single programme to be funded by the RDP projects allocation is the rehabilitation and extension of municipal services and infrastructure in urban and rural areas. Combined with the outstanding initiatives with regard to the housing programme, this project will play an important role in facilitating the development of legitimate local government structures.

An integrated rural development programme is also being launched. A very large allocation of funds to these projects has already been made, with emphasis on providing water and sanitation as well as land reform. These include water and sanitation projects serving 1,7 million people, primarily in the Northern Transvaal and KwaZulu-Natal; the restitution of land to communities, affecting about 29 000 people; and land distribution, with sustainable settlement planning, which will benefit more than 2 000 families. All these form part of land reform projects, including a programme to uplift small farmers.

As many of these projects as possible will be carried out through the National Public Works Programme to maximise job opportunities and provide training. In addition, a special allocation will be passed on to communities by the relevant Ministry for infrastructural projects.

We should admit that the projects announced on 24 May were more or less conceived of from the centre. We can justifiably plead pressure of time. However, we should now ensure that communities take active part in the planning, execution and management of such projects.

Because of the ground swell of requests from communities which are eager to roll up their sleeves and tackle their problems, we have ear-

marked a special discretionary fund of R100 million for the provinces. Its distribution among the provinces will take into account the levels of underdevelopment. Details on these and other projects will be given by the Minister without Portfolio, Mr Jay Naidoo.

Significant progress towards a sustained take-off has therefore been made. However, this Government does not claim to have all the answers. Preparation of these projects has been a valuable learning experience for us. This is even more crucial, because ours is a comprehensive programme, not an exercise in throwing money at problems.

What then are these lessons? Firstly, the RDP Fund should be seen as a temporary measure. Funding from a special instrument should taper off as the Ministries themselves redirect their spending and give their operations a reconstruction-and-development character.

The identified projects are now being subjected to analysis to ensure that their carry-over costs and recurrent expenditure are accommodated in the 1995-96 Budget and succeeding budgets. Strict interdepartmental co-ordination will be crucial for their success.

Secondly, the Central Government can only provide the framework. Implementation has to be carried out by local structures. It is for this reason that the Central Government and the provinces have put into place mechanisms to co-ordinate their work and expedite the allocation of powers to the provinces.

The Office of the President is paying particular attention to this as well as to the matter of speeding up the establishment of transitional local-government structures. Without the latter, allocation of funds, and therefore the implementation of many of the projects, may be unduly delayed.

We call on those local councils which have not already done so to finalise the establishment of transitional structures, and we add our voice to the call for communities to pay for the services that are delivered to them.

Thirdly, we are insistent that the management of all projects must follow strict guidelines, including assessment of their job-creation and training capacity, in line, especially, with the public works programme, community involvement, fair employment practices, sustainability and so on.

A proper business plan, which includes procedures for performance assessment, auditing, procurement, resource-costing, and measures to minimise consultancy fees must be drawn up before the funds are released.

Fourthly, the Government and independent developmental agencies are consulting on the best mechanism needed to utilise foreign donor aid in such a way that it enhances the nation's development objectives in a systematic manner. We are confident that consensus will be reached on all these issues and that South Africa will provide a good example of building a strong partnership between the Government, nongovernmental organisations—the NGOs—and the donors involved in developmental assistance.

In addition to these lessons, two matters of principle stand out in bold relief. One of them is the urgent need to involve communities, in a proactive manner, in the implementation of these programmes. This requires community-based organisations to take up the responsibility of mobilising the people for this purpose. Weaknesses in this area have, for instance, delayed the introduction of the primary-school feeding scheme. In this regard the role of parliamentarians in mobilising for and monitoring the actual implementation of RDP projects needs to be closely examined.

The second crucial question pertains to the task of ensuring that the Public Service does, in fact, become a servant of the public. We commend members of the Public Service who have demonstrated their loyalty to the new Government and their preparedness to adapt to new conditions.

In line with the new reality, and within the parameters of the interim Constitution, the following matters require urgent attention: Restructuring the service, so as to make it truly representative of the South African society; developing links between the service and the public, through various forums of consultation; inculcating a culture for employees to take pride in serving in outlying and underdeveloped areas; simplifying the grading system and making a Public Service career more challenging and attractive; and finally, restructuring the salary package, sensitive both to qualification and merit, and the unacceptably wide gap between the lowest and highest grades. [Applause.]

The Department for the Public Service and Administration, under the able leadership of the hon the Minister Zola Skweyiya, is attending to these matters, through the proposed forum between the Government as employer and Public Service organisations in particular. A new orientation and motivation within the service will be crucial in the realisation of the nation's development objectives. The spirit of public service needs to permeate all levels of work, including the intelligence community. The intelligence Bills that will soon be tabled, go a long way in ensuring this. What is necessary is adherence to the letter and spirit of the Constitution and, in particular, commitment to the protection of the country's interests and recognition of the rights of all citizens.

This requires amongst other things, the rapid dismantling of all the networks which kept members of the public under surveillance, simply because they opposed the government of the day. [Applause.]

I have been receiving comprehensive briefings on all these matters and I will make public announcements in due course. All these issues emphasise the fact that we have some distance to travel to achieve the objective of transforming the South African society. Government departments should be seen to be leading this process.

In this regard I should congratulate all the national and provincial departments and services, including the SANDF, the SAPS and the NIS, which have over the past months spent long hours and sleepless nights to bring about rapid changes in their areas of operation. The reports I received recently from the national departments and the provinces show deep commitment and enthusiasm. They give one confidence that we shall succeed.

In line with the objectives of the RDP we will by the end of the year require clear medium-term and long-term strategies from all departments and parastatal institutions on the mechanisms of shifting their operations to meet the requirements of reconstruction and development. Many comments have been made about inadequacies in the current Budget. Yet there is also unanimity that the first steps towards fundamental restructuring have been taken. The Cabinet started last week to discuss guidelines for the 1995-96 Budget.

We are confident that more fundamental restructuring will be introduced without undermining the requirements for fiscal discipline. In working out a detailed allocation to current RDP projects we have ensured, through co-ordination with the Department of State Expenditure and the Central Economic Advisory Services, that RDP expenditure is properly built into the budgetary process.

As indicated by the Minister of Finance, we will seek to involve the parliamentary committees in the formulation of the 1995-96 Budget. This will not only be democratic and transparent, but will also allow for joint responsibility among all sectors of government. I should take this opportunity to thank Minister Derek Keys for the splendid work that he has done in meeting the challenges of the new situation. [Applause.]

I am confident that his successor, Chris Liebenberg, will acquit himself well for the benefit of the whole country. Many opportunities have opened up for South Africa to exceed even our wildest expectations, but this requires that we all take up the cudgels and consciously change our paradigms.

For instance, it is not enough for business to concern itself with how its interests are protected under the current dispensation. Rather, business should be part of the process of determining policy, with the full realisation that this entails both gearing business to the objectives of growth and equity and ensuring active participation in the socio-economic programmes for the upliftment of the disadvantaged.

In the same vein, workers do have to advance their interests through the collective bargaining system. At the same time, the new situation obliges all of us to take on board the broader questions of increased investments, investor confidence and requirements of economic growth and equity.

Both the labour movement and large and small businesses should be fully involved in developing strategies for successful economic growth and equity as partners with the Government. Such an understanding is fundamental to the success of the RDP, and its precise character will be explored as we work together in tripartite structures. The critical merger of the NMC and the NEF into a National Economic Development and Labour Council will allow for such

joint Government, labour and business strategies to ensure a vibrant and growing economy.

The economic signs are encouraging, and the upswing is steadily consolidating. A growth rate of more than 3% is no longer a pipe dream, but this depends on co-operation among all sectors of the population in finding solutions to any constraints on economic growth, development and equity.

Already, the interest of the world in South Africa is being translated into concrete economic deals. Together, through consistent policies and actions, we have gained and continue to gain the confidence of the international community. However, international support will be of value only if it helps us to set our economy on a steep and consistent growth and development path. This is the sure guarantee of the success of the RDP. There is no doubt that we have the capacity, as a nation, to realise this objective.

The people want real change for the better and are prepared to work for it. They expect, of representatives in community structures and in Parliament and Government, leadership that meets the requirements of the times we live in. They have elected us into office because they trust that we will meet their aspirations.

The progress made in these 100 days bears testimony to the great potential that exists. Let us harness the nation's energies to more rapidly develop and reconstruct our country. In this way our society will experience meaningful and lasting reconciliation. [Applause.]

\*Mr N J J VAN R KOORNHOF: Madam Speaker, South Africa is honoured to have leaders of the calibre of President Mandela and Mr F W de Klerk, who are both present here to experience the fruits of their labour. A task that seemed totally impossible and must often have made them feel hopeless has been fulfilled.

Before I say a word to the hon President, allow me to make a few comments on Deputy President De Klerk. Last year it was his Vote we discussed here. Mr De Klerk took over in South Africa at a time when we were still tightly constrained in the chains of apartheid and race prejudice. It was time of despair when overwhelming suspicion prevailed against South Africa, at home and abroad.

It was a time when growing impatience prevailed within the NP over the wrong course and

approach that had been adopted. It was Mr De Klerk, however, who had the courage to change this direction. A person's memory is very short, especially that of a politician. He had to change the direction when many advised him not to. When he did it, many of his people cursed him, threatened his family and called him a coward and a traitor. We even experienced it here in Parliament, but he pressed on because he believed that what he was doing was right.

With these heroic actions, he is the one who prevented a bloody revolution in the country. If he had led another way, we would first have been doomed to a full-scale civil war. We, in the NP, will always honour him for that. His vision to restore Afrikaner self-respect and sense of righteousness is immeasurable.

He sits today as a leader and a dignified partner in President Mandela's Government. He progressed as a member of a discredited party to a leader and most famous White man of Africa. [Interjections.] His actions earned him the title of a true son of Africa. South Africa and the world will honour him for that. We look forward to his inspired leadership in making South Africa a winning country. May he be blessed for this task.

†It is difficult for a political opponent to debate politically with the aim of gaining points against the hon President. He has been praised by the international world, and by both the international and national media and South Africans are pleased with their new President. In 100 days he has turned a tide of scepticism from a major part of the nation into a tidal wave of personal support and respect. The real magic was that he managed to switch overnight from a leader of a liberation movement to a well-respected leader.

He has relentlessly sent the message of reconciliation to all corners of South Africa. His image is that of a caring and concerned person. His victory in the election humbled him and guided him to become a confident and forceful national leader. He has led us back to international acceptance and together with Mr De Klerk he has given my generation hope, energy and a vision for the future.

With all due respect, I think I am exactly half the hon the President's age! But history is short. Even I as a young Afrikaner have experienced the effects of war and struggle for freedom within my immediate family. Both my grand-

fathers fought against the English in the Anglo-Boer War. My grandmother was captured in that war, and with her young children put into a concentration camp in Heilbron and later in East London. My grandfather, together with his eldest son who was with his mother in the concentration camps, rebelled against the English and was wounded in the 1914 Rebellion. That is my background. The reason why I have told Parliament this is to prove that many of us, from all parties, have walked the road to freedom. It was not only the ANC which travelled that road in our history.

When the NP gained power in 1948 the urge for revenge was rife. Unfortunately we took revenge. We replaced people in key positions, many with White Afrikaner males. We agitated against the so-called capitalists, the "Hoggenheimers". We were wrong, and because of that, we almost ruined the Afrikaner nation's self-respect.

The ANC is now in the same position. They have the power, and some of their members have the same urge for revenge. They can force history to repeat itself. In the first 100 days of ANC-rule the hon the President's behaviour as head of state has been impeccable, but the same cannot be said of all ANC caucus members.

This Government's performance during its first 100 days in power is not as spectacular as many had hoped. Perhaps it would have been unfair to have expected differently. However, a disturbing trend has emerged in this period and that is that good administration is rapidly slipping. The ringing of unanswered telephones in Ministries, the lack of attendance, the apparent softness on crime and police killings, and the half-hearted criticism of the labour strikes are some of the issues that prove this point.

In 1994, believe it or not, a section of that caucus still embraces communism, an ideology that has failed in history. Unfortunately, when the communist speaks, even in this Parliament, the message sent to the international world is that of "beware", "think again" and "do not risk your investment". The result is that investors stay away.

The hon member Mr Bunting made a speech in this Parliament advocating communism, praising Cuba as the model for the future—hair-raising stuff, but no one repudiated him. No one rectified the record, and no one was bothered to calm

## APPENDIX D

Mandela, Nelson. "Address at the 5<sup>th</sup> National Congress of COSATU" (7 September 1994): <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=3676>. (Accessed 18 July 2012).

### ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA AT THE 5TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF COSATU - 7 September 1994

Comrade Chairperson,  
Comrade President John Gomomo,  
Comrade General-Secretary Sam Shilowa,  
Members of Central Executive Committee,  
Distinguished delegates,  
Dear Guests:

First, let me express my profound gratitude for the invitation to take part at this, the 5th National Congress of COSATU.

Much has already been said about the significance of this Congress for COSATU in particular, and indeed for the entire trade union movement of our country. I however wish to say that, for me personally, this is one of the high watermarks of my engagements since the elections and the inauguration of the Government of National Unity. To take part in a gathering of this nature, bringing together part of the core of cadres of the democratic movement, is for us a home-coming.

So, we speak to you not simply as representatives of a different organisation; nor merely as allies; less still as Government to the governed. We stand before you fully conscious of the fact that, together, we spared neither life nor limb to ensure that South Africa is where it is today. We shared the trials and tribulations of struggle so that South Africa should be free.

Comrades Chairperson and Delegates,

The temptation is to say, thank you, for ensuring that the ANC secures a decisive electoral victory. But this would be wide off the mark. For you did what you had to do for none other than yourselves and your families; for your country and for your nation, so that we could break the chains of oppression.

The ideal of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa in which there is social equity is the mission and ANC set itself over the decades. This is the mission of our Alliance. It is a mission that should continue to guide us, no matter how steep the road and how rugged the terrain in which we have to operate.

That the broad perspectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme have become the property of the whole nation is thanks to the correctness of its content and the creative leadership of the Alliance. We are proud that organised workers have been and remain at the centre of efforts to define and realise national tasks. It is crucial that this should continue to be the case. Otherwise, what is essentially a programme to uplift the conditions of the poor, could easily be misappropriated to serve the interests of those who have all along benefited from the system of apartheid.

This, however, cannot subtract from the strategic task of winning over various sectors of society to become part of this effort. This means, among other things, that we should broaden our horizons.



It will always be crucial for the trade union movement to play the role of a critical extra-parliamentary force. But today you also have to take active part in determining and implementing Government policy. It is fundamental that the trade union movement should jealously guard its independence. But today you also have to use, to maximum effect, the elements of political power that we have together achieved in struggle.

What does this mean in actual practice?

I understand that many Government Ministers will take part in your discussions on matters affecting their line functions. I encourage you not to pull your punches. Fortunately my task is much easier; and I will confine myself to a few general remarks.

What sets this Congress apart from all others before it is the fact of the elements of political power that the democratic movement as a whole is wielding. The challenge therefore is to use this power to consolidate democracy at the same time as the union movement promotes its own interests!

The presence at this Congress of Government Ministers demonstrates the influence that you have. But it would be unproductive if this interface were to end in special gatherings. Lines of communication should always be open between various government departments and the labour movement. Like other sectors of society, you should endeavour as possible to influence what they do. The same applies to the parliamentarians. On my part, I should reiterate that my door will always be open for such consultations.

The platform of the liberation movement, which entails more than just the frills of political office, is yet to be fully realised. If only for this reason, it is even more important today, that we should strengthen the Tri-partite Alliance, while redefining its form under the new conditions. In as much as the ANC needs a strong COSATU, COSATU needs a strong and vibrant ANC.

Comrade Chairperson

The kind of democracy that we all seek to build demands that we deepen and broaden the rights of all citizens. This includes a culture of workers' rights. Already, progress has been made, through joint consultation between Government and the trade union movement, to start implementing a plan of action to achieve this.

Among the central questions that require urgent attention, are the basic conditions of employment, regulations on collective bargaining and the right to strike. Combined with issues such as the democratisation of the work-place, an end to discrimination and central industrial bargaining, all these initiatives will help to improve labour relations and therefore economic growth and development.

To achieve this requires a partnership that will now find expression in statutory arrangements involving all the major role-players in the economy. The decision to set up of the National Economic, Labour and Development Council is an important part of this process. (We are determined as Government that this body should be formally constituted before the end of this month.)

Among the many urgent tasks that face this Council is the question of industrial restructuring so necessary for us to become a full and competitive partner in international economic relations.

We say this task is urgent because we shall never fully enjoy the benefits of our international standing as a democracy, if we do not bring our industries to international standards. Rather, we will become a victim of our own achievements. Yet it is crucial, as the various tri-partite forums have indicated, that this should be implemented with due regard to human resource development and all-round strategies to improve productivity. It should be carried out with maximum consultation, and at a pace that will not adversely harm our economy in general and workers in particular.

The Council will also have to examine, as a matter of urgency, the issue of a social consensus among the various economic role players.

Comrades Delegates,

The Government is fully committed to the protection of the integrity of the collective bargaining system. Yet, among the lessons that we have all learnt from recent industrial actions is that this system should be improved, particularly with respect to mechanisms of mediation that should help resolve disputes before they come to a head.

It is quite instructive that major sectors such as mining, clothing and textile, and the iron, steel and metallurgical industries concluded their negotiations without recourse to strike action. Besides the fact that the number of strikes in this period this year was much lower than in previous years, this goes to demonstrate that we have healthy industrial relations in South Africa. The psychology of crisis, fanned by some enthusiasts in the media, has little to do with reality.

At the same time, we need to challenge the notion that strikes are, as a rule, inimical to the task of reconstruction and development.

Reconstruction and development entails more than just creating jobs or building houses. It means the fundamental restructuring of society as a whole, including relations at the workplace. The more labour, business and Government interact in working out individual and collective contributions to reconstruction and development, the more will some of the industrial actions become unnecessary.

Much progress has already been made in kick-starting the implementation of the RDP. While the Presidential Projects are an important measure of this, our basic standard to gauge progress is the rate at which various departments are charging their priorities in line with the programme as a whole. Along with this, is the challenge of ensuring fiscal discipline and efficiency, so that the RDP can be implemented in a sustainable manner. The RDP White Paper, to which the trade union and other formations have made an important contribution, seeks to address these issues.

To achieve these objectives requires, among other things, rapid and systematic restructuring of the apartheid state structures, to ensure that the public service is representative of society as a whole and to eliminate wastage, mismanagement, duplication and corruption. We are pleased that COSATU-affiliated unions are taking active part in the forums set up to address these matters.

Comrade Chairperson,

The success of the RDP will depend, above everything else, on the extent to which we involve all sectors of society in carrying it out. We need to involve more than just business and labour in the work of planning and co-ordinating socio-economic strategies. All sectors of civil society should take part through sectoral and multi-sectoral forums.



Above all, we should at eetnvcommuniestsviln and implementinrets that affect them. The wisdom, initiative and creativity of the people is required to ensure that the RDP becomes a people-centred and people-driven programme in fact.

Circumstances might have changed. But the task of mobilising the people to become masters of their own destiny remains. This is a task that falls squarely on the shoulders of the political as well as mass democratic organisations. We therefore welcome the many proposals from workers on how they can drive the RDP in the work-place and within communities. Without such work, the RDP will remain a good programme on paper, but a damp squib in actual practice.

What this requires is that we should strengthen organisational structures of the democratic movement as a whole, ensure that members are properly serviced and extend our organisational reach. At the same time, leadership structures have to conduct themselves in such a way that they maintain and deepen the confidence of the masses they represent. We should also urgently tighten co-ordination in the Tri-partite Alliance and among all sectors of the democratic movement. This is made the more urgent by the coming elections for Local Government, an institution which is critical for the implementation of the RDP.

In so far as the labour movement is concerned, the question of unity among various federations has come to the fore. In the final analysis, the strength of organised labour depends on its ability to articulate and promote the interests of workers as a whole. This will also contribute immensely to the strategic task of de-racialising South African society.

Comrade Chairperson,

The challenges that we face are many and they are daunting. But this is the price we have to pay for our victories. As in the past, we do have the will and the creativity to carry out our mission.

I am confident that this Congress will meet the expectations of your members and broader society. You were among the front troops in the battle against apartheid. You were in the front ranks in charting the path out of the mess this system created. We are confident that COSATU will be at the forefront of the successful implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Only then shall we be able to say that power is truly in the hands of the people.

I wish you all the best in your deliberations.

Long live Cosatu!

Long live the Alliance!

At: [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern\\_Political/Cosatu.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Govern_Political/Cosatu.html)

APPENDIX E

MANDELA, NELSON. "ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, 17 FEBRUARY  
1995", 1-20

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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# JOINT SITTINGS

OF

## BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

(HANSARD)

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SECOND SESSION — FIRST PARLIAMENT

17 February to 12 September 1995

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ISBN 0 621 16997 8 (Vol 2)  
ISBN 0 621 16999 4 (Set)



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**DEBATES  
OF THE  
JOINT SITTING  
(HANSARD)**

**SECOND SESSION—FIRST PARLIAMENT**

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same speech, indicates the original language.

1

FRIDAY, 17 FEBRUARY 1995

2

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly met in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The President of the Senate took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE: Order! It is now a great privilege to call upon the hon the President of the Republic of South Africa to address Parliament. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Mr President and Deputy President of the Senate, hon Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, Deputy

Presidents, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, Chief Justice, President of the Constitutional Court, Leaders of the National Defence Force, the Police Service and the Correctional Services, Directors-General and leaders of the Public Service, hon members of Parliament, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, we have gathered in this hallowed Chamber to begin the work of the second session of our democratic Parliament, nine months after its first members were sworn in.

Let me say this from the beginning that the challenges ahead of us require that we move away from spectacle and rhetoric and bend our backs to the serious work ahead of us.

I would like to take this opportunity to extend my sincere appreciation to the leaders of all the parties represented in Parliament, the members of Parliament, the presiding officers, the Whips, the Chairpersons of Committees, the Secretary to Parliament and his staff for the sterling work

that was done from the day that the first democratic and nonracial Parliament convened. Of necessity much of this work had to do with the establishment of our organisational structures and the evolving of a rhythm of work which would enable us to discharge our responsibilities in an effective and efficient manner.

All of us, precisely because we had never sat in any democratic parliament before, had to begin the continuing process of learning how to carry out our functions as people's deputies. We had to educate ourselves in an atmosphere characterised by a critical public focus which did not necessarily allow for the reality of that inexperience.

Undoubtedly, many of us, both in the legislature and in the executive, have made mistakes. But mistakes are an inevitable element of any process of learning. It is always the case that the spectators are better than the players on the field. None of us should therefore feel ashamed of having committed errors. We must, however, learn from these mistakes so that we do indeed improve our performance.

Whatever it is that our critics might have said, we can take pride in the fact that not only did we succeed in establishing our two Houses of Parliament, as required by the Constitution, but we also ensured that they played their role in the governance of our country.

We are pleased that the hon members of both the National Assembly and the Senate have not been satisfied merely to endorse the Bills that have been presented to them. They have participated actively in improving such draft legislation, with the aim of ensuring that our laws are consistent with the glorious vision we share of creating a truly humane and people-centred society.

Of particular importance is the fact that you, the legislators, have worked in a manner consistent with the objective of ensuring that ours should be a parliament of the people. This we have done by opening our proceedings to the public to ensure that the people know what we are doing. We have also opened the doors to the people to address the legislative committees of Parliament directly.

This has been replicated in our provincial legislatures, consistent with our objective of bringing government as close to the people as possible.

We can therefore claim with justification that such legislation as has been approved is representative of the will of the people. It therefore enjoys a degree of legitimacy and enforceability which all previous laws could never have. [Applause.]

Undoubtedly, we must continue to look for ways and means of ensuring that the people as a whole are better informed of what we are doing and are given ever improved capacity to intervene in our proceedings in an informed and purposive manner.

In the recent past, much has been said about corruption among some members of this Parliament and other leading political figures in the country. Many within and without this Chamber and among the mass media have been very keen to condemn and to propel us into precipitate action on the basis of mere allegations. We have resisted this and will continue to do so. We have a responsibility to act on the basis of fact and not allegations, however strident the voice that makes those allegations.

Furthermore, we firmly believe that it is important that we build a society based on justice and fairness. At all times we must guarantee the right of the accused to be heard, without making any concession to a primeval instinct to pillory and burn people at the stake.

As South Africans, with our particular history, we must be extremely careful not to reintroduce the McCarthyist atmosphere which resulted in people being herded into unthinking hordes that sought the blood of anybody who was labelled a communist.

We must also make this clear that we need no educators with regard to the matter of rooting out corruption which we will deal with firmly and unequivocally, whoever may be involved.

We are conscious of the reality that corruption in many forms has deeply infected the fibre of our society. It is not possible to have a society based on a lie and patent injustice as apartheid society was, without this spawning corrupt practices. Precisely because we face the challenge of dealing with systemic corruption we need a dispassionate and systematic approach to the question and not allow ourselves to be stampeded by responses which are not very different from a witch-hunt.

To address another important matter of the day, later this year we will be holding our local government elections to complete the process of establishing the democratic structures which we need to ensure that the people are able to take their destiny into their own hands.

The importance of these popularly elected structures at the local level cannot be overestimated. It is at this level that we must deliver change. It is at this level that the people can most directly participate in making decisions about important matters that affect their daily lives. It is also at this level that we must confront the divisions created by the system of apartheid and grapple with the problems that arise out of the racial and territorial maldistribution of resources and infrastructure that was imposed on the country by this system.

In reality, it is impossible to enter this next and critical stage of the dismantling of the system of apartheid until we have democratically elected structures of government which enjoy a popular mandate to bring about the nonracial, nonsexist and democratic society demanded of us by the Constitution.

I would therefore like to take this opportunity to call on all our people in their millions to take the forthcoming local government elections very seriously.

The immediate task that we must all fulfil is to register as voters. I appeal to all political parties, both those represented in our national and provincial legislatures and those outside these structures, to do everything in their power to mobilise the people to register as voters. This appeal also extends to all other people's organisations and institutions of civil society. They need to use their influence to organise the people to register for and participate in the local government elections.

It is also the obligation of all political organisations that will participate in the local government elections to ensure that we experience no violence or intimidation during the conducting of our election campaigns.

I would also like to take advantage of this occasion to make it very clear to the country as a whole that the Government will not allow anybody to obstruct the process of registration of voters, regardless of the social status of the persons concerned. [Applause.]

It is important to bear in mind that unlike our elections of last year, these elections will be conducted with democratically elected national and provincial governments in place. These governments will not hesitate to use all legitimate force at their disposal to ensure that nobody stands in the way of the people to express their will freely. [Applause.]

I am also pleased to report that whatever the teething problems, the concept and vision of a government of national unity has proved its correctness and viability. It has succeeded in its intentions of ensuring co-operation among our people as a whole, the development of a national consensus around a whole range of important matters, enabling important minority parties to have a real voice in the government of the country and contributing to peace, stability and confidence in the future of our country.

At the national level, we continue to work together in a non-confrontational atmosphere further to elaborate rules, conventions and procedures to ensure that the Government of National Unity functions effectively and to ensure that it is able to address in a balanced way the fact of different parties with different policies and the tensions between the democratic rights of the majority party and the effective participation of the minority parties.

In this regard I should mention that we have agreed with the provincial Premiers that we will share our views on these matters with them and their administrations, to evolve common practices conducive to good government.

Happily, all the major parties have committed themselves to the perspectives contained in the commonly-evolved Reconstruction and Development Programme. This constitutes the firm basis for the continuing co-operation among the various parties inside and outside the Government of National Unity, without which such co-operation would become impossible.

We must, however, also make this point that when all is said and done, as individuals and as parties we belong to the same government. We therefore have a collective responsibility both to participate in the formulation of policy and the elaboration of decisions and to defend, take responsibility for and implement those decisions.

In the period ahead of us we shall therefore insist on the collective responsibility and accountability

ity of everybody concerned as part of a process in which we must all engage, in raising the levels of discipline and responsible action throughout our society.

A few days ago, we were honoured to participate in the moving and historic opening of our Constitutional Court. This is yet another giant step in the transformation of our judicial system and the building of a law-governed society which will protect the fundamental human rights of all our citizens and ensure that the people are not threatened by arbitrary and oppressive rule.

The process of the transformation of the judiciary will continue, among other things, to ensure that it is representative of our society and to enable even the poor to have the ability to obtain legal redress where need arises.

All necessary steps will also be taken to ensure that the judicial system plays its proper role with regard to the important matters of reducing the levels of crime in our society. It must also help to address the legitimate concern of the public that we do not create the situation in which the people begin to feel that criminals and wrongdoers are being favoured while the interests of society are being ignored.

Further progress will also be made this year to establish other institutions that are critical to the construction of the people-centred society to which we are all committed. Among these will be the Human Rights Commission, the Public Protector, the Gender and Youth Commissions, the Inspector-General of Intelligence and the structures that will be created by the pending Open Democracy or Freedom of Information Act.

We are determined to move with all due speed to create and strengthen all the institutions of governance that we have spoken of to deal with the matter of effective and open government.

Once more, we must address a few words to our public servants. Without their dedicated service to the people effective government and public delivery to the population will be impossible. We are committed to the motivation of all public sector workers so that they become a conscious, willing and skilled agent for the transformation of our society according to the objectives spelt out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

As part of this process, Cabinet has given instructions to all Ministers to interact continuously with all members of their ministries and departments to brief them about their tasks, to report on progress achieved, to agree on how to overcome obstacles to the process of transformation and generally to be involved in the struggle for change.

We also invited the public sector unions to participate as fully as possible in the budgeting processes so that they make their own contribution to the difficult task of deciding the best possible allocation of the limited resources available to Government.

We are convinced that an adversarial relationship between the Executive and the Administration would impact negatively on the common task which these two institutions share of serving the people of South Africa. Such an outcome must be avoided at all costs.

Accordingly, we have been available and willing to address all matters of concern to the Public Service workers, including questions of salary, promotions, pensions and other issues relevant to working conditions.

It is, however, also important that the Public Service should be willing to join hands with the Government to address other important matters such as the racial and gender imbalances within the service. The Public Service will never be fully acceptable to the people as a whole and can never be truly responsive to the needs of the people unless it is composed in all its ranks in a manner that reflects the composition of our population.

To speed up this process, the Government will continue to implement measures and programmes aiming at ensuring that those who were disadvantaged by apartheid in the past are given the capacity to catch up with those who were given the opportunity to develop and advance themselves in terms of management and other skills. [Applause.]

This is what we mean when we talk of affirmative action programmes. We speak of a human resource development programme which will ensure that all our people, and not merely some, are given the possibility to develop their talents and to contribute to the reconstruction and development of society to the best of their ability.

I therefore call on all our people to refuse to listen to the false prophets who seek to perpetuate the apartheid divisions and imbalances of the past by presenting affirmative action as a programme intended to advantage some and disadvantage others on the basis of colour and race. [Applause.]

It is also appropriate that on this occasion we draw the attention of the country to the actual reality that the Government has extremely limited resources to address the many and urgent needs of our people. We are very keen that this real situation should be communicated to the people as a whole. All of us, especially the leadership of political organisations and civil society, must rid ourselves of the wrong notion that the Government has a big bag full of money. [Laughter.] The Government does not have such riches.

Because we have started the process of changing spending priorities, we do realise that the process of restructuring the Budget so that it is directed towards addressing the needs of the people is no easy matter. This is especially so in the light of the contractual obligations that bind the State, as well as carry-over expenditure which cannot be avoided.

We must all absorb this reality into our thinking in a cold and dispassionate manner. We must not allow ourselves to be seduced into a world of false hopes leading to unrealistic actions based on the wrong assumption that the Government can be coerced into meeting demands that it cannot meet, however justified and legitimate these demands might be.

It is important that we rid ourselves of the culture of entitlement which leads to the expectation that the Government must promptly deliver whatever it is that we demand, a culture which results in some people refusing to meet their obligations such as rent and service payments or engaging in other unacceptable actions such as the forcible occupation of houses.

HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

The PRESIDENT: As we have said with regard to the public sector unions, we seek to ensure that the budgeting process is as transparent and as participatory as possible. It is the right of the people to know how much money they have contributed to the finances of the State and how that money is being used. It is their right also not

only to know, but also to contribute their views as to how public funds should be disbursed. That is why such bodies as parliamentary committees and the National Economic Forum have been brought into the budgeting process.

Tomorrow we are launching a very important body—the National Economic Development and Labour Council, Nedlac. This crucial body will bring together representatives of the Government, labour, capital and civil society. This will be one of the institutions on which we will rely in terms of decisions that we must arrive at with regard to the use of public funds and assets.

We trust that the representatives who sit on Nedlac will, in turn, reach out to their own constituencies to inform and involve them in the process of arriving at decisions which bear, among other things, on the disbursement of public funds.

What we have said constitutes a firm undertaking on the part of the Government to ensure a participatory process with regard to public finances. Bearing this in mind, we believe that the Government has a right to expect that the public at large should behave in a responsible manner when it addresses the question of the obligations of the Government in meeting the material expectations of the people.

I would like to address this matter bluntly. The strike action which has been threatened by a few of the public sector unions will not succeed in forcing the Government to make available money for large wage and salary increases.

I say this, being fully aware of, and sympathetic to, the plight of many public sector workers who are, indeed, poorly paid.

I say it precisely because I am aware of the reality that, through no fault of its own, the Government literally does not have the money to meet the demands that are being advanced. Mass action of any kind will not create the resources that the Government does not have and would only serve to subvert the capacity of the Government to serve the people. [Applause.]

I would like to repeat that the Government is committed to entering into a comprehensive three-year agreement with the public sector unions to address all matters of mutual interest, including improved pay packets, particularly for the lowest-paid public sector workers.

In this regard, I would like to extend our sincere appreciation to the leaders and the majority of the public sector unions which have engaged with us in a constructive manner which is sensitive to the needs of the country as a whole. We are ready to work together with these unions to solve the problems which face us together, for the benefit of the workers and society as a whole.

I must also address the question of the attempt by some in our country to introduce anarchy into our society. [Interjections.] I speak of those who engage in such totally unacceptable practices as the murder of police officers, the taking of hostages, riots, looting, the forcible occupation of public buildings, blocking of public highways, vandalism of public and private property, and so on. [Applause.]

Some of those who have initiated and participated in such activities have misread freedom to mean licence. [Applause.] They have misinterpreted popular participation to mean their ability to impose chaos on society. They have wrongly concluded that an elected government of the people is a government that is open to compulsion through acts of anarchy.

Let me therefore make it abundantly clear that this small minority in our midst which wears the mask of anarchy will meet its match in the Government we lead and the masses of the people who put that Government into office. [Applause.]

This they must know—we are not afraid of struggle. We are, after all, a product of confrontation and struggle.

HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

The PRESIDENT: In the past we were not defeated by forces more powerful than they. In this instance, we will not be defeated by those whose actions have nothing to do with defending or advancing the cause of the people. [Applause.]

We are certain that the democratic trade union movement will also join hands with us in isolating and defeating the minority which seeks to discredit the trade union movement by engaging in violent activities during the course of strike actions.

Let it therefore be clear to all that the battle against the forces of anarchy and chaos has been

joined. Let no one say that they have not been warned. [Applause.]

In the same vein we must address the question of crime. A situation cannot be tolerated in which our country continues to be engulfed by a crime wave which includes murder, crimes against women and children, drug trafficking, armed robbery, fraud and theft.

We must take the war to the criminals and no longer allow a situation in which we are mere sitting ducks for those in our society who, for whatever reason, are bent on engaging in criminal and antisocial activities. Instructions have therefore already gone out to the Minister for Safety and Security, the national Commissioner of the SA Police Service and the security organs as a whole to take all necessary measures to bring down the levels of crime.

I would also like to take this opportunity of emphasising that the matter of our safety and security is not one that should be left only to the law enforcement organs. For them to succeed, they need the full and active support of all our communities. The police-community forums that have been established are extremely important with regard to reinforcing co-operation between the police and the public. They will also increase the capacity of the country as a whole to deal with the common problem of crime. I would, therefore, like to urge the formation of such forums where they do not exist and the involvement of all opinion-makers in all localities in the processes which are aimed at enhancing the people's safety and security.

The Government is determined to do everything in its power to move speedily towards the formation of the new Police Service. We are very interested in addressing the matter of the earnings and working conditions of all members of the Police Service and in giving this service the necessary means to enable it to discharge its responsibilities as effectively as possible.

In this regard we must also make it clear that the Government is opposed to and has no intention of conducting a witch-hunt against the police as a result of activities arising from orders given to the police by the apartheid regime. We therefore urge every member of the Police Service to get down to the urgent and pressing matter of enhancing the safety and security of the people as a whole.

When we opened Parliament last year, we addressed the issue of racism in the workplace and in our society at large. We continue to be confronted by this problem. People have continued to die as a result of the continuing practice of racism—the latest being a victim of racist resistance to the use of a former White school by Black children. [Interjections.] Those who are responsible for these crimes of racism must be brought to book without delay.

It is clear that insufficient progress has been made in many workplaces and elsewhere in our society in dealing with this cancer. We trust that the Human Rights Commission will help us to deal with this matter firmly and continuously by encouraging the public to report all instances of racism, so that these can be brought to light.

The Government has discussed this matter and is committed to carrying out its constitutional obligation of transforming our country into a nonracial society. A situation cannot be allowed in which anyone acts in a manner which perpetuates the practice of apartheid. Both the Government and the people as a whole share a common obligation to live up to the very purpose of the struggle that millions of people waged, that of ending racism in our country and ensuring the equality of all our people.

One of the most sensitive matters we must address this year is the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. We must move towards this as speedily as possible so as to remove all the uncertainties that have been created through the protracted discussion of this issue. The legislature is currently discussing the Bill dealing with this matter and is receiving public submissions. I would like to urge that we achieve speedy progress in this regard.

I would also like to draw the attention of the legislature and the country as a whole to the fact that our purpose in establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Commission is both to obtain the truth and to reinforce the process of reconciliation which our country needs. Nothing we do should lead to the heightening of tensions and the rekindling of the violent political conflicts which we have succeeded so well in bringing under reasonable control. It must also be borne in mind that many of us who suffered quite significantly as a result of apartheid repressions are making no demands which would result in

vengeance against or the persecution of those who might have harmed us or those close to us.

Urgent steps are also required to end the continuing political violence in the province of Kwa-Zulu-Natal. This is both a law enforcement issue and a matter for the political parties and leaders in the province to address. If we claim to be the genuine leaders of our people, it must surely be one of our principal tasks to end the killing, both to save lives and to create the climate of peace and stability which we need to develop the province, which is among the poorest areas in the country. [Applause.]

Progress has been made with regard to the basic challenge of building a better life for all our people. Some of the projects that we announced last year, including the feeding of school children and the provision of free health services to certain sections of our population, have been implemented. We must draw the necessary lessons from our experience in this effort to meet the basic needs of the people. One of these, as we have stated already, is that the Government has very limited resources to address the multiple and urgent needs of our people.

It is therefore critical that we determine a proper set of priorities on which we should focus to effect a visible and sustainable improvement in the lives of the people. It is also important that we do not implement any projects in this regard in an ad hoc manner, but within the context of five-year and other medium and long-term plans and projections.

The Cabinet has discussed this matter and decided on our priorities, which include rural and urban development, human resource development, job creation and health. Detailed interdepartmental work is now going on to elaborate on plans reflecting this focus to ensure that the Government uses, in a rational and effective manner, the limited resources at its disposal. In this regard, the Government will not make any commitments which it cannot meet on a continuous basis.

Compared to the time last year when we had to announce programmes for transformation without detailed preparation of implementable and affordable plans, we are now in the fortunate situation that we are well on the way to finalising detailed plans to meet our firm commitment to build a better life for all South Africans.

Once they are ready, and after the necessary consultation with the elected representatives at both national and provincial levels, the local community structures and the public at large, we are determined to move speedily this year to expedite the process of social transformation and to improve the quality of life of our people, which is required of us in the context of our programme of reconstruction and development. One of the highlights of our national life this year will be when we announce realistic targets with regard to such needs as houses, clean water, primary health care and jobs.

I must repeat that it is our firm intention to set these targets within the parameters of what the Budget can carry, consistent with our objective of ensuring fiscal discipline.

We will be able to achieve this degree of precision because of the significant progress that has been made in the various ministries, both at national and provincial levels. This pertains both to the reorganisation and strengthening of these structures and the elaboration of policies aimed at the fundamental transformation of our country. For this we should salute the Ministers, the Premiers, the Directors-General and other members of the Public Service for the work they have done to increase the capacity of the Government to engage in the process of transformation. [Applause.]

With regard to this critical matter of socio-economic transformation, I would, once again, like to draw attention to the important role that Nedlac will have to play to ensure effective co-ordination and partnership between government, labour, business and community-based organisations. This body will play a critical role in helping to develop the consensus we need around the critical challenges of reconstruction and development, including economic growth, socio-economic improvement and the involvement of all stakeholders in all decision-making processes.

In a sense, Nedlac and other forums in which consensus is being achieved across the social spectrum are crucial powerhouses of our nation-building and reconstruction efforts. They are the engine which cannot be derailed by the whims of individuals or political parties.

As the year begins, there are signs that our economy is beginning to pick up. The Govern-

ment considers it a matter of critical importance that everything should be done to encourage a climate conducive to sustained and high levels of economic growth. We are therefore ready to deal, and have been dealing with all matters that are relevant to this goal, in particular to ensure the creation of an investor-friendly climate. Everything must be done to encourage a significant upward movement in the rate of investment to increase the productive capacity of the economy, to modernise and restructure the economy, to create jobs and to increase our international competitiveness.

With regard to these economic issues, I would also like to emphasise our continuing commitment to fiscal discipline, including the reduction of the Budget deficit, the reduction of the share of the national income that accrues to government and the reorientation of government expenditure away from recurrent disbursements towards investments.

The relevant authorities, including the Reserve Bank, remain seized of the issue of the two-tier exchange rate and the general question of foreign exchange control. These matters will be addressed with the necessary speed and the equally necessary sense of responsibility towards the economy as a whole.

At the same time the Government is working as expeditiously as possible to address the question of the reorganisation of State assets. In this respect, our objective is to ensure that these assets are used in a conscious and consistent manner to address the objectives of the RDP. One of these must surely be to reduce the public debt and therefore the burden of servicing this debt, so that more public funds can be released to address the needs of the people.

This year Parliament will be faced with a heavy load of extremely important legislation that it will have to deal with. The importance of this legislation derives from the fact that it will be transformative in character, aimed at the creation of the social order for which many struggled and sacrificed.

One of these pieces of legislation is the Labour Relations Bill, which represents not only a decisive shift from our adversarial past in labour relations, but also our commitment to a more democratic style of governance. While correctly entrenching the right of workers to resort to

strike action, the Bill places emphasis on conciliation and negotiation of disputes and should contribute significantly to reducing the level of unnecessary industrial action. It will help create greater possibilities for joint action between government, labour and business to build a prosperous and just society.

Similarly, White Papers and legislation will be introduced covering such areas such as education, health, housing, water affairs, safety and security, defence, truth and reconciliation, freedom of information, land affairs, the Public Service, welfare and so on, to say nothing of the 1995-96 Budget.

This will undoubtedly tax the energies of the members and resources of Parliament. However, we will have to ensure that we deal with all this legislation as expeditiously as possible, while also consulting the people as extensively as possible. We should therefore have an exciting session which should inspire all our people as they see their elected representatives create the legislative framework which will mark our continued movement away from the past towards the people-centred society we seek to construct.

We will also have to ensure that the Constitutional Assembly makes progress towards the drafting of the new constitution. It is important that this should be done so that we can have certainty as soon as possible about the constitutional framework within which the country should be governed.

It may be worth repeating that we seek a constitution that is acceptable to the people as a whole. It was for this reason that all those who participated in the drafting of the present Constitution agreed to the concept of special majorities and an entrenched set of principles. As we negotiate the new constitution, it is necessary to bear these observations in mind and conduct ourselves in a manner that ensures that we have as inclusive a process as possible.

It seems necessary that there should be close co-operation and co-ordination between the legislature and the Constitutional Assembly with regard to the issue of consultation with the public, as both these bodies will be seeking to reach as many people as possible during this year. We will have to conduct the processes of public consultation in a manner that is both cost-effective and enables the people genuinely

to contribute to both the legislative and the constitutional debates.

This year, the nations will be observing the related 50th anniversaries of the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the United Nations Organisation. Coming as we do from our own specific past it will be important that we join in the observance of these historic events. Thus should we affirm our own commitment to the vision contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Charter and other important legal instruments and conventions that the United Nations has evolved to deal with the issues of racism, war and peace, human rights and development. Among these conventions, which will be ratified during the course of this parliamentary session, is the very important International Convention on the Rights of the Child. [Applause.]

We might also want to use this occasion to make our contribution to the international debate about the new world order, focusing in particular on such matters as a democratic international political order and universal prosperity, peace and stability—all of which are questions of great relevance to our own continent of Africa. In this regard, the United Nations Social Summit next month and the International Women's Conference in Beijing later in the year will be crucial forums in which we should make our own humble contribution to the effort to create a better world.

In this context, during this year we will pay particular attention to the all-round development and strengthening of our relations with our neighbours in Southern Africa, especially within the context of the SADC.

We are all inspired by the reality of progressive developments in our region during the recent past. These include the successful democratic elections in Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Botswana and our own country, the restoration of democracy in Lesotho and the signing of the Angola Peace Agreement. All this augurs well for the future of all our people.

At the same time, we are all aware of the tensions that are building up with regard to population movements within our region. We must treat this matter with all due sensitivity, conscious of the history of our region, including the destruction caused by the policy of aggres-



sion and destabilisation carried out by the previous regime. [Applause.]

In all our actions we must move from the position that the fundamental objective we must pursue is friendship, co-operation and solidarity among the peoples of our region.

We take this opportunity to wish the people of Angola well and once more to convey to them and all their leaders our willingness to contribute whatever we can to assist in the establishment of a permanent peace and the strengthening of the democratic order.

We will continue to make our contribution to the strengthening of the OAU, which remains an important instrument that we all need to address the serious concerns of the peoples of our continent.

We also hope to conclude our negotiations with the European Union as soon as possible to strengthen our economic and other relations with this important group of countries in a manner that does not disadvantage any other country.

In a fortnight will also be established the Joint South Africa-United States Commission, which

will supervise the important process of strengthening the relations between ourselves and the United States of America.

In a few days the Prime Minister of Sweden will arrive in this city. We welcome this visit by the leader of one of the Scandinavian countries, all of which played such an important role in the struggle for the emancipation of all our people. [Applause.] The visit also emphasises the positive manner in which our relations with the rest of the world are developing. It will be followed by other visits, as well as our own to other countries, in the interest of our own development and in the interest of a better world for all people.

This Parliament has, through death, lost some of the best among us. These include Firoza Adam, Thomas Nkobi and Joe Slovo. Let the result of this second session of our democratic Parliament serve as our salute to them and a tribute to their memory. I am certain you will not fail them.

I have the honour to declare the second session of our democratic Parliament open. [Applause.]

The Joint Sitting rose at 12:15.

### PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 14:15.

The President of the Senate took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS

(Debate on Subject for Discussion)

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE: Order! I call upon the Chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly to speak.

Mr C RAMAPHOSA: Mr President, I am standing here not as the Chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, but as a member of Parliament.

I should like to thank the President of the Republic for affording all of us the opportunity to respond to his address to the nation. With your words of wisdom, Mr President, you confirmed once again to all South Africans, to all of us sitting here, that you are indeed the master nation-builder. As we say in Sotho, "A hona o tswanang le wena," there is no other like you. "Daar is nie een wat soos u lyk nie." "A kekho o munye o fana nawe." [Interjections.] We are a nation that is proud to have you as our very own first democratically elected President. You make us proud, even in the face of the nations of the world, who are drawn to our country like bees are to a blossoming flower. We thank you for enabling even the Swedish Prime Minister to grace our country with his first ever visit to a democratic South Africa. May you live long, comrade President, and continue to provide us with your tried and tested leadership.

HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

Mr C RAMAPHOSA: Through your leadership you have put our country on the road to democratisation, equality for all and development. Your address touched many a sensitive chord in the minds and the hearts of people both here in Parliament and throughout the country.

We in the ANC endorse the sentiments expressed in your address, and proclaim once again that the ANC which you lead is the only true guardian of democracy, freedom and equality in our country.

HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

Mr C RAMAPHOSA: The ANC stands at the head of the transformation process in our country. Ours is the responsibility to ensure maximum national consensus. Ours is the task . . . [Interjections.] I am coming to you on that.

Ours is the task to reassure all sections of our country that they do indeed have a common and prosperous destiny—to share in the birth of their country.

The ANC stands head and shoulders above all other political parties represented in Parliament in terms of its commitment to the total and full transformation of our country. [Applause.] We have a clear and creative vision that can be converted into practice. All parties sitting here have accepted that vision, as set out in the RDP. It should not be impossible, therefore, to get all parties to be part of achieving national consensus in which the hon the President is playing a leading role. He leads a Government which has proven that it is sensitive and responsive to the needs of all in society.

We in the ANC applaud the deliberate and constructive moves his Government is taking in improving the lives of our people. The RDP delivery process is still in its formative stages, but the projects he announced last year have already started touching the lives of ordinary people on the ground. It is heartwarming to see what a vital difference the schoolfeeding programme is making in the lives of children in many parts of the country—children who can now learn without hunger pangs.

The letters of gratitude his Government continues to receive from a wide spectrum of people, including poor, White pregnant women who can now go to hospitals and clinics without having to pay, prove once again that his Government is committed to giving all South Africans a better life. [Applause.] Addressing the needs of South Africans with regard to health, education and all other basic matters, must be a national effort. This effort demands a new mind-set, a new



stead of the Chan family. The three children, all teenagers, were machine-gunned in their beds. The two mute sons, needless to emphasise, did not hear a thing and were killed in their sleep.

The paratroopers also rushed into the bedroom of Mr Chan and marched him and his terrified wife in their pajamas into the lounge. In the lounge Mrs Chan was murdered in cold blood in the presence of her husband.

Throughout this period the apparent leader of the paratroopers demanded to know from Mr Chan whether he knew of any movement of what he called terrorists in the area. Mr Chan repeatedly told them that he knew nothing about any movements of any terrorists. The paratroopers then took Mr Chan into the yard, strapped him with hand grenades and left him sprawled on the ground. Moving away, they riddled him with bullets from a machine gun. This set off the strapped hand grenades and his body was so mutilated that parts of it hung from a nearby tree.

Besides murdering Mr and Mrs Chan and their teenage children, the paratroopers then embarked on a systematic destruction of the Chan homestead.

This may sound like a Hollywood script, but this is exactly what happened. All this was witnessed by a local youngster who was visiting the Chan family that evening. Apparently the paratroopers, in their reconnaissance of the Chan homestead, did not know of his presence, and that is why he survived.

The tragedy of the Chan family did not end there, however. His brother in Johannesburg, on hearing of the tragedy, decided to rush to Botswana. On his way he was involved in an accident and killed.

The entire Chan family, save their two married daughters, was ruthlessly and brutally murdered by South African hit squads in the cross-border raids. The daughters and other members of the Chan family are still living this nightmare. Do they not have a right to know the truth about who was responsible for this brutal murder? [Interjections.] Who murdered their parents and their helpless brothers?

Similarly, innocent teenagers were burning the proverbial midnight oil while preparing for examinations in Umtata in the former Transkei.

They too were surprised in the early hours of the morning by members of the SA Defence Force and brutally murdered.

There are, needless to say, many more such examples that we can cite. There are people living with those realities today. We need the truth to come out so that healing can begin, and only then can reconciliation be achieved.

Senator M G E WILEY: Mr President, President of the Republic and Deputy President De Klerk, I am particularly honoured today to be the last speaker before the President sums up this debate. I would like to thank the President for the positive and spirited speech that he delivered to this Parliament before this debate. His speech was full of character, it was courageous and it gave the country a great deal of hope.

I am not going to respond to many of the negative comments that were made in the speeches that followed, because I believe that they detracted from the import and the statesmanship of his speech in this House.

I would like rather to refer to another of his speeches, namely the first to this House at the opening of the first session of this Parliament. In that speech he dealt with a couple of subjects which he also dealt with in his second speech, but at more length. The first that I would like to refer to concerns environmental affairs and tourism.

May I say at the outset that Senator Grové's speech about the environment was very important, and he raised many valid arguments. Yes, the sooner we become more activist with regard to our environment, the better it will be for our country. If we do not take a serious look at our built and natural environment, we will have nothing for our children to look forward to.

Tourists come to this country mainly for the specific reason that we have a good environment. South Africa attracts about 0,3% of the global tourist market. This figure is growing in leaps and bounds. This week the Western Cape was twinned with the state of Florida, where tourism has an annual turnover in the region of approximately \$41 billion and employs 800 000 people. The potential for us to reach great heights in tourism and for tourism to overtake mineral resources as being the strength of our economy, is unlimited.

In that respect, and following on what Senator Grové said, we are taking positive steps. The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the Premier of the Western Cape will be meeting next week to discuss the future of Table Mountain. We are taking this matter seriously after decades of paralysis by local authorities which have not been able to get their act together.

I would like to refer to a second, more important point raised by the President in his speech at the first opening of Parliament. He stressed the youth, and I quote:

The youth of our country are the valued possession of the nation. Without them there can be no future. Their needs are immense and urgent. They are at the centre of our Reconstruction and Development Plan.

That brings me to the next point that I would like to make. At the moment we have a crisis in the Western Cape, something which we also feel in the country as a whole. It is something one reads about all the time in our newspapers here in the Western Cape, namely the issue of the Olympic Games.

The Olympic Games bid for Cape Town is not just a bid for Cape Town, but it is a bid for South Africa. We went through a process of elimination of three cities, namely Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. Many of the members sitting here are patrons of those different city bids. Many are patrons of the Cape Town bid. Minister Tshwete, Jannie Mornberg and Mrs Tambo are all current patrons of this bid. It is a national bid, a bid for South Africa.

I am concerned that the current spat between strong personalities is going to endanger this bid. The Olympic Games is the single biggest event that takes place in the world and it happens every four years. It holds out a beacon of hope and light to young South Africans. Who of us would deny this man, Ezekiel Sepeng, and thousands like him, the opportunity to represent his country?

Whether they make it to the Olympics or not is not important. The importance is that we as legislators should give them the opportunity to go to the Olympic Games. I am asking the President of the Republic as a request and as a South African, to please take a personal interest in this particular issue before it gets out of hand.

We now have the newspapers inundated with advertisements and bitter personal rivalry. It is very important that we take this matter in hand soon, because athletes and sports administrators the world over are gun-shy people. If people do not believe me then they should go to an athletics or swimming event and see what happens when a shot is fired. Everybody runs away from the gun.

We need to give our people a beacon of hope, and we need to bring this together. Private enterprise, the municipalities, the regional and central Government are all team players in this effort and we have to bring it together to afford that ray of hope to our youth.

I will give the House an example of how important sport is to the youth in South Africa. There is a lady who started a basketball team from the gangs in the Hout Bay area. The gang members have stopped the gang activity and are now in the league for basketball. If she could do it on a small scale then we can do it on a national scale. My concern is that we give sport too low a profile and priority.

I would like to finish with the Olympic Charter:

Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole, the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy found in effort, the educational value of good example and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles.

I doubt whether there is any man or woman in this Chamber that can argue against those very high values.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Deputy President of the Senate, Deputy President F W de Klerk, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, hon members of the National Assembly and Senate, ladies and gentlemen, it was to be expected that in a society as politically vigorous as ours, a country with such a rich history, and a society which has experienced such trials and tribulations, there should be a vibrant Parliament. I therefore wish to express my sincere appreciation for the excellent, exciting and eventful debate on this year's State of the Nation Address.

It was a joy to listen to the contributions of all the speakers, even in instances where one did not

"MENDON" "RESPONSE TO THE STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS  
MANDELA, NELSON, 24 FEBRUARY, JOINT SITTINGS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAM  
CAPE TOWN, HANSARD, 1995: 350-360

agree with their points of view. Each one individually, and all collectively, as parties, sought to make their mark on the renaissance of the South African nation unfolding before our very eyes.

At the end of this debate one can say that all of us, in our own humble way, are making that mark, contributing to nation-building and reconstruction. I am told that even those who sought to make their point strongly by suspending their active participation in the national Parliament, did so after utilising much of the time allocated to them in this debate. [Laughter.] We congratulate them for that. [Laughter.]

We are heartened by the commitment expressed by all the parties in this Chamber to work together for the good of the country. We welcome this commitment, too, from those who did so in a qualified manner, and I will return to this later.

Necessarily, and perhaps actually by design, much has been made of the actions of the IFP. It is therefore appropriate that we deal with this first before delving into the serious business of the implementation of Government programmes.

As we have already stated, we strongly disapprove of this action, because it is here in these Chambers that the blast furnace of policy formulation is located. It is here that ideas should be pitted against one another and differences ironed out.

Yet, we should acknowledge that in a vibrant democracy it is the right of any party or individual to walk in and walk out of Parliament . . . [Laughter] . . . as long as this does not mean abandonment of the democratic ideal, as long as it does not mean withdrawal from the institutions that the nation founded in April of last year.

We disapprove of this behaviour also from the point of view of the interests of the country as a whole. It does not reinforce confidence, on the part of our people and the international community, in the capacity of leaders to use democratic institutions to resolve differences. However, our concern goes particularly to those who voted the IFP into these institutions.

In this context I wish to address them directly.

Ngifisa ukukhuluma nabantu okuyibona abavotele i-IFP. Amalungu animele kuleliPhalamende akhethwe yinina ukuba azofeza okuyiz-

ifiso zenu nokungaphakathi ezinhliziyweni zenu. Niwakhethe lamalungu ngoba nikholelwa ekutheni awasiwo amagwala azophuma abaleke [Uhleko]. . . uma chlangabezana nezinkinga, noma ngabe zincane kangakanani. Nibakhethe ngoba nethemba ukuthi bazoma baqine kuleliPhalamende nasendlini yeziGele ukwenza lokho okuyizifiso zenu. Basebenza ngaphansi kwemithetho yePhalamende.

Ayikho neyodwa yalezizinkinga ezivezwa yi-IFP engaxazululwa ngokuduba nokuphambel uhambe. Kusemahloba enu nina enibakhethile ukuba nibabuyisele emugqeni. Landelani ezinyathelweni zika Shaka, Makhanda, Cetshwayo, Moshoeshe, Ramabulana, Sekhukhune noNgungunyana, nibatshale ukuthi bangabaleki, babuyele ePhalamende bazokwenza umsebenzi wabo. (*Translation of Zulu paragraphs follows.*)

[I would like to talk to the people who elected the IFP. The people representing you in Parliament were elected by you to fulfill your wishes and aspirations. You elected these members because you believed that they were not cowards who would run away . . . [Laughter] . . . when they experienced problems, no matter how trivial they were. You elected them because you hoped that they would stand firm in this Parliament and in the Senate, to fulfill your wishes. They work under the Rules of Parliament.

There is not even one problem raised by the IFP that can be solved by giving up and walking out. It is the responsibility of you people who elected them to bring them back into line. Follow the steps of Shaka, Makhanda, Cetshwayo, Moshoeshe, Ramabulana, Sekhukhune and Ngungunyana, and tell them not to run away, but to come back to Parliament to do their job.]

Let me once more reiterate the principles which guided the ANC's approach to the issue of international mediation, which has been raised extensively as the reason for this irrational behaviour. Firstly, the ANC has stated over and over again that it is committed to the agreement which was reached on 19 April 1994. It is precisely for this reason that a subcommittee was formed to look into the matter.

Secondly, sheer logic tells us that to invite any eminent persons to undertake this task requires that there should be clear terms of reference. This is precisely what the tripartite subcommittee was discussing.

Thirdly, we are examining any steps that might be needed to deal with the issue. On the part of the ANC we will delegate Deputy President Mbeki to take this matter up as soon as he returns from his trip abroad. In the meantime I will this afternoon meet Chief Buthelezi at Genadendal in order to explore possible solutions to this problem. I hope that Deputy President De Klerk will be able to join us as well.

Fourthly, the ANC, and I believe other rational parties, would not want to be party to an approach that seeks to treat a matter pertaining to the King and Kingdom of KwaZulu-Natal as if the King did not exist. Neither would we accept to arrogate to any political party the right to speak on behalf of any king or kingdom.

Let me, however, make one issue very clear. While we do recognise the right of people to undertake any action within the limits of the law and while we are committed to political solutions to this problem, we cannot and must not as a nation and as a Government allow threats and the actual perpetration of violence to go unchallenged.

We are confident that South Africans of all political persuasions, including the media, will support the right of Government to carry out its obligations to the nation, as prescribed in the Constitution, and that they will not approach this matter in a manner which encourages irresponsibility, lawlessness and blackmail.

The measure of the progress our nation is making should be the extent to which we have set the stage for actual implementation of programmes. It should be measured by our success, as elected representatives, in involving the people in policy formulation and implementation. This is the real foundation for the consensus which binds South African society. It is a consensus not confined to us in these Chambers, nor to the national or provincial executives. It is, above everything else, a living partnership of social structures united in pursuit of common goals.

Nedlac, which we launched a day after the opening of Parliament, the historic agreements in the areas of housing, the debates in the field of health which should culminate in such consensus, the successes in the areas of education and many others—all these are a vivid expression of a nation united in an effort to improve its lot. To lose sight of this would be an act of disrespect

towards those ordinary South Africans who are themselves ready to assume their responsibilities.

A number of hon members reported on the impact which socio-economic programmes are making on citizens, especially the poor. We cannot fail to recognise the progress in these projects, be it in urban or rural renewal, the supply of water, free medical care or the nutrition programme. Certainly, the pace of launching these programmes may not have been as rapid as we had intended. Certainly, there are many teething problems. But a start has been made, and there is a definite commitment to make visible change one of the beacons of the Government's operations this year.

Indeed, in many other areas, the planning process has yet to be completed. But, working together with communities, we will ensure that there is a sense of urgency in our handling of these matters. We will ensure that there is as little delay as possible between the completion of the plans and their actual implementation.

Many issues raised in the debate bear testimony to the seriousness of the problems we face—concerns that members, as elected representatives, bring from the ground. A few of them deserve special mention.

As I indicated last Friday, the Minister for Safety and Security and the Commissioner of Police have been instructed to take immediate steps to deal with the problem of crime and violence. At their disposal is a police service already well on the path to transformation. The basis of the Government's approach is that we must, all of us, as institutions, as communities and as individuals, take responsibility for the war against crime.

On its part, the Government has made clear its intention to address the matter of the unacceptable low pay for the lower ranks of the police, and the shocking conditions under which they work. In addressing society's socio-economic problems, we are also conscious of the fact that these problems are at the root of this scourge.

However, too often the word "crime" is taken too narrowly when there are calls for action against it. There is a kind of crime that is much less visible, but whose existence is well known. White-collar crime and theft committed within business costs the country enormous resources

and it needs to be combated with equal vigour. [Applause.]

Inversely, references to the Government's commitment to stamp out anarchy and lawlessness in mass protests is interpreted broadly to mean union-bashing and suppressing people's rights. Let us make it clear once more that our recognition of the right to protest and to strike is unshakable. [Applause.] These are rights guaranteed by the Constitution itself. What we shall deal with firmly—and this is no idle threat—is the breaking of the law through acts of vandalism, the taking of hostages, blockades of roads and damage to property. This we cannot tolerate! [Applause.]

Understandably, the issue of corruption loomed large in this debate. The threat that corrupt norms implanted by apartheid may survive and overwhelm us as we set about the building of new values, is one that alarms us. It is a threat that we as Government are determined to forestall. The Cabinet is finalising a code of conduct for its members, a code that shall be firmly applied.

However, if the sanctions against the corrupt practices are not carried out in every corner with equal fervour by Government and public servants, political parties, private business and nongovernmental organisations, this scourge will remain with us.

Having said this, we repeat our insistence on due process. If we were to abandon the principles of justice, we would be subverting the very basic values that underpin our democracy.

\*The fact that the issue of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission should receive serious attention in this debate, should not surprise anyone. The fact that the discussion frequently evoked strong emotions, should not surprise anyone either. We should rather learn lessons from the debate.

On the one hand, the debate and its nature clearly underlined how absolutely essential it is that we appoint this commission. Bluntly put, condemnation of the proposed process shows gross and heartless contempt for the memory of the many victims of cruel violations of human rights. [Applause.] Furthermore, it is also an insult to the families and relatives of those victims.

At the same time there is also another message for us as leaders. It is in fact the strong feelings that came to the fore during the debate that allow us to see that we have a serious responsibility to administer and conduct this process in a very sensitive manner. We have every confidence that Parliament will deal with this matter with the maturity it deserves, namely to ensure that the truth comes to light in order to ensure that there is equal treatment and that reconciliation is promoted.

We are ultimately called upon to join together the different folds of a divided nation, without incorporating the dross of the past in our political body. That is why it is the duty of all of us, no matter which side of the political spectrum we are standing on, to give guidance and to ensure that there is full co-operation with the commission. [Applause.]

†Alongside the warm support for the goals set out in the opening address—goals which are the declared objectives of the Government of National Unity—there was a second thing running strongly through some of the contributions. This other voice professed doubt that the goals could be implemented because, it said, the ANC's constituency was not fully behind the programme of the Government of National Unity.

By the way, those who read *Die Burger* yesterday might have seen an article which referred to my pronunciation of Afrikaans as being like that of a *tikoloshe*. [Laughter.] This comes from an incident in prison when a top prison official came to the island . . . [Interjections.] We had a lot of problems on the island. In order to impress the official, I prepared a piece in Afrikaans so as to ensure that my representation would succeed. [Laughter.] I went up to him, very confident that I was going to go back with all my representations accepted, and I started. A little while later I saw the official becoming restless and then he said: "Jong, jy moet liever jou eie taal praat." [Laughter.] "Jou uitspraak is baie sleg. Dit klink soos dié van 'n tikolosse." [Laughter.] So, those here who thought a *tikoloshe* was speaking, now know the background. [Laughter.]

The ANC recognises the responsibility it has to mobilise people in all their organised formations everywhere, in every sphere of life. We have always taken on that task without reservation. The political forces which were united in removing oppression from our land will bear, with

equal effect, on the task of reconstruction and development. We need no urging in this.

As the majority party, we have the responsibility to lead by example. Where problems do arise within our ranks, we will address them frankly and openly, so that we can fully and effectively defend democracy.

It is to be hoped that the doubt concerning the capacity to implement the RDP, coming so forcefully from some speakers, does not betoken a readiness to stand back. We hope that it does not reflect a readiness to undermine the implementation of the RDP in the belief that there has been found what one speaker to my left called the "Achilles heel" of the ANC.

All parties, especially those participating in the Government of National Unity, have a responsibility to work together for the goals which have become the common ideals of our nation.

Society as a whole has a responsibility to work for transformation. Partnership is central to our success. Society also has the right to take its destiny into its own hands at every level. That is the significance of the local government elections, and that is why we are determined that no one, no matter what his status, should be denied the right to vote.

I would like to take this opportunity to call once more on our people in their millions, of every persuasion and party, to register for the local government elections. In that connection, religious leaders, teachers, traditional leaders and other community leaders, as persons of standing in their communities, have an especially valuable role to play. It is imperative, in particular, that traditional leaders co-operate in this campaign and contribute to changing our country. I am confident that discussions on issues pertaining to traditional authorities will be concluded in ways satisfactory to everyone involved.

With local government elections, the most important barriers to programmes for transformation will fall away. Each and every community will be able to participate, without restraint, in the planning and development approaches in their localities.

The speed with which South Africans have turned from division and conflict to knitting the fabric of a normal society has become a source of pride to us as a nation. There have been

unavoidable conflicts and tensions. They are inherent in such a process of change, but they have been mercifully few, far outshone by the steps signalling transformation and progress.

One of the steps which brought us where we are today was the boycott of local authorities by communities determined to assume their share of responsibility for their own liberation.

Thanks to the political transition to which that action contributed, we have already been able to establish within Government the capacity to implement programmes of change. We have started to address the most urgent needs of our people.

We have been able to do so because we are a Government of all the people of South Africa. However, far as we have come, we face immense challenges as we seek to build a better life for all South Africans—a long road on which we have only just set out.

Our history cast government and people in hostile roles. Such a history inevitably set a brake on the speed with which communities could embrace government—above all, local government—as their own.

However, the process of democratisation is irreversible. The time has come to accept in our hearts and minds that with freedom comes responsibility.

It is the responsibility of participation and partnership, the responsibility of each of us for one another, the responsibility captured in the saying: "Masakhane"—let us build one another.

On the part of the Government this means ensuring efficient and frugal use of resources, providing services to all the people and carrying through the transformation of Government structures towards reconstruction and development.

It means improved services and infrastructure. Housing subsidies must reach the people they are intended for. People have the right not only to hear about change from their leaders here in Parliament, but also to see change on their doorsteps. This applies to every population group in this country, whether it is Coloureds, Africans, Indians or Whites. They are all entitled to see change on their doorsteps.

On the part of business, it means drawing on its resources and managerial ability to help transform South Africa efficiently and productively. It means providing for training and skills development. The pledge by the financial institutions of 50 000 bonds for low-income housing sets a standard to be emulated by other sectors of the business community.

Investment opportunities need not always lie in Sandton or Rosebank—they make sense in Soweto, Mitchells Plain, Chatsworth and Khayelitsha too. For these things to happen, communities must, themselves, create a climate which is conducive to investment, and an environment in which the Government will have to live up to the high standards of honesty, efficiency and openness which our country now expects of public officials.

Communities must take responsibility for projects which are meant to serve them. The disregard for a community's assets—its schools, clinics and parks—must be consigned to history.

The urgent task is to instil everywhere a culture of payment for services rendered. There are still many places where housing and services are not being paid for. These are not organised boycotts with a political purpose designed to halt apartheid. Nonpayment today hurts those who have nothing and who are waiting for houses, electricity and sewerage. It hurts neighbours, who must carry an unfair burden. [Applause.]

Whatever is withheld, is kept out of our investment programmes for housing and services. Although we are putting massive resources into these things, we cannot continue doing so if money does not come back into the system through payment.

We do understand that many people are struggling financially and may have difficulty in

finding money to pay for services rendered. However, we need to reprioritise our family budgets, just as the Government is having to reprioritise in order to bring about a better life for all South Africans.

We must pay in the spirit of Masakhane, so that we can build together. The Masakhane campaign is backed by the Government of National Unity. It is supported by religious and community leaders across the country and has benefited substantially from business support. The time to build has arrived—the time to build together and to build each other.

As elected representatives we have set out, in full view of our people and the world, the challenges that face us as a nation. We have solemnly committed ourselves to programmes that will set South Africa firmly on the road to prosperity and a better life for all.

This task is definitely not an easy one to fulfil, but conditions throughout the world and within our own economy are favourable for us to make a resounding success of our programmes. Let us seize the moment!

Senator Wiley has raised the question of my intervention in regard to the Olympic Games. He will be interested to know that the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Mr Steve Tshwete, and I will be meeting Mr Raymond Ackerman tomorrow night at Genadendal.

We also hope to bring in Mr Sam Ramsamy, who has played a very important role in bringing the Olympic Games to our country. So this is a matter that is receiving attention. I hope you will pray for us to succeed. Thank you. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

The Joint Sitting rose at 12:54.

### PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 14:30.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### WELCOMING ADDRESS BY THE SPEAKER TO PRESIDENT CHISSANO OF MOZAMBIQUE

**THE SPEAKER:** Order! It is my pleasure and privilege to welcome President Chissano of Mozambique to South Africa's first democratically elected Parliament. We greet a neighbour, a comrade in arms, a brother and a statesman. Yet, these words do not give adequate expression to the long and enduring relationship which exists between the peoples of Mozambique and South Africa, and which your presence amongst us today, Mr President, symbolises.

Our countries have been trading partners, and Mozambique has been the conduit for the export of many of our goods through its ports. Lourenço Marques, as it was, was a favourite holiday resort for South Africans. However, the links I refer to are not these. One of the earliest forms of co-operation in our region was that of the colonial powers. A co-operation which added to the oppression of the colonised. To southern Mozambique was assigned the role of providing cheap labour for the exploitation of South Africa's gold.

As early as 1901 an agreement was signed, which over this century brought millions of Mozambicans to South African mines. With other migrant workers, they laboured with pick and shovel thousands of feet underground. The toil and sweat of these workers and the distress and deprivation of the women left behind, provided the basis for much of our country's wealth.

Over the years Mozambican workers joined other workers in South Africa in building a workers' movement which, in its turn, influenced the political process. The solidarity built in the workers' struggle was strengthened as we fought for liberation.

A Mozambican seeking military training was given a lift on an aeroplane out of Botswana by ANC chairperson J B Marks and was amongst the first group of fighters trained in Nigeria. His name was Samora Machel—the first President of Mozambique... [Applause]... who later died on South African soil.

It is many decades ago, Mr President, but I am sure you will recall clearing the bush in Tanzania together with our present Minister of Defence, Joe Modise, and the gruelling hardships of the camp at Kangwe where the cadres of uMkhonto and Frelimo shared the last plate of beans, and a few tomatoes had to be sliced very thinly so that each could have a taste. You were with us in those days, and we acclaimed you as Frelimo led your people to victory over Portuguese colonialists.

Those bonds, built in common struggle, were translated by the government of independent Mozambique into support for the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa. But what a terrible price you were to pay for that support—aggression, destabilisation, economic sabotage and the fomenting of a civil war that resulted in hundreds of thousands of Mozambicans being killed. Many more have been left maimed, a horrific legacy of the four million land mines that were planted. The entire landscape of Mozambique has been blighted by the effects of war and civil strife. This ghastly sequence was initiated by Rhodesia's White minority regime and then taken over and extended by successive governments in Pretoria. [Interjections.]

Today, Mr President, here before the elected representatives of the South African people, and on their behalf, I want to apologise for the terrible crimes my countrymen committed against the people of Mozambique. [Applause.]

It has taken your country many years to come out of that morass. Your personal steadfastness and leadership successfully steered your people out of the bitter hostilities, through a multiparty election, into a parliamentary democracy. As the confirmed elected leader of the Mozambican people, you have brought to South Africa members of parliament from different political parties and we extend a special welcome to them. We hope that such contact can be maintained and even institutionalised.

APPENDIX 4  
MANDELA, NELSON.

"RESPONSE TO THE PRESIDENT BUDGET VOTE DEBATE  
8 MAY" DEBATES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
CAPE TOWN: HANSARD, 1995: 816-824.  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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# DEBATES

OF THE

## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

(HANSARD)

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SECOND SESSION — FIRST PARLIAMENT

23 January to 11 October 1995

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(VOLS 5 AND 6 — DEBATES;  
VOL 7 — INTERPELLATIONS,  
QUESTIONS AND REPLIES; and  
VOL 8 — INDEXES)

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ISBN 0 621 16989 7 (Vol 5)  
ISBN 0 621 16999 4 (Set)

Please take your seat. [Interjections.] Order! Members will kindly allow the Speaker to be heard. The hon the Minister may proceed.

The MINISTER: Thank you very much, Madam Speaker, for your protection. I know these points are bitter to accept, but we need to understand ourselves. In the TEC and in the multiparty process we came to agreement with the delegations of the IFP time and again, only for them to get a phone call calling them back to Ulundi and changing their position—just a phone call on the advice of a foreigner. [Interjections.]

We are asking what is the nature of the problem in KwaZulu-Natal. Why has the violence not abated? I have listened to and read the speech of Dr Buthelezi yesterday. He has always said they had no private army. Who trained in Caprivi? Who did we find when we raided Hlongwane camp on 21 April?

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: Who operated Vula?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: I operated Vula for a good purpose. That is why that member is sitting there. [Applause.] Without it he would not have been here. He would still be living in the United States! [Laughter.] He came after me. Ngavula indlela. [I opened the way.]

With regard to the TEC investigation and the raid on Hlongwane camp, there are people sitting in this House and in the Senate, in particular, who were found with home-made shotguns which used to be in the hands of the right wing. [Interjections.] Who gave them those weapons? [Interjections.] Recently in court actions, names of leading members of the IFP have been cropping up, saying that they have been involved in the training and that they were to station those people within the KwaZulu-Natal police.

I do not hear any questions posed to those Ministers who are members of the IFP from these people who are so lily-white and always talking about justice. Nobody has asked the question in this House why so-and-so was not being investigated, what the record was and who this warlord was. Nobody has stood up today to really ask who was shooting at Umlazi.

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: Shell House! [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: That Minister is worried about Shell House! A shooting takes

place in the presence of his President on whose back he travels throughout the world, saying what a wonderful country this is, and in response he refers me to Shell House! This is the President with whom he walks around in the world, saying that he is our best export product. He does not understand that problem. The President of the democratic South Africa goes to a rally and there is shooting—because it was IFP supporters who did it—and that Minister turns around and ignores the problem. There is the problem. [Interjections.]

We would be ready to sit down and speak. Let me tell hon members that last year, some two or three months before 27 April, the same issue arose and the same advice was given. We were advised to appease the IFP, Mangope and Gqozo, because otherwise there would be violence in this country. What happened? Two poor, unarmed men went with the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, and they toppled one man. [Laughter.] After that, Gqozo came running for help, and he fell. There was a raid on Hlongwane camp...

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES: And?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: ... and the IFP was in the elections. I am saying that the tactics of the IFP have always been to hold this country hostage. [Interjections.] Today they are saying the main freedom struggle has started. They did not say during the years of apartheid that that was the liberation struggle. Today they are saying that their freedom struggle is for all South Africans. It is not true. It is not even for half the Zulus. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker ... [Applause.]

The SPEAKER: Order!

The PRESIDENT: Madam Speaker, Deputy President F W de Klerk, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, hon members of Parliament, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I feel somewhat relieved this afternoon. Yesterday, when I looked at the grim faces on my left, I was absolutely frightened. I suspected that they might even suggest that this august Chamber be transformed into a kangaroo court so as to deal with me, without even listening to my explanation. And while the heavyweight boxing champion of South Africa, Dr Geldenhuys, was speaking, I was wide awake, because I did not know whether he would charge at me and choke me to death.

[Laughter.] However, the lack of tension this afternoon is encouraging to me and I hope to all hon members as well.

Yesterday, in opening this debate, I outlined the socio-economic and security issues which constitute our Government's urgent challenge. We are, in this second freedom year, required to bring about significant and visible progress.

We will succeed, for we are borne on the tide of a nation which is now united—beyond all expectations and across all sectors—in addressing the legacy of poverty, deprivation and gross material inequality which we inherited.

After our first year of democratic government, the responsibility which rests on our shoulders is, therefore, a very heavy one.

I was, as always, most impressed by the debate in the National Assembly. I listened attentively to everything that was said. The passion and conviction of our nation's representatives are indeed as strong as ever.

At the same time, one could not but observe that some of the contributions reflected a preoccupation with issues which, if not approached within the perspective of the real concerns that are facing the nation, could deflect us from our central task. At times it was impossible not to wonder whether party-political advantage, rather than the national interest, was at work.

Before I deal with the matters which merit special attention, there is one matter which has been dealt with elsewhere, but which I will refer to here since it has been raised in this debate.

It would not be right to comment on the particulars of the matter of any particular individual, but I would like to reaffirm the imperative of due process.

The Government needs to be most circumspect in drawing conclusions from informal procedures in such cases. If is, therefore, necessary to consider carefully whether, before the completion of a possibly protracted formal investigation, any initial private investigation merits a final decision by myself.

If not, then we would not be in a position to take a final decision concerning any official appointment: At the same time, we believe it is only fair and just that such formal investigations should be completed as soon as possible.

On a second matter more needs to be said. While political violence is a thing of the past in most parts of our country, this is not the case in parts of KwaZulu-Natal, as has been emphasised by other speakers. A reduction of tensions in that province is one of the most urgent priorities faced by politicians.

In this context, the provocative statements by some leaders in the province are a matter of concern. To call on members of the provincial government to "rise and resist" the national Government, is to test the bounds of what is legal and legitimate. To call on people in such a context to fight the national Government for their freedom, is to do the same.

As President I have the task and duty to protect the Constitution and the democratic foundation on which it rests. Not to act when there is a threat to overthrow the Constitution would be a dereliction of duty.

Therefore I again wish to issue a timely warning, before matters develop still further in this direction, that the Government will not allow public funds at the disposal of the province to be used to finance an attempt to overthrow the Constitution by violence and unconstitutional means. [Applause.] Nor will the Government allow the use of such funds for the promotion of a reign of terror.

The central Government does not have the constitutional power to withhold funds from a provincial government working within the constitutional framework. To do so, would be contrary to my own democratic ideas.

Our political culture embraces differences between political parties and different levels of government.

But the Constitution does not protect attempts, using government funds or in any other way, to promote lawlessness and anarchy or to foment divisive and bloody war against fellow South Africans. [Applause.]

We hope that matters will not reach such a fearsome eventuality and that all matters fomenting tension will be resolved in a mature and peaceful manner.

I must add that I have briefed the leaders of political parties on the latest developments in KwaZulu-Natal. This is against the background of more than 20 000 innocent people—men, women,



children and the aged—having been slaughtered in this senseless violence.

I have had discussions with the leaders of the IFP, and all the discussions that have taken place have been initiated by me over these past five years. I have so gone so far as to say that I am prepared to go down on my knees to bring about peace in this country, and to save human lives. [Applause.]

There is a perception which is universal, which we must heed. I may not believe in it, but that perception exists. One has different reactions from different sections of the population about any issue of importance in this country. The perception is that Whites in this country live in comfort, in places which are sufficiently policed, where there is electricity and every movement in the streets can easily be monitored. In contrast to this, it is perceived that the position is different in Black areas, amongst Africans, Coloureds and Indians. As far as Whites are concerned, the loss of 20 000 Black lives means nothing to them. [Interjections.] [Applause.] That is the perception. I am talking about perceptions people have. I may not subscribe to that perception as an individual, but that is the perception. What has taken place here? None of the contributors referred to this tragedy where innocent people have been slaughtered in the course of this violence.

I do not consider the Constitution to be more important than human lives. [Applause.] What is important is to protect human beings in this country; to make them safe and secure, and if any party or any individual threatens the lives of human beings, it is my duty as the President of this country and as the head of this Government, to act very decisively and firmly. That is what I am going to do. [Applause.]

I said that I have briefed the leaders of political parties inside and outside the Government of National Unity, that there is a serious situation in KwaZulu-Natal. Chief Buthelezi has made a public call to Zulus to rise against the central Government. He has said that if they do not get the right to self-determination, it is not worth being alive. Not only has he made this statement, but this threat is now being implemented in that province.

On Sunday, I addressed a rally in the Nqutu district. A bus which was carrying members of the public to the rally was stopped by the IFP, and the IFP asked the people to turn back. When the

driver refused, members of the IFP shot and killed a passenger, and the driver had to go back.

On Monday, I went to Emboland on the invitation of the Chief there. Three buses coming from Umbumbulu were stopped by the members of the IFP and told to return. After an hour's argument, the police intervened and ensured that those buses reached the rally. Everyone knows what happened in the Umlazi stadium. According to Gen Serfontein, about 1 000 members of the IFP tried to storm that rally, and the police had to use teargas twice to drive them back.

In spite of that, members of the IFP were able to shoot and injure six people inside the stadium, including a young boy whom they shot in the eye. [Interjections.] They also destroyed about four shacks on the borders of the stadium. That is what is happening as a result of the statement made by Chief Buthelezi.

Members here who have never known about the tradition of human rights and of democracy are now giving gratuitous advice to those people who fought hard to bring about democracy and the culture of human rights in this country. They are talking about the sanctity of the Constitution, and yet, when they were in power, at the slightest excuse they interfered with the Constitution. They even amended the entrenched process which protected the language rights of people in this country, and took away one of the most important rights of people, namely the right of the Coloured people to vote in this country. [Interjections.] Now they are lecturing us on the sanctity of the Constitution. [Interjections.]

I agree that the Constitution is very important, and it is a matter of serious concern when the President of a country threatens to change the Constitution, but I am determined to protect human life. The perception that Whites in this country do not care about Black lives is there. I may not share it, but it is there. The discussions here, where reference is not even made to the principal reason for my having taken this tough line to protect human lives, unfortunately goes a long way in confirming that perception. [Applause.]

As all our institutions set about defining the part they should play in our new society, there will be moments of difficulty and uncertainty. An institution as central as the mass media is bound to encounter such moments.

In this regard we must commend the vibrancy of public criticism and scrutiny of the workings and performance of Government at all levels. Here we see the constitutional right of the freedom of opinion and information coming alive. In these appraisals of developments the Government looks upon the critical media as partners in the enterprise of building a new society.

At the same time, the Government has to consider its own obligation in a democracy committed to openness and transparency to communicate to the public what it is doing.

In exploring options as to how best to meet this obligation, there is no wish to infringe on the independence of the news media.

It is within the same process of institutional change that the status of our languages, and in particular that of Afrikaans, can become a sensitive issue.

Our Constitution provides for the equal status of all the official languages. The task is therefore to find ways of moving away from a situation in which there was inequality, without downgrading the status of any language. The challenge which this poses in the case of our public broadcaster is immense.

While the Constitution provides an ultimate resort in this case as in many other issues, an enduring solution requires consultation among all interest groups. It calls for sensitivity on the part of all.

It may be well to bear in mind that in the case of education in which emotions concerning the future of languages ran high, a framework for the accommodation of all interests has emerged through consultation.

Given the deep national concern about levels of crime in our country it was to be expected that the remission of sentences which I announced on Freedom Day would receive attention in this debate.

Those who have committed crimes are not lost to society. It was in this spirit that I decided to use my powers as President to shorten the sentences of most prisoners to mark the first anniversary of our democracy, thereby bringing forward their release by some weeks or months.

They now have the opportunity to become law-abiding citizens of our democracy, and to contribute to its reconstruction and development. They should also know that the Government's commitment to deal firmly with those who break the law is unshakable. Those who do not mend their ways will face swift action without the hope of similar remission on a future occasion.

However, there is also a larger message to all of us. To the extent that society assists released prisoners to assume useful roles, we will be acting to reduce the problem of crime. Rehabilitation and reintegration must form part of our approach to crime. The main thrust of the Government's action for safety and security, however, will be aimed at the prevention of crime and measures against those who break the law. Hon members may rest assured that the Government regards this matter with the same urgency as was expressed in many of the contributions to the debate.

I have already referred in my opening address to the Community Safety Plan. In addition, in February this year I appointed a ministerial committee comprising the Ministers of Justice, Safety and Security and Defence in order to address crime through a national plan of action and to form an inter-departmental task group to co-ordinate efforts in this regard.

Initiatives which result from their work will, like the community safety plan, depend ultimately on the co-operation they receive from communities and organisations of civil society. Such plans and campaigns are necessary in order to bring immediate relief to communities from the current levels of crime.

Furthermore, stability and security are essential for reconstruction and development, for economic growth and the creation of jobs.

It is for this reason that the Government wishes to encourage communities to see their responsibility for their own safety and security as a link to reconstruction and development.

It is only right that we should reflect on these difficulties. However, we should not lose sight of what we have achieved. We live today a life of freedom in an open and democratic society based on respect for one another's languages, cultures and religions.

Rights formally inscribed in our Constitution have taken on life in a freedom of expression and association which we have never known before in this country.

The unity of purpose a year ago has become an active partnership which has given birth to such institutions as the housing forum, the National Economic, Development and Labour Council and police community forums, to name but a few.

Each of these institutions binds former antagonists in a common pursuit of solutions in the national interest.

Such partnerships give expression to a deeper unity of social forces. It has laid the basis for us to move beyond the first steps of social transformation.

Taking note of these changes at the same time reminds us that they are only a beginning. It serves, too, to remind us that with regard to some of the larger challenges, in particular unemployment, the impact of our policies is yet to be felt on a significant scale, and that the solution will be measured in years. Reminders of how much has been achieved and how much is still to be done abound.

Soon to impact on us is the Rugby World Cup: Not long ago it would have been unthinkable that the world would be coming to our country to participate in such an event. Or that the members of the team would publicly proclaim their allegiance to the ideal of national unity. This event, with its powerful message of international acceptance and national reconciliation, also brings an unparalleled boost in tourism, and with it revenue to our country, and jobs for our people.

It speaks to us, too, of the longer road to travel. For our sport teams, like most of our institutions, are yet to become truly representative of our society as a whole.

Reminding ourselves of how much is still to be done should not cause despair, but rather a renewal of our determination and commitment. We have reached a point where we can dare to move forward in a focused and purposeful manner.

On the part of the Government, the Executive is rising to this challenge of effective governance in

the ways I indicated in my address yesterday. The debate indicates that this legislature intends to do so. I am confident that all spheres of government will do the same, including the new local authorities to be democratically elected in November.

History expects no less of us, of business, of organised labour, and of communities across the country.

Let us all join together in order to ensure that we build on this first year, which was principally one of preparation.

Let us make sure that after our second freedom year we can say with conviction that we have achieved significant and visible movement towards the goal of a better life. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

The House adjourned at 18:34.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

### ANNOUNCEMENTS:

#### *National Assembly and Senate:*

The Speaker and the President of the Senate:

1. The following members have been appointed to serve on the Committee mentioned, viz:

*Ad Hoc Joint Committee on Rules of Pension Fund for Political Office-bearers:*

Alant, T G; Bekker, H J (Alternate); Chiolé, J; Ebrahim, A G; Foster, J A; Gibson, D H M; Govender, P (Alternate); Green, L M; Jacobsz, F P (Alternate); Lausberg, C E; Lubisi, S W; Marais, G; Mars, I; Mohamed, I J; Mosunkutu, E; Mtshali, L P H M; Ramgobin, M; Shabangu, S; Thabethe, E; Van Breda, A (Alternate); Vilakazi, J N (Alternate).

### TABLINGS:

#### *National Assembly and Senate:*

#### *Papers:*

1. The Minister of Home Affairs:

Report of the Department of Home Affairs for 1994 [RP 125—95].

## COMMITTEE REPORTS:

### *National Assembly:*

1. Report of the Portfolio Committee on Public Works on the *Periods of Office of Members of Councils for Architects, Engineers, Quantity Surveyors and Valuers Adjustment Bill* [B 17—95] (Senate), dated 3 May 1995, as follows:

The Portfolio Committee on Public Works, having considered the subject of the *Periods of Office of Members of Councils for Architects, Engineers,*

*Quantity Surveyors and Valuers Adjustment Bill* [B 17—95] (Senate), referred to it, begs to report the Bill without amendment.

2. Report of the Portfolio Committee on Land Affairs on Budget Vote 21: Land Affairs, dated 3 May 1995, as follows:

The Portfolio Committee on Land Affairs, having considered and examined Budget Vote 21: Land Affairs, and having heard evidence, begs to report that it has concluded its deliberations thereon.



APPENDIX H

MANDELA, NELSON. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, 9  
FEBRUARY" / JOINT SITTINGS ~~OF BOTH HOUSES~~ OF  
PARLIAMENT. CAPE TOWN: HANSARD, 1996. ~~H26-114~~ 2-20.

# JOINT SITTINGS

OF

## BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

(HANSARD)

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THIRD SESSION — FIRST PARLIAMENT

9 February to 7 November 1996

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(Vol 3)

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**DEBATES  
OF THE  
JOINT SITTING  
(HANSARD)**

THIRD SESSION—FIRST PARLIAMENT

The sign \* indicates a translation. The †, used subsequently in the same speech, indicates the original language.

1

FRIDAY, 9 FEBRUARY 1996

2

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The President of the Senate took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**CALLING OF JOINT SITTING**

The President read a message from the President of the Republic calling a joint sitting, as follows:

I hereby request, under provisions of section 57(3) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993 (Act No 200 of 1993), that a joint sitting of the National Assembly and the Senate be convened to start on Friday, 9 February 1996 at 11:00, to enable me to

address Parliament and for further proceedings in that regard.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this 8th day of February, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-six.

N R MANDELA,

President.

By Order of the President in Cabinet:

S V TSHWETE,

Minister of the Cabinet.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Hon President and Deputy President of the Senate, hon Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, Deputy Presi-

dents, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, provincial Premiers, Chief Justice, President of the Constitutional Court, leaders of our security services, directors-general and leaders of the Public Service, hon members of Parliament, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, today, in the streets of Johannesburg, the new patriotism of our new democracy once again asserts itself as citizens of that city express their appreciation for the feat of our soccer team in the African Nations Cup. [Applause.] This is bound to replay itself in other cities, adding to the crowning glory of our rugby world champions.

Our sportspersons are performing beyond the nation's wildest expectations. On and off the field, they are uniting our nation like never before by their determination to do the best for their country.

Such is the true character of South Africans. We do possess the inner strength to achieve excellence. We have the will to persevere against all odds.

We enter 1996, as Cabinet and the rest of the Executive, as parliamentarians, as workers and managers, as professionals, traditional leaders, security forces, students and communities in general, faced with the challenge of bringing these positive qualities to bear on everything we do, to make South Africa a winning nation.

We must bring out the best in all of us, and, like our sportspersons, perform better everywhere: to expand the economy and create jobs; to improve the quality of life for all; to expand the frontiers of freedom; and to ensure comprehensive security for all citizens.

These are the critical challenges that we face within and outside these hallowed chambers.

In October this year we shall pass the half-way mark of the present legislature and its Executive. The nation and the world will judge us, not on whether we mean to do good, but, above all, on whether we have mobilised South Africans to work together to improve their quality of life.

Indeed, we can say with confidence that, steadily but surely, the great majority of South Africans do feel that things are improving for the better. We are on our way—South Africa is on its way—to a better future.

Life has started to have real meaning for the hundreds of thousands who now have access to clean and safe drinking water. The benefits of

democracy have a tangible impact for the 400 000 homes which have been supplied with electricity during the course of last year. To the millions of children who benefit from the school nutrition scheme, free medical care and free and compulsory education, not only has the present become better; there is also greater confidence in the future.

This is the case with communities where the clinic-building programme and the district health system are taking root; the workers in public works programmes; the communities who can, at last, feel secure on a piece of land they can call their own; and the families who, for the first time, are benefiting from the farmer support programme and extension of agricultural credit.

At last, millions who had no hope in the future can look ahead with confidence, in the full knowledge that they have a Government prepared to work together with them to build a better life for all.

We formally start the third session of the democratic Parliament with South Africa's economy healthier than in many decades. The rekindling of business confidence and optimism reflect the solid foundation on which the economic upswing is based. The expansion of the manufacturing sector, phenomenal growth in fixed investments and large capital inflows hold out a promise for a durable recovery and the potential for an even better performance.

We enter 1996 with no hesitation about the extent to which democracy has taken root in our society. The confidence of the population in the democratic process was again shown during the local government elections.

At the same time, the institutions charged with safeguarding constitutional freedoms, such as the Human Rights Commission, the Land Commission, and the Office of the Public Protector, have been formed. The Constitutional Court has, in its one year of existence, firmly asserted itself as an independent, impartial and authoritative guardian of the Constitution. In brief, South African politics is ascending to the level of normalcy, where civilised standards of political relations will be entrenched, unmediated by antagonistic conflict or administrative interventions.

The progress we have made, across the board, is a result, in great measure, of the intervention of hon members gathered here and the provincial legislators, in setting the parameters and direction of

transformation, in your devoted attention to draft legislation and in your confident interaction with the citizenry.

It is to be expected that critical attention will be paid to the performance of these elected institutions. Our legislatures are, in the first instance, the custodians of the new system, and, secondly, the bodies through which the programme of reconstruction and development, nation-building and reconciliation, can and should be codified and turned into a living reality.

Yes, South Africa is not only on the right road. We are well on our way to making this the country of our dreams. I take this opportunity to congratulate all South Africans, in the public and private sectors—the most prominent in the land as well as the humble member of the community—all of whom are striving to add another brick to the edifice of our democracy. We have set out on this road together, and we should together aim for the stars.

If these achievements are something to be proud of, this is because they have laid the foundation to make a real impact on the inequities of the past. For we are only at the beginning of a long journey, a journey we should undertake with expedition, if our consciences are not impervious to the cries of desperation of millions. But this is a journey, too, that requires thorough planning and tenacious industry if we are to remain on course and capable of sustaining our march.

Let me preface the identification of the challenges of the coming year by saying that all of us, all South Africans, are called upon to become builders and healers. But, for all the joy and excitement of creation, to build and to heal are difficult undertakings.

We can neither heal nor build, if such healing and building are perceived as one-way processes, with the victims of past injustices forgiving and the beneficiaries merely content in gratitude. [Applause.] Together we must set out to correct the defects of the past.

We can neither heal nor build, if on the one hand the rich in our society see the poor as hordes of irritants; or if, on the other hand, the poor sit back, expecting charity. All of us must take responsibility for the upliftment of our conditions, prepared to give our best for the benefit of all.

We can neither heal nor build, if we continue to have people in positions of influence and power who, at best, pay lip service to affirmative action ... [Applause.] ... Black empowerment and the emancipation of women, or who are, in reality, opposed to these goals; if we have people who continue with blind arrogance to practise racism in the workplaces and schools, despite the appeal we made in our very first address to this Parliament. We must work together to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth, opportunity and power in our society.

We cannot build or heal our nation, if—in both the private and public sectors, in the schools and universities, in the hospitals and on the land, in dealing with crime and social dislocation—we continue with business as usual, wallowing in notions of the past. Everywhere and in everything we do, what is now required is boldness in thinking, firmness in resolve and consistency in action.

The message I am trying to convey is that all of us must take the national project of accelerated and fundamental transformation of our country very seriously indeed. [Applause.] The achievement of the objectives of equity, nonracialism and nonsexism constitutes the very essence of the new society we seek to build.

In the history of nations, generations have made their mark through their acumen to appreciate critical turning points, and with determination and creativity, to seize the moment. South Africa is well on its way to a new and better life. This we will achieve only if we shed the temptation to proceed casually along the road, only if we fully take the opportunities that beckon.

We must unite in a new patriotism to achieve the goal of creating a new society. The potential for economic growth and development are better than in many decades. But let us be brutally frank.

Despite the welcome rate of growth, very few jobs have been created. In fact, against the backdrop of new entrants into the job market, there has been a shrinkage in opportunities. We need a national vision to lift us out of this quagmire.

If we do not act together in the public and private sectors to develop and implement such a national strategic vision, the danger is that even the modest growth we have attained will peter out in a matter of a few years, as the strain of limited capacity, skills shortage, balance of payments and other

constraints start to gather momentum, and as increasing unemployment and accelerating poverty bear down on our society.

To move forward with purpose requires that we extricate the public and private sectors from the current comfort zones, and break through the threshold to achieve a rate of growth sufficient to create jobs, and generate resources for rapid socio-economic programmes to uplift the poor.

For purposes of emphasis, let me identify three important investment challenges and attendant difficult choices that have to be made.

Firstly, we require major investment in infrastructure, including such areas as municipal services, housing and construction, and telecommunications in order to create jobs at the same time as we improve services to the citizenry. As we enter these areas in a decisive manner, the question will arise, over and over again, whether we can attain our objective, if the profit motive is the only dynamo of our actions!

Secondly, we need investment and restructuring of manufacturing and other industries such as tourism, agriculture and mining, which are critical for export and foreign exchange earnings. Related to this, for instance, is the challenge whether we can continue with the same structure of our agricultural industry given our capricious climatic conditions!

Thirdly, none of the economic objectives we aspire to can be realised without massive investment in people. I refer here to questions of skills development, adult education, and the overhaul of our entire education system, as well as health and other services, which I will return to later. Indeed, as we struggle to widen the skills base and to absorb more people into the economy, the challenge will continue to face organised labour and the employed in general, including the managers: can we succeed if we premise our actions narrowly on the interests of those who are already economically engaged?

When all is said and done, we return again to the challenge of a new South African patriotism: that at the end of each day every one of us should afford a smile in his or her face, when we pose to ourselves the question: what have I done today to create jobs and improve my skills and those of others?

As Government, we fully acknowledge the critical role that we need to play in realising the vision of growth and development.

I wish to emphasise that, over the past year, Government has moved to a new level of co-ordination that is unprecedented in the history of our country. It is quite clear to us that success in achieving the growth and development objectives we have identified requires integration of planning and operations across departments and provinces. Important cross-sectoral meetings and intergovernmental forums are being held to elaborate the growth and development strategy and the institutional mechanisms required to drive it.

I should personally make the observation that we are finally succeeding in galvanising Government to give effective leadership to economic growth and development. Within weeks we should be able to make major announcements on the progress made.

In order to improve the investment climate, our monetary authorities are reviewing, on an ongoing basis, the timing and pace of lifting existing exchange controls. For us, it is not a matter of whether, but of when, these controls will be phased out.

It is critical, if we have to promote competitiveness, export and the creation of jobs, that we should have in place the necessary supply-side measures. Already, consensus is being reached in Nedlac about the required incentives that will help boost training, productivity, work organisation and investment in particular industries and regions. Arguably, the most important measures in this regard pertain to the development of small and medium-sized businesses.

Relevant legislation on these issues, as well as the critical question of competitive practices in the economy, should come before Parliament during the course of this session.

I am convinced that the various role-players in the economy have long passed questioning the need or otherwise for such competitive practices, and the long-term benefits this will bring to the economy, including big and small enterprises. I hope, too, that legislation on employment equity and standards will be passed in this session, with the support of all relevant stake-holders.

This should also be the case with the restructuring of public assets, in order to use them to accelerate growth and development, attune them with modern levels of technology, reorganise them to expand services to all citizens, and reshape them in line with the imperatives of internal democracy.

It was to be expected that such a massive undertaking should generate much debate among the public and the working class, in particular. What is clear, though, is that there was a breakdown of communication, which precipitated unnecessary acrimony on an issue that should enjoy the support of all interested parties. I am happy that the National Framework Agreement, negotiated between Government and the trade unions, was adopted by Cabinet two days ago.

Therefore, the Government's relationship with labour, from the level of the Executive as a whole, to the departments and the management of public enterprises, must be set on a viable footing to ensure co-operative rather than confrontational interaction. We are confident that the restructuring programme will be carried out with due speed—and carried out in a manner that involves and benefits all stake-holders.

It is the firm view of the Government of National Unity that the growth and development strategy should be pursued in an integrated manner. We do not subscribe to the notion that growth on its own can rectify the backlogs of apartheid in a mysterious trickle-down fashion. In any case, in our skewed social structure, there cannot be growth without development.

Government has to continue paying attention especially to those areas of development that protect and improve our human resources.

Four important areas identify themselves for special mention.

The first area is education. On this, the twentieth anniversary of the Students' Uprising and the OAU-declared Year of Education in Africa, we face the stark reality that South Africa lags behind many African countries in so far as literacy and other human development indicators are concerned.

We owe it to that corps of brave young people who rose up against the apartheid system to institute further measures this year, decisively to move towards a nonracial, democratic and equitable education system. If anything, the matric

results last year, and the reality of children in the Northern Province and elsewhere, whose classes have to scatter in disarray at the first signs of rain, are a stark reminder of how far we still are from that goal.

Clearly, rectifying these imbalances will require redistribution of the limited resources among races and provinces. It will also require even greater commitment to teach and to learn from teachers and students alike. And I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate them as well as the parents for the stability that has set in in our institutions of learning.

Two days ago Cabinet adopted the White Paper on Education. The centrepiece of such restructuring should be the establishment of a quality-driven public school system available to all South African children. Among other things that should drive this, is democratic governance involving parents, teachers and students at secondary level, a curriculum and career-guidance scheme that are more appropriate to the needs of the country, and community involvement. Adult basic education and early childhood development will also receive particular attention.

At university and technikon levels, it is necessary that the debate on transformation starts in earnest in an organised manner, so that policy positions can emerge to guide these autonomous institutions.

As one measure of our commitment to tackle the backlogs in the building of schools, R1 billion has been allocated for this purpose. A further R300 million has been set aside for a student financing support scheme for universities and technikons. [Applause.]

The matter of retrenchment of teachers has once again arisen, though in a sensational and unfortunate manner. Today I once more wish to reassure teachers that this Government is committed to redeploying rather than retrenching teachers. [Applause.] Any other approach would not make sense, given the needs in many parts of the country. This process itself will be the subject of extensive consultation, and only in extreme cases will the possibility of retrenchment be considered.

I hope that this year will see co-operation among all parties in these chambers to facilitate educational reform. Pronouncements about economic growth sound hollow if they are followed up by attempts to block, by hook or by crook, legislation

meant to equip children with the required skills. [Applause.] Declarations of loyalty to democracy can only be but mere words, if in actual practice people are seen to defend islands of White privilege.

The second important area is health delivery. Many steps have been taken to introduce a new health policy based, principally, on greatly expanding the primary health care system. The clinic-building programme often seems insignificant by the standards of those who have resources in abundance. But, in the rural areas and sprawling urban settlements, this is a matter, literally, of life and death. It is therefore of great significance that we have moved from the planning stages to actual implementation.

During the course of last year many ugly incidents took place which brought to the fore the terrible conditions under which health workers operate. Let me take this opportunity to pay tribute to them for their selfless service to communities. While we strongly disapprove of some of these incidents, we fully appreciate their plight. Discussions are at an advanced stage to formulate a new grading system and avail incentives, especially in rural areas. Like with all other professions, we value very highly the services of doctors and other health workers, and we shall do our best to ensure their security.

I should once more emphasise the need for a massive education campaign on the Aids epidemic, and commend the relevant Ministries for the work they are doing in this regard. We dare remind ourselves that all the objectives we outline here will not be possible to attain if the Aids epidemic is not brought under control.

The third area to which we must pay special attention is housing policy and implementation. It is a matter of common knowledge—painfully common to those without housing—that many constraints have bedevilled the proper implementation of this programme. But the staying power of this democratic Government is its preparedness to acknowledge weaknesses and strive to rectify them. Such is the quality of the Minister and staff that they have critically and openly examined these problems and identified corrective measures.

What is clear from their decisions is that we need, not one, but many integrated campaigns to deal with the housing problem. These include greater

commitment on the part of financial institutions to allocate resources to poor areas; and firm indications from communities that the rent and service boycotts have, in the spirit of Masakhane, come to an end.

Over and above these issues, we cannot overemphasise the centrality particularly of local government in the housing programme, the provision of infrastructure and related campaigns. We also need to examine the pertinent question of the integration of our cities. Too many of the low-cost housing initiatives are mere additions to apartheid's Black townships, saddled with the same problems of distance from workplaces and lack of proper community facilities. To address this will require a creative approach, among others, to the question of residential densities which will also help to reduce infrastructural costs, including those related to public transport.

The fourth area pertains to land reform. I am certain that all of us welcome the passing of the Bill on security of tenure and the launch last week of the Green Paper on land reform. When finalised, the policies adopted will form an important part of our rural development strategy. For the first time in centuries, families turned into insecure sojourners in the land of their birth can talk of real security.

Soon the Land Claims Court will begin its work and we are confident that it will deal with the complex problems in a manner that ensures justice and promotes the agricultural interests of the country. No one has reason to fear: the aim of Government is to build, not to destroy.

In these four areas of socio-economic programmes and others, what is required is a partnership among all sectors: communities, Government and the private sector. Thus, when we talk of the new patriotism, we are talking also of efforts of communities to build one another and together build their future. We are talking of Masakhane!

The question needs to be posed, whether we do indeed have a State machinery capable of meeting the objectives of growth and development!

I should start off by thanking all Ministers, the Public Service Commission and heads of department sincerely for their efforts in this difficult transitional period. Steadily, progress is being registered in making the Public Service broadly representative of society. From a trifle of 6%, today Black managers constitute 37% of this

echelon. From less than 5%, females now constitute 10% of management. Progress, yes, but not nearly enough.

The Public Service Commission has placed on the table a new salary and grading system, which contains within it the potential to redress past inequalities, stabilise labour relations and promote reform of the service. Government supports this proposal in principle, and discussions are continuing on ways of financing it. We are confident that, when finalised, the White Paper and legislation will enjoy the support of workers and managers alike, all of whom will have fully participated in their formulation.

Yet, all this does not resolve some of the complex and immediate problems arising from the apartheid past.

Let us remind ourselves of this Government's mandate which is to establish a single, streamlined, efficient and transparent Public Service and to allocate more public resources to capital expenditure. Let us be frank and say that the current service is too large, and it has to be rationalised. There is no other option.

However, our actions cannot ignore the painful truth that the most affected will be areas that are poor, with low economic activity and little prospect for alternative employment. This means, among other things, searching for creative negotiated solutions that will help stimulate economic activity.

The rationalisation process will not be vindictive. Neither will it be carried out in a haphazard manner. Rather, it will affect all races and provinces. Discussions are well advanced with the relevant Ministry to set up the Presidential Review Commission, which will redefine the structure, functions and procedures of the Public Service, and relevant announcements can be expected soon.

Among the greatest challenges for 1996 is to further build the capacity of Government to serve communities. Nowhere is this needed more than at local level, where Government interacts on a daily basis with communities. It should therefore be the case that one of the main themes of this year will be the introduction of massive training programmes for the newly-elected councillors and their staff.

Local government must be given the necessary capacity not only to handle finances and render efficient and affordable services. It is critical that accountability and mobilisation of communities should also form part of their ethos. Thus, elected officials at local level should know that, in the final analysis, nation-building and reconciliation, economic growth and development, will depend largely on the performance of local councils.

Despite predictions to the contrary, the people showed their confidence in the new democracy, and reaffirmed their mandate to the Government of National Unity in the November elections. Our task, at all levels, is to justify that trust and confidence by mobilising them to work together for an improvement in their conditions of life. It is part of that mandate to ensure that there is co-operative governance among all tiers, so that national, provincial and local governments complement one another.

In KwaZulu-Natal and parts of the Western Cape, where local elections will take place in May, we expect, and should work for, campaigns that are free of violence and intimidation, campaigns which promote unity in our diversity. We hope that all the parties, within and outside this Chamber, will openly commit themselves to the conduct of free and fair elections. [Applause.]

The national effort to improve the quality of life of the people means also that each citizen and each community should enjoy security in the home, at work and in the streets.

We believe that it has now dawned on all present here that dealing with crime and violence requires a comprehensive strategy and hard work, rather than just injunctions from election platforms.

I am happy to announce that Cabinet will soon unveil the National Crime Prevention Strategy for public comment. This strategy brings together the combined efforts of the police, judiciary and prison authorities in an effective criminal justice system. The aim is not only to improve the capacity of police to prevent crime and apprehend criminals, but it is also to ensure that they are dealt with to the full extent of the law, and properly rehabilitated.

We commend the business community for the campaign they have launched against crime and corruption. Some of the practical steps that they have taken are starting to bear fruit, and the many proposals from their conference will form part of

the strategy we have referred to. Within communities co-operation with the police is improving by the day, with positive results.

No one can doubt the commitment of the South African Police Service to deal with crime. And we pay tribute to them for daily putting their lives in danger in the service of their country. Great progress has been made in transforming this institution, integrating the various services, introducing civilian oversight and ensuring professionalism in their operations.

The dedication with which the leadership of the service has gone about rooting out corruption, and taking the war to the syndicates and other criminals, should be commended. And the abiding lesson from their successes is that this can only be accomplished with the co-operation of communities and individual citizens.

We should also remind ourselves, over and over again, that crime constitutes more than just drug trafficking and car hijacking. When tons and tons of vegetables disappear without trace in a city council depot, this is criminal conduct of the worst order. When billions are siphoned off from companies and out of the country, this is criminal robbery of the nation's resources. [Applause.] When food and funds meant for schoolchildren are stolen, this is criminal plunder against our children and our future. [Applause.]

A particular feature of crime in our country is the violence afflicting KwaZulu-Natal, the taxi industry as well as bizarre incidents of gang warfare and other murders. By any name and under any guise, this is criminal conduct, and it should be dealt with as such.

I wish in particular to draw hon members' attention to the incidents on the KwaZulu-Natal South Coast, where individuals have organised themselves to undermine, physically and otherwise, investigations into the murders which took place over the holiday period. Armed with an assortment of weapons, they have taken it upon themselves, in full view of the public media, to challenge the nation's law-enforcement agencies.

I am today issuing a strong warning to these elements that this cannot be allowed to continue. [Applause.] The time has come for our nation to choose whether we want to become a law-governed and peaceful society or hapless hostages of lawlessness. I have discussed this matter with the Ministry and the leadership of the Police

Service, and they have assured me that strong action will be taken.

In addition to this, I wish to announce today that preparations are under way to introduce measures that will prohibit the carrying of dangerous weapons in public manifestations. [Applause.] No one, irrespective of organisations to which they may belong, will be exempted from these measures. [Applause.]

Dealing with crime, violence and corruption requires a new morality for our new nation. Indeed, it requires a new patriotism among communities, the public and private sectors, and the security services—so that at the end of each day, each one of us can answer in the affirmative the question: Have I done something today to stamp out crime?

The performance of the nation against crime depends heavily on the intelligence capacity of the security services as a whole. On this depends also the security of our democracy. And I should pay tribute to the unsung heroes in the intelligence community who are contributing immensely to our successes in this regard.

I also wish to reiterate the Government's commitment to protect the rights of privacy and ensure the security of all individuals in public service as well as other citizens. This is the code of conduct which guides all our security services.

However, in plying their dubious trade, criminals should not hope to hide behind these provisions of our Constitution. The Government will use all lawful means to ensure that they do not succeed in undermining our social fabric.

Law-abiding citizens can rest assured that there are effective mechanisms in place to prevent and punish any rapacious invasion of their lives. Our security services are committed to follow the rules, because they know, as much as we all do, that anything else is a sure recipe for the decay of our democratic system, for a psychosis of fear and a slide into authoritarianism. The Government, including the security services, will not allow this to happen.

Tribute also goes to the South African National Defence Force which has distinguished itself in the integration process, in further enhancing its legitimacy in the eyes of our people and the international community, and in assisting the police services to deal with crime and violence.

As should be expected, the new political milieu has dictated that we scale down the resources allocated to the Defence Force. This is a difficult and painful process, particularly for the citizens in uniform. But we wish to assure them that the aim has never been, and will never be, to undermine this important national resource.

There is national consensus that our Defence Force requires an appropriate capacity and modern equipment. We welcome the fact that debate on these issues is now finding rational reflection in the discussions around the Defence White Paper and the National Defence Review. These processes should be completed during the course of this year, so that we can achieve certainty and a national policy to which all of us can pay allegiance.

If during the course of the past year South Africa afforded its citizens unprecedented freedom and a human rights culture, the frontiers are bound to widen immeasurably in 1996. The new patriotism abroad in our nation is a reflection of how liberating democracy is for all our citizens in their rainbow colours.

No longer is the State a mighty colossus intimidating everyone in its wake. The openness in this and other legislatures, the transparency of the Executive and the participatory style of government, all these have given practical meaning to the concept of government by the people, for the people. [Applause.]

In addition to the independent institutions such as the Constitutional Court, which I mentioned earlier, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will help cement democracy by laying bare that which our nation should never again experience. It will entrench justice by affording victims the reparations due to them. It will, through this, and by means of amnesty, ensure lasting reconciliation.

As with other such institutions, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission will succeed only if it gets the co-operation of all of us. I call on all South Africans to respect the commission's independence and impartiality, its integrity and good faith. The commissioners themselves have reiterated what the founding legislation pronounces, that the aim of their work is justice and reconciliation, not vengeance.

The frontiers of our freedoms are bound to widen this year, principally because the permanent basic

law of the land will be adopted by the Constitutional Assembly. A few months remain before the deadline set in the interim Constitution expires. We should burn the midnight oil to meet this deadline, and achieve normal democratic principles accepted everywhere in the world. It is also crucial that we attain constitutional certainty, both for ourselves and in our relations with the international community.

Many difficult issues need to be resolved. Questions of democratic majority rule, co-operative governance, universally accepted human rights and language equity are only some of them.

As in the past, these matters can only be resolved in genuine negotiations, in the spirit of give and take. The new constitution must be inclusive; a basic law of the land to which all sectors of society can pay allegiance. It behoves all members and parties in the Constitutional Assembly to take full part in the work of the assembly, and fulfil the mandate of their supporters. And, in all instances, we should be guided by the imperative to make our country a truly nonracial and nonsexist democracy, its citizens united by equity in their diversity.

These are the principles which should also guide us in protecting and advancing members of our society who have suffered undue privations under apartheid, women and youth in particular. Hon members will agree with me that we cannot allow Parliament to rise at the end of this session before legislation on the youth and gender equality commissions is adopted. [Applause.] In addition to ensuring focused and systematic attention to the needs of these sectors, these commissions will help mobilise the resources required to implement relevant programmes.

We should also continue paying the required attention to children, senior citizens and the disabled. Besides the other programmes indicated earlier, progress is being made in the Cabinet Committee which is developing a National Programme of Action on Children. And the restructuring of the welfare system in general, and as it pertains to the elderly, is among the tasks that the relevant departments are expected to accomplish this year. We wish to reaffirm this Government's commitment to introducing programmes that will ensure that the disabled can realise their full potential. [Applause.]



As we deepen our democracy and make progress in our transformation, it is to be expected that South Africa will be called upon to relate to the international community more as an equal partner rather than a mere beneficiary of solidarity. This we should be proud of, because it reflects the confidence the world has in the progress we are making towards creating a normal society.

In addition to hosting important events of the Southern African region, world conferences on critical socio-economic questions, science and technology, as well as sporting tournaments, we have started to play an important role in contributing to peace and other efforts of the international community. This we shall always do, within the limits of our capacity.

Our participation at the 50th anniversary celebrations of the United Nations helped reinforce the voice for the United Nations to restructure itself in line with the demands of the current age. We are proud that South Africa will this year host the ninth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the Conference on the Information Society.

We should not tire of contributing our fair share to the building of a better world, if only because such an outcome is in the best interests of South Africa as well. However, we should always be mindful of the limitations we have as a nation, as well as the constraints of the real world we have to deal with.

We are confident that during the course of this year progress will be made in the negotiations with members of the Southern African Customs Union, the European Community and other regions, for agreements that will benefit ourselves

and our partners. Let us also take this opportunity to reiterate our firm commitment to regional co-operation under the auspices of the SADC.

In our relations with virtually all countries of the world, be it in the Organisation for African Unity and its member states, the bi-national commissions with the United States and Russia, relations with countries of the Indian Ocean Rim, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and the Americas, we have not only come across goodwill, but also immense opportunities for our country.

Whether we take full advantage of these opportunities depends on all of us, both in the public and private sectors. We hope that the discussion documents being finalised by the Foreign Ministry will generate informed public debate about our international relations, the better to unite all sectors of our population in advancing the nation's interests.

There is a new patriotism abroad in our land. Whatever the social stations they occupy, no matter how humble, South Africans are showing a determination to work together and make our country a winning nation. Our task is to harness these energies into a material force for growth and development, safety and security, nation-building and reconciliation.

Such are the demands of this historical moment. Such are the demands of the new South Africa.

I am confident that this session of Parliament will measure up to the challenge of the times. [Applause.]

The Joint Sitting adjourned at 12:15.

### PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 15:42.

The President of the Senate took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### WELCOMING OF DELEGATION FROM PAKISTAN

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE: Order! I wish to welcome in the Public Gallery His Excellency, Mr Wasim Sajjad, Chairperson of the Senate of Pakistan, and Mrs Sajjad, as well as members of his delegation from the Senate of Pakistan. [Applause.]

### PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS

(Debate on Subject for Discussion)

Mr C RAMAPHOSA: Mr President of the Senate, President Mandela, Deputy President Mbeki, Deputy President De Klerk and hon. members, as we open the debate on the President's address, I think everyone will join me in thanking him once again for the manner in which he continues to lead this country ... [Applause] ... the Springboks, Bafana Bafana, and all our sportspeople. [Applause.]

As we meet this afternoon, thousands of our compatriots are suffering in another part of our country. In a tragic collusion between the forces of nature and the legacy of inequity, many of our people have suffered over the past few days in the face of floods and persistent rain. Many people have lost their homes and possessions, and some even their lives. There is nothing that we can do to stop the rain, but there is much we can do to enable our people to withstand such onslaughts in the future.

As we begin now to debate the President's address to Parliament, let us dedicate our deliberations over the next few days and months to making an effort to ensuring that our people have a better life.

When President Mandela addressed this House last Friday, he called on the nation to embrace a "new patriotism." In doing so he painted a vision of a society united in its determination to build the nation of our dreams. This new patriotism is founded on a simple basic principle, namely that we are a single nation in the making, and that, as a nation, our fortunes are bound together.

If we have a common future, then we should develop a common agenda for securing that future. It is an agenda which must reach across the divisions of race, class, gender, religious persuasion or political affiliation. Yet, this agenda will only bear fruit if we are able and willing to work together to achieve it.

This imposes obligations on each and every one of us. It imposes obligations on all parties represented in this Parliament. All of us need to consider ourselves as essential elements in—indeed as agents of—this programme of change.

The President's address to the nation last Friday calls to mind the words of a former president of the USA, John Kennedy, when he said: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." That question is being posed to us today.

Few have embraced this ideal so readily in recent months as the Springboks, the Bafana Bafana and our cricket team.

They were, as they played, promoting the spirit of this new patriotism even before the President articulated it in Parliament. These teams represent the dreams of all South Africans. Through their achievements and their demeanour, they have earned their place as the pride of our nation. Drawn from different clubs and sides, which are usually competitors, these players have been able to forge a single national team united in their desire to bring sporting honour to our country. In doing so, they are creating a model for the rest of us. They are demonstrating the strength that can be achieved through diversity and working together for a common goal.

So, what does the new patriotism demand of us as political parties, as members of Parliament and as South Africans? It requires, firstly, that parties should embrace, without reservation, the ideal of a truly nonracial, nonsexist and democratic society. As parties and as a nation, we need to pursue

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in different industries, Black and White working together and we are together on the sports fields. What stops us from bringing up our kids in a world where they will all live together? Why should they learn separately?

I think we are duty-bound to stop those South Africans who want to continue assaulting our kids, as they did in Potgietersrus. They are our children. We are brainwashing them with apartheid. These people are acting against the Constitution. We must have a way to deal with them, because they are creating and fermenting disorder for the future. Kids who grow up in isolation from others will have to live with our children tomorrow and they are going to be misfits.

I would like to point out that when we talk about Bafana Bafana, they are successful because of the fact that they have been able to acquire skills and knowledge of football in the streets of Soweto and Langa. Hence, when we talk about affirmative action, we place African women and Black people in positions of employment in order to expose them to experiences they were previously denied

so that they can acquire skills in practice. Otherwise, they will never be able to qualify, or to acquire the merit we are talking about, if they are excluded as they were in the past. [Time expired.] [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF COMMITTEES (National Assembly): Order! The President of the Senate has asked me to read the following announcement before we adjourn.

Members of the Senate must please note that tomorrow his Excellency Mr Wasim Sajjad, Chairperson of the Senate of Pakistan, will address members of the Senate in the Senate Chamber. Members of the National Assembly, the media and visitors are all welcome. The subject of his address will be: The Senate of Pakistan, its role and future. The address will be at 09:00. That concludes the business for the day. The Joint Sitting is adjourned.

Debate interrupted.

The Joint Sitting adjourned at 18:16.

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THURSDAY, 15 FEBRUARY 1996

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## PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the Senate and the National Assembly assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 14:15.

The Deputy President of the Senate took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

## PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS

(Debate on Subject for Discussion resumed)

UMONGAMELI WERIPHABLIKI: Sekela elihlonophekileyo, noMongameli weNdlu yeeNgwevu, Sekela-Sihlalo, amaSekela Mongameli, abaPhathiswa bamaSebe kaRhulumente namasekela abo, malungu eNdlu yoMthetho ahloniphekileyo.

Amaxesha amaninzi xa ndithetha kwibutho elinje, ndinento endimane ndiyithetha endifuna ukuyiqokela namhlanje, ndisithi andinabo ubuciko obuthi gca bokunyula awona mazwi afanelekileyo kumbutho onje kodwa ke ndifuna nje ukubeka amabal'engwe.

Ngaphambi kokuba ndenjenjalo, ndifuna ukuthi kukho iinkokeli ezintathu ezingekhoyo apha. Ezimbini zeza buqu; enye yandibhalela incwadi, bonke becala uxolo lokokuba bengazi kubanakho ukuphumelela ukuba lapha ngemicimbi abathe bayibeka kum, endingafuniyo ke ukuba niphunguze xa nibabona bengekho apha. NguNkosi uMangosuthu Buthelezi oye emcimbini esiwuphethe sobabini. Undichazele ngokubaluleka kwalo mcimbi. Owesibini nguMnumzana uClarence uMakwetu, iinkokeli ye-PAC. Owesithathu nguDanie Schutte. Bobabini babeke izizathu ezivakalayo. Into endifuna nje ukuthi gqaba-gqaba kuyo yeyovuyo olunzulu ngenxa yeentetho ezithethiweyo apha ngamaciko avela kumacala omabini ale Ndlu. Kuyabonakala kum ngokumhlophe ukuba iinkokeli zeli lizwe ziyacaca ngalo lonke ixesha sinomcimbi obaluleke ngolu hlobo. Ezo ke iziinkokeli ezivela kumacala omabini. Namhlanje kwiinkcuba-buchopho oku kufana nokuqhekeka kwedama. Lithi lakuzala, akuphuphuma amanzi kungabikho mntu unakho ukuwathintela. Yile nto yenzekayo namhlanje apha, apho iinkokeli ezivela kumaqela ngamaqela alapha zizimisele ukuthetha inyaniso nokuba zikowuphi na

umbutho. Yinto ebalulekileyo leyo. Kucacile ukuba eli lizwe silwela lona liza kuba nayo impumelelo enencasa nencomekayo.] (*Translation of Xhosa paragraphs follows.*)

[The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Hon Deputy President of the Senate, President of the Senate, Deputy Speaker, Deputy Presidents, Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and hon members of Parliament, many times when I speak at a gathering like this there is always something that I say and that I want to repeat here today. That is, I do not have the gift of tongues that is good enough to enable me to choose the most suitable word in a gathering like this. However, I would just like to say a few words. But before I do that I would like to say that there are three leaders who are not here. Two of them came personally; the other one wrote me a letter. They all apologised that they were not able to be here this afternoon because of certain commitments which they mentioned to me. I do not therefore want you to be wondering why they are not here. They are Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi who is gone to a matter which we are handling together. He has explained the importance of this matter. The second one is Mr Clarence Makwetu, the leader of the PAC. The third one is Danie Schutte. Both have given me very valid reasons.

What I would like to say very briefly is that I am very excited because of the speeches that were made here by many gifted speakers from both sides of the House. It is very clear to me that the leaders of this country are always there when we are dealing with an important matter such as this one. And those leaders come from both sides. Today to intellectuals this is like a dam bursting its banks. When that happens, when the dam is full and the water is overflowing, there is no one who can stop it. That is what is happening here today. Leaders from different political parties are showing determination to speak the truth irrespective of the parties to which they belong and that is very important. It is clear that this country for which we are fighting will achieve success.]

The Deputy President of the Senate, Madam Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, if he is here, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Deputy President F W de Klerk, Ministers, Deputy Ministers and hon members of Parliament, debate in our democratically elected Parliament is always exciting and rewarding. The past two days were no exception.

# APPENDIX I

MANDELA, NELSON. "PRESIDENT'S OPENING ADDRESS, 15 FEBRUARY, JOINT SITTINGS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, CAPE TOWN: FEBRUARY 1996: 166-174.



I would like to express my appreciation for your collective response to the state-of-the-nation address. With the opening of this the third session of our democratic Parliament, the contributions were as lively and as enriching as during the first session.

And yet I dare say there was something new. Whereas the opening of the first session saw threats from one party to withdraw from the Government of National Unity, and the second session the withdrawal of another from Parliament, no such developments marked this debate.

Yes, a new patriotism is abroad in our land—a patriotism which should increasingly express itself also in respect for the institutions defined in our Constitution. There is an appreciation that, while we might differ as parties, we should express those differences through the legitimate channels that our democracy has established. We should express them in peaceful engagements rather than in conflicts, and in national debate rather than in invective and disdain for the Constitution. We hope that those who left the Constitutional Assembly will soon be back in their seats, pursuing the interests of their supporters and persuading South Africa and the world to understand what it is that leaders of our country cannot resolve among themselves.

We may reflect with some satisfaction that this debate evidenced a discernible sense of purpose and determination to address, in concrete and practical detail, the legislative and policy requirements for decisive transformation.

Yours, hon members, was the voice of those who have passed through the early stages of a testing transition, confident in their capacity to deal with all new challenges.

In that sense, though with some qualification here and there, there was consensus in this Chamber acknowledging and reflecting a new patriotism amongst our people. What is clear from the contributions of all the parties is that there are leaders emerging on all sides of the political spectrum, leaders who see the challenges of the country from the point of view of South Africa as a whole, rather than from that of a privileged few.

Before addressing some of the important points that were raised, there is perhaps something more to be said about this new sense of a common national identity.

The new patriotism of the new South Africa is not something that Government or politicians can create or wish into existence. It is a powerful feeling amongst our people, in all walks of life, and in every community. Indeed, we politicians may well be far behind the ordinary men, women and children of our country. It is they who are leading us towards becoming one nation, at a pace beyond all expectations.

This new patriotism has made itself most visible around the achievements of our sports people, but it is something that citizens also feel as they are freed from the constraining divisions of the past. South Africans are entering a wider world of relationships with their fellow compatriots, free to be who or what they really are.

Increasingly there is an immense pride in being South African, and it is closely bound up with the progress we have made in overcoming the enforced divisions of the past. It nurtures the conviction that by working together, we can overcome the problems that the country faces.

This is not something created by politicians. In the context of this people-driven process. I believe that political parties can do one of three things: Firstly, they can harness the energies of the people into a living campaign for a better life. Secondly, they could continue with business as usual and miss the opportunities that the current moment offers. Thirdly, in sectarian self-interest, they could strive to hold back their supporters from this growing tide towards a united nation, away from pulling together for the common good.

As elected representatives, we must justify the trust which has been put in us to oversee the transformation of our country. It means asking ourselves, not just as individuals but as political parties, what we are doing to advance nation-building and reconciliation, growth and development, safety and security, justice and human rights.

We do note the voices expressing anxiety that this process is not all-inclusive. This is something we are called on to take most seriously because, to the extent that it is articulated in this manner, it subtracts from the national objective, leaving our nation the weaker and our ideas the more difficult to attain.

\*The spokespersons of the Afrikaners in particular voiced these feelings of concern. Although I want to state again that we take justified and

well-founded fears very seriously, I should also mention that, with regard to Afrikaners, I often am struck by their remarks that the new South Africa has given them a feeling of liberation now that all of us can enter a wider world of relationships with all our fellow South Africans. Therefore, those of you who hold leadership positions among the Afrikaners should be very careful that, by fostering and nurturing false fears, you do not prevent people from experiencing that liberation. [Applause.]

The exciting challenge of the new patriotism is not a choice between Afrikanership and South Africanship. On the contrary, it is about the healing reconciliation between Afrikanership and becoming completely South African.

The privileges which they enjoyed in the past equipped Afrikaners with, *inter alia*, a rich treasure of skills, knowledge and cultural resources. As individuals who benefited from a previous programme of affirmative action, Afrikaners, more than anyone else, ought to realise to what extent such a programme can contribute to creating means through which a society can become more productive. [Applause.]

I then ask myself whether there could be a more creative option for Afrikaners than to see and realise themselves as an indispensable knowledgeable part of the process of the building of our new society, an indispensable source of skills through which growth and development can be brought about to benefit a better life for all South Africans.

†We welcome the positive anticipation from all sides of the imminent unveiling of the national crime prevention strategy. I have no doubt that those who have been working on it for several months will be greatly encouraged by the commitment of all the parties to work together and make a success of it. Ensuring that all our citizens enjoy the safety and security to which they are entitled deserves this kind of commitment.

The rights of ordinary citizens and the integrity of the law also need to be protected from those who seek systematically and deliberately to undermine the operation of the criminal justice system in the country. I want to say again that I am determined to deal firmly with all violent actions and challenges to the law-enforcement agencies, as I indicated in the Opening Address. Existing regulations prohibiting the carrying of dangerous

weapons are being examined as a matter of urgency. In a matter of days a notice remedying the limitations will be issued. [Applause.]

Let me make it abundantly clear that anyone who elects to defy the laws of the land will be punished fully, no matter to which organisation he belongs. [Applause.] It has also been brought to my attention that two days ago people claiming to be supporters of the ANC in Richmond held a demonstration, demanding of the attorney-general that he grant bail to certain awaiting-trial individuals, threatening more action if that demand was not acceded to. I wish to reiterate that we will ensure that the country's law-enforcement agencies are left to do their work without undue pressure. Even the ANC cannot expect me to tolerate lawlessness from them. [Applause.]

We welcome the undertaking from all the parties that none of us seek confrontation with the democratically elected Government. Yet it behoves us to express our concern that in this democratic South Africa veiled threats are issued that if such and such a thing does not happen, there would be violent conflict. Indeed, if there are defects in the democratic system that prevent people from exercising their will, these should be identified and dealt with. However, we cannot allow ourselves to operate under the shadow of threats of violence and instability.

We should also emphasise that the success of our common efforts depends on co-operative interaction, among all tiers of government. We cannot attain the objective of a better life for all if national, provincial, and local government pull in different directions. This is not a matter of theory, but one of the real and critical needs of, especially, the poor.

These challenges—completing our new constitution, ensuring safety and security, and nurturing our new-found sense of national identity—are no less important than those to which I now turn: Promoting economic growth and development, and especially the creation of jobs.

Our programme for reconstruction and development was charted for our first democratically elected Government to set in motion the achievement of a better life for all South Africans. This is the overarching mandate for this Government in all areas of endeavour. Lest we need such prompting, the recently published study on indications of poverty in our country should spur us

all on to make the attack on poverty our guiding objective. It reinforces beyond debate the need for more than "business as usual", if South Africa is to realise its potential to banish poverty and ensure equity. A society in which wealth remains so unequally shared cannot sustain sufficient growth. At the same time, without growth it will become more and more difficult to sustain our socio-economic programmes.

The challenge, therefore, is that in implementing the RDP, we should elaborate on a growth and development strategy which will take us out of the quagmire of "jobless growth".

There is no doubt that, in this process, we shall have to make many difficult choices. For instance, how do we define our labour standards in a manner flexible enough not to block entry by the unemployed? I am happy that the trade union movement and the Ministry dealing with Public Works have reached consensus on one major aspect of this complex question.

In the same vein, business is faced with critical challenges regarding matters such as beneficiation and processing industries, raised so eloquently during the debate, as well as a commitment to invest in the country, premised on more than just the pursuit of large returns. Indeed, can we be justified in transferring enterprises to other countries simply because such countries pursue repressive labour policies!

Difficult choices will also have to be made in Government. For we cannot hope to give leadership to this process, if we continue with the structural mechanisms inherited from the old order. The new challenges require new, bold and innovative thinking.

The need for the growth and development strategy was one of the most strongly voiced aspects of the consensus which informed the debate of the past two days. That will add urgency to the elaboration of the strategy, and to bringing it into the public domain. The executive fully accepts that challenge.

Let all of our political parties take it upon themselves to give free reign to the creative energy of our nation, so that we can indeed answer, each day, the question: What have we done to mobilise our supporters to work together to improve the quality of life?

This is the attitude that should also inform our approach to international relations. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and other speakers incisively identified South Africa's challenges on these matters. As we draft the relevant discussion document, Government will welcome concrete proposals on how to improve our approach in general, as well as in dealing with urgent matters in Africa and further afield.

The question of new parties, reborn with new values, also featured in this debate. [Laughter.] Perhaps the most relevant comment that can be made in this regard is that the voters will be the best judges. [Applause.] [Laughter.] They know the conditions, they know their needs, they know their aspirations, and they know the values required to meet these needs and attain these aspirations.

We should therefore dispel the notion that, when the majority of the people coalesce around the common perspectives articulated by any given party, this becomes a threat to democracy, a harbinger of the advent of a one-party state or autocracy. [Applause.] What such protestations actually suggest is that democracy is a threat to democracy. [Applause.] Parties will, by their own actions, define themselves as being attractive to the majority of voters, or to a minority.

We have come to the end of the debate, reinforced in our conviction that South Africans have readied themselves to seize the moment, but we also have a leadership, drawn from all political parties represented here, that is prepared to rise to the occasion and to the challenge. Much more could be said in response to the many other questions raised, but when all is said and done, the essence of this debate is best captured in the resonance of our shared intent: Let us get down to work!

I have appeared at many meetings outside this Chamber and there is a point I have repeatedly made at such meetings. Since some of my colleagues and other hon members in this gathering do not want to attend my meetings, I must take advantage of this opportunity to repeat it. [Laughter.]

All over the world and right down the ages men and women have come and gone. Some leave nothing behind, not even their names. It would appear that they never existed at all. Others do leave something behind. They leave the haunting memory of the evil deeds they committed against

other human beings, their fellow-citizens—theft, robbery and all kinds of violations of human dignity such as torture and assassination, in order to prevent them from shaping their own destiny.

Whenever we think of such men and women, even at the height of their glory, feelings of revulsion, hatred and bitterness well up in our hearts. Whatever external manifestations of power they have chosen—expensive cars or beautiful buildings—they become the scum of society, rats despised by everyone committed to truth and justice. They become notorious and infamous.

There is a third category of men and women emerging all over the world. It embraces men and women who have chosen the world as the theatre of their operations and who take up the question of the suppression of human rights wherever it occurs. We are the beneficiaries of such men and women. They want to make every human being feel that life is worth living and who want to put sunshine in the lives of the poorest of the poor. They are our champions. They are our heroes and heroines. They are the hope of the world. They are the hope of South Africa.

They are the men and women whose work and fame go far beyond the borders of their countries. They are the men and women who, when their last day comes, will hear all of us say with a full heart: here lies a man or woman who has done his or her duty to country and people. They become immortal.

What has encouraged me during this debate is that I have seen that there are those women and men in this Chamber whose works and efforts are known beyond our borders, and who are also worthy candidates to immortality. [Applause.]

The DEPUTY PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE: Order! The House will remain seated until the President and the Deputy President as well as the Speaker of the National Assembly have left the Chamber.

Debate concluded.

The Joint Sitting adjourned at 14:56.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

APPENDIX I

MANDELA, NELSON. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT DEBATES  
OF THE REPUBLIC, 8 MAY", DEBATES OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY, CAPE TOWN: HARVARD, 1996: 452-459. ~~ASSEMBLY~~

# CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

29 March to 11 October 1996

(Vol 3)

Maunye, M M; Mavuso, J S A; Mayimele, H W; Mbeki, G A M; Mbeki, T M; Mboweni, T T; Mckenzie, P C; Mdladlana, M M S; Mduyana, S N N; Metele, A T; Meyer, R P; Mfebe, M W; Mgidl, J S; Mkhathshwa, S; Mkhize, B R; Mkwai, Z W; Mlambo-Ngcuka, P G; Mlangeni, A; Mngomezulu, G P; Mnguni, L L A; Mnguni, Z D; Mnisi, W F; Moatshe, P; Modise, J; Modise, M K; Modisenyane, L J; Modise, T R; Moeti, S E; Mohamed, A G; Mohamed, I J; Mohamed, M; Mohlamonyane, G M; Mokaba, P R; Mookgalong, M R V; Mokoena, D A; Mokoena, M L; Molekane, R S; Molewa, B E E; Molewa, B G; Moloto, C P; Momberg, J H; Mompati, R S; Mongwaketse, S J; Montsitsi, S D; Moorcroft, E K; Moosa, M V; Moosa, M W; Mothoagae, P K; Motshabi, C H; Motsuenyane, S M; Mpahlwa, M B; Mpehle, M; Mthembi-Nkondo, S D; Mthembu, J M; Mti, L M; Mtintso, T E; Mufamadi, F S; Mukhuba, T T; Mushwana, G M; Mushwana, M L; Mutsila, I; Myakayaka-Manzini, Y L; Naidoo, E N I; Naidoo, J; Nair, B; Nash, J H; Neinane, Z I; Ncube, N Z; Ndawonde, D; Ndlovu, M C; Ndou, J A; Ndou, R S; Ndzanga, R A; Nel, A C; Nel, A H; Netshimbupfe, M A; Ngcuka, B T; Ngwane, L B; Ngwenya, M L; Nhlanhla, J M; Nhleko, N P; Niehaus, C G; Niemann, J J; Njobe, M A A; Nkomo, S A; Nkosi, D M; Nobunga, B J; Nogumla, R Z; Nqwemesha, K W; Ntaopane, T E; Ntsizi, T C; Ntuli, B M; Nwedamutsu, M J; Nxumalo, S D; Nyembe, N D; Nzimande, B E; Nzo, A B; Odendaal, W A; Olifant, D A A; Oliphant, G G; Oliphant, R; Omar, A M; Oosthuizen, G C; Padiachey, D K; Pahad, A G H; Pahad, E G; Pandor, G N M; Peires, J B; Peters, E D; Phenethi, M M; Phillips, I M; Phohlala, S; Pretorius, I J; Rabie, J A; Radebe, J T; Radue, R J; Ramabulana, E V; Ramaphosa, M C; Ramarema, N G; Rangobin, M; Ramusi, M C; Ranchod, B G; Rantho, M M; Rasmeni, S M; Redcliffe, C R; Reeves, A E; Rhoda, R T; Richards, I; Ripinga, S S; Robertson, M O; Rockman, G; Routledge, N C; Saloojee, C; Saloojee, R A M; Schoeman, E A; Schoeman, R S; Schoeman, S J; Schreiner, J A; Schutte, D P A; Scott, M I; Sekgobela, P S; Selfe, J; Seperepere, M S; September, R K; Serote, M W; Shabangu, S; Shilubana, T P; Shope, N G; Shope, N R; Sifora, T V; Sigcau, S; Sigcawu, A N; Sikakane, M R; Sisulu, L; Sisulu, M V; Sisulu, N A; Sizani, R K; Skweyiya, Z S T; Smit, F P; Smit, H A; Smuts, M; Solomon, G; Sonjica, B P; Sosibo, B E; Steenkamp, P J;

Stofile, M A; Streicher, D M; Sulliman, M A; Surty, M E; Suttner, R S; Swanepoel, L J; Tambo, A F; Taunyane, D P; Thabathe, E; Thomson, B; Tinto, C F; Tiry, M; Tolo, L J; Tonjeni, T L; Tsenoli, S L; Tshabalala, M E; Tsheole, N M; Tshivhase, M P K; Tshivhase, T J; Tshwete, S V; Turok, B; Turok, M E; Twala, N M; Tyobeka, V M; Vadi, I; Van Breda, A; Van den Heever, R P Z; Van der Merwe, S; van der Merwe, A S; Van Deventer, F J; Van Heerden, F J; Van Niekerk, A E; Van Niekerk, A I; Van Schalkwyk, M C J; Van Wyk, A; Van Zyl, I D; Verwoerd, M; Vilakazi, B H; Vilakazi, M I; Viljoen, V; Watson, A; Waugh, J C N; Wiley, M G E; Williams, A; Williams, A J; Wyngaard, C A; Xingwana, L M; Yengeni, T S; Zitha, D A; Zondo, P; Zuena, N C D.

NOES—2: Green, L M; Meshoe, K R.

ABSTENTIONS—12: Botha, W A; Botha, W J; Chiold, J; De Ville, J R; Grobbelaar, P W; Groenewald, P H; Groenewald, P J; Louw, L; Mulder, C P; Mulder, P W A; Van de Walt, B J; Viljoen, C L.

Question accordingly agreed to in accordance with section 73(2) of the Constitution.

Bill read a second time.

#### ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Hon Deputy Chairperson of the CA, hon members, distinguished guests and Africans. [Laughter.]

The brief seconds when the majority of hon members quietly assented to the new basic law of the land have captured, in a fleeting moment, the centuries of history that the South African people have endured in search of a better future.

As one, you, the representatives of the overwhelming majority of South Africans, have given voice to the yearnings of millions. And so it has come to pass that today South Africa undergoes her rebirth, cleansed of a horrible past, matured from a tentative beginning and reaching out to the future with confidence.

The nation has teetered on a knife edge over the past few days, with reports of intractable deadlocks and an abyss in waiting. This was to be expected, given the difficult issues we were dealing with and the tight negotiating deadlines. But are South Africans not a wonderful people to

whom the words "deadlock" and "miracle" have come to nestle in comfortable proximity, alternately gripping the national imagination like the plague!

Be that as it may, we dare not in the midst of the excitement of last-minute solutions, forget the magnitude of the achievement we celebrate today. For beyond these issues lies the fundamental sea change in South Africa's body politic that this historic moment symbolises.

Long before the gruelling sessions of the final moments, it had been agreed that once and for all, South Africa would have a democratic constitution based on the universal principle of democratic majority rule. Today we formalise this consensus. As such, our nation takes this historic step beyond the transitory arrangements which obliged its representatives, by dint of law, to work together across the racial and political divide.

Now it is universally acknowledged that unity and reconciliation are written on the hearts of millions of South Africans. They are the glowing fire. They are the indelible principle of our founding pledge. They are the glowing fire of our new patriotism. They shall remain the condition for reconstruction and development in as much as reconstruction and development will depend on unity and reconciliation.

Our consensus speaks of the maturing of our young democracy. It speaks of the trust that has grown in the blast furnace of practical work as we together rolled up our sleeves to tackle the real problems.

Today we celebrate that coming of age. Long before the intense moments of the last few days, hon members as the representatives of the people decided that open and accountable government would be reinforced by co-operative governance among all tiers. Thus we stride out along a new road in which the preoccupation of the elected representatives at all levels of government will be how to co-operate in the service of the people rather than competing for power which belongs not to us, but to the people. We were therefore able, in the national interest, to locate government powers at a level where they appropriately belong and to ensure that the national Parliament is not the exclusive preserve of an imaginary national politician, but a workplace in which representatives from all levels can pursue their mandate.

Through the National Council of Provinces, the improvement of the status of local government and the style of government, based on transparency, participation and consultation, we shall ensure that democracy indeed constitutes government by the people, for the people.

The new constitution obliges us to strive to improve the quality of life of the people. In this sense our national consensus recognises that there is nothing else that can justify the existence of government but to redress the centuries of unspeakable privation by striving to eliminate poverty, illiteracy, homelessness and disease. It obliges us, too, to promote the development of independent civil society structures.

While in the past diversity was seen by the powers that be as a basis for division and domination, while in earlier negotiations reference to such diversity was looked upon with suspicion, today we affirm in no uncertain terms that we are mature enough to derive strength, trust and unity from the tapestry of language, religious and cultural attitudes that make up our nation.

With confidence we are certain that the individual rights and national self-determination of the South African people shall not be inhibited, but be reinforced, by the collective rights of the community. Through the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities we have found an innovative way of addressing an issue which, when swept under the carpet, comes back in other forms to haunt the architects of artificial unity.

We are extremely proud that the new constitution asserts equality among South Africa's languages, and that, for the first time, the languages particularly of the Khoi, Nama and San communities will receive the attention they deserve, after years of being trampled upon in the most humiliating and degrading manner.

Many new provisions on gender issues reflect the progress that we are making as a nation towards securing equality for our women compatriots who have for far too long suffered too many privations merely because of their gender.

Yet it is in actual practice that our ideas and intentions will be tested, and we have not shied away from acknowledging that we are a democracy with many other realities bequeathed by history. Not least among these realities is the role of traditional leaders, which is not only acknowl-

edged, but is to be further elaborated upon, with their participation, in national and provincial legislation.

Indeed, we can go on and on demonstrating the new and higher level of national consensus that today's ceremony represents. What all this reflects is that we are at last maturing to become a normal society, founded on mutual trust, bonded by mutual aspirations and shaped by the reality of our existence, rather than the fulmination of a warped imagination.

In our racial, language, religious and sectoral diversity, as the weak and the mighty, we are one people with one destiny. Today we can proudly report to the nation that the interim mandate has essentially been fulfilled. Among other things, critical institutions such as the Constitutional Court and the Human Rights Commission have started doing their work in the most splendid manner, conscious of the fact that their first port of call is the people, rather than the Government on high. In reiterating their integrity and independence, the new Constitution reaffirms our commitment to the rights of citizens and the need to build genuine equality across the board.

The welcome transformation that we are affirming today will mean that we have to redefine the role of some representatives in this Chamber. With the setting up of the National Council of Provinces, many hon senators will enjoy the privilege of being redeployed closer to the people. Needless to say this creative approach derives in part from the seriousness with which the Senate approached its work, all the time searching for the correct solution to the question of their mandate and their relation to provincial government. For this we congratulate and thank them profoundly for their enormous contribution to the beginnings of our social transformation.

We say with confidence that the interim mandate has been fulfilled, thanks also to the critical role that our security forces have played in protecting our young democracy like the apple of their eye. The new Constitution recognises their importance to society, and we can say without any shadow of doubt that it creates even better conditions for them and other public servants to serve with pride and dignity in the full knowledge that their rights as citizens and as employees of the State are protected.

In the final analysis, the praise that we are apt to heap upon ourselves appears misplaced against the backdrop of the active participation of the people in the drafting of the new Constitution. The determination of this Assembly to ensure that the people played their rightful role, and the meticulous planning and execution that this entailed, broke new ground in ways of engaging society in the process of legislation, reaching out through the media, opening the process to inputs from across society, and going out across the length and breadth of the country for face-to-face interactions with communities.

The Constitutional Assembly reinvigorated civil society in a manner that no other process in recent times has done. Present today in the public gallery are representatives of almost every organised sector of civil society which made inputs into the process: the legal fraternity, women, local communities, traditional structures and leaders of sectors dealing with business, labour, land issues, the media, arts and culture, the youth, the disabled, children and wards, and many more. Beyond those present are the millions who wrote letters and who took part in public forums, from the policemen in a charge office in the furthest corner of the Northern Province, to prisoners getting together to discuss clauses, and to residents of Peddie in the Eastern Cape who continued with their meeting in pouring rain to debate the role of traditional leaders. To all of them we say: "Thank you for taking your destiny into your own hands."

We congratulate the Chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly, the Deputy Chairperson, the management committee, on which all the parties were represented, and the staff for their dedication and drive to ensure that we attained this historic moment. Amongst us are representatives of the international community who have honoured us by sharing in this, our moment of joy. Yet the boundaries that might separate our countries cannot subtract from their own labours to ensure that South Africa achieves freedom, and that we emerge with a constitution of which we hope humanity shall be proud. Directly and indirectly, their contributions and their force of example provided the fountain from which we have drunk with relish. This Constitution is our own humble contribution to democracy and the culture of human rights worldwide, and it is our pledge to humanity that nothing will steer us from this course.

Ultimately, the lodestone governing our movement into the future is the unstoppable force of democracy. Hon members have accomplished what they have to the extent that they represented the aspirations of the people and the abiding values of the nation. In this way they were paying tribute to the shining example of those like John Madikizela Dube, Olive Schreiner, Rev Calata, Dr Naicker, Dr Abdurahman and others who, long years ago, called for equality and democracy.

Hon members were acknowledging the suffering of the many witnesses who are appearing before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and many more citizens who were dehumanised, maimed and deprived, but unbowed and unshaken in their confidence in our young democracy. They were recognising the indelible role of the pioneers of the negotiation process such as Oliver Tambo and visionaries within the apartheid establishment who were able to sense the momentum of history.

Indeed, hon members were paying homage to Chris Hani, Johan Heyns and other martyrs whose love for their country and belief in change inspired more than their immediate supporters. In tribute to them, we stand today before our people and before humanity to present this our new basic law of the land whose founding principles of human dignity, nonracialism and nonsexism, and whose commitment to universal adult suffrage, regular elections and multiparty democracy are immutable.

This is our national soul, our compact with one another as citizens, underpinned by our highest aspirations and our deepest apprehension. Our pledge is: Never, never again shall the laws of our land rend our people apart, or legalise their oppression or repression. Together we shall march, hand in hand, to a brighter future.

May I add that one principle influenced our approach in the negotiations that started at Kempton Park, and in the negotiations involving this Constitution. In adopting this Constitution, we discussed our strategy very carefully, and the principle that we established was that there should be neither winners nor losers. South Africa as a whole must be the winner.

This is a principle which we have observed over the past two years in the Government of National Unity. The majority party must not abuse its power and reduce other political parties in the Government to the status of being mere rubber

stamps, having merely to yield to the decisions of the majority. We have advanced in the task of building national unity, because we have conscientiously stuck to and observed these two principles.

But everybody will understand that we have a commitment and a mandate from the overwhelming majority of our people in this country to transform South Africa from an apartheid state to a nonracial state, to address the questions of joblessness and homelessness, to build all the facilities that have been enjoyed for centuries by a tiny minority.

We have that commitment and we are determined to ensure that all the people of South Africa live a dignified life in which there is no poverty, no illiteracy, no ignorance and no disease. That is our commitment. We are determined to honour that pledge, and anybody who tries to block us from attaining that objective of carrying out our mandate is like a voice crying in the wilderness. We are going to use that mandate in order to better the lives of all the people of South Africa.

Having said that, we are addressing these basic needs in South Africa. I want to repeat what I have said before. We are dealing with a situation in which if one talks to Whites, they think that only Whites exist in this country, and they look at problems from the point of view of Whites. They forget about Blacks, namely Coloureds, Africans and Indians. That is one side of the problem. However, we have another problem. When one talks to Africans, Coloureds and Indians, they make exactly the same mistake. They think that the Whites in this country do not exist. They think that we have brought about this transformation by defeating the White minority and that we are dealing with a community that is now lying prostrate on the ground, begging for mercy, to whom we can dictate. Both tendencies are wrong. [Applause.] We want men and women who are committed to our mandate, but who can rise above their ethnic groups and think in terms of South Africa as a whole. [Applause.]

We have now adopted this Constitution, and its significance has been dealt with by almost all the speakers here. However, there are still concerns on the part of the minorities in this country. The fact that we have adopted this Constitution does not mean that we are not going to address those concerns. We will continue searching for solutions because we want everybody to feel that he or

she is part and parcel of our efforts to resolve the problems of South Africa. That is the position, and the adoption of this Constitution is the beginning of our efforts to resolve the problems of this country.

Every day when I go to bed, I go there feeling strong and hopeful, because I can see the rainbow nation rising. I can see men and women who are beginning to break loose from the shackles of political indoctrination and are thinking clearly about the problems of our country. Those political parties which still think in terms of the past are lagging far behind the thinking of their own constituencies, and that is a real danger.

I would like everybody, Black and White, to think in terms of the country as a whole. That is the demand of the moment. I say every day I go to bed feeling strong and hopeful because I can see new leaders of thought emerging, leaders who are the hope of the future. [Applause.]

Next week I am going to address a very important constituency precisely on the fears which have been generated by the adoption of this Constitution. I say to the hon members that those whose expectations have not been met do not have to give up. We will continue to search for solutions, because the building of a nation is the commitment of every patriotic South African. It is the commitment of Blacks and Whites, and it is the commitment of the Africans who have emerged during the course of this debate. [Applause.]

THE DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY: Order! May I interrupt ... [Applause.] May I interrupt hon members' beautiful singing. The only reason I am pressurising hon members is that I want to prove a point. Mr President, the point is that in South Africa there is no such thing as "African time". [Laughter.] I say that because according to my notes I have to close the proceedings at 12:00. [Applause.]

Just as we delivered the Constitution timeously, we shall close the proceedings timeously. [Applause.] However, I want to make one or two statements and an announcement.

The freely elected members of the Constitutional Assembly have spoken. The hon the President of the Republic of South Africa has replied. May I remind all of us that there are 21 million South African adults of whom 82% would like to know more about this new Constitution. The responsi-

bility rests on our shoulders to popularise this Constitution and make it a living document. [Applause.]

Further events will take place outdoors. I request that after the President and the Deputy Presidents have left the Chamber, members of the Constitutional Assembly will proceed to join us on the steps in front of the National Assembly.

May I, in conclusion, address you, Mr Chairperson.

\*I now want to address a single word to you, Mr Chairperson. You addressed a message to the many people who participated in the proceedings of the Constitutional Assembly. I therefore now want to reply on behalf of those of us who participated, the officials, the experts and the politicians. I want to do so by singling out two aspects of your personality which in my opinion are constitutionally relevant.

They are namely firstly that you did not on a single occasion make use of the privilege, the prerogative, to occupy this raised chair behind me. It was your suggestion that you and I should use these chairs in which we are sitting now, and that we would sit next to one another and that this would be the way in which we would manage proceedings here. I have said on a previous occasion that this took place in a spirit of *primus inter pares*, or the first among equals. I thank you for that. [Applause.]

You also revealed another characteristic. You made a personal reference and I do not think now is the time for a bilateral discussion to take place between the two of us or for our attitude and spirit to be exposed here in front of these people. [Laughter.]

However, you revealed one characteristic which I believe is worthy of emulation and which greatly inspired me. This was your sincere wish and example to express multilinguality. It was a great pleasure for me to see how you battled with Afrikaans, to see how you had the newspaper in front of you and read idiomatic Afrikaans so amusingly incorrectly. [Laughter.] I saw how you read a headline of one of the Afrikaans newspapers about how a certain person was involved in a feud "vete" with another organisation and you read "in vette met" (in the fat with) [Laughter.]

†You said there was no other language as explosive as Afrikaans ...

\*... because you saw how that person "in sy eie vet braai" (stewed in his own juice). [Laughter.] I listened to your amusing sayings, for example how you would say to me: "Verskoon my, ek gaan my hare 'kap'." [Excuse me, I am going to have my hair cut.] [Laughter.] I heard how you called up some of your own colleagues and said to them: "Maar jy is 'in die verkeerd', want jy praat te min Sotho." [But you are in the wrong, because you are speaking too little Sotho.] I saw how much joy it gave you when Venda was again spoken in this constitution.

With those few words I say to Afrikaans-speakers and to Afrikaners, our prosperity lies in the

acceptance of diversity and in the acceptance of the enjoyable nature of that diversity. [Applause.] Morena boloka setjaba sa heso. [God bless our people.] [Applause.]

†Order! I would just like to place on record that our visitors in the gallery will be entitled to follow the proceedings on the television screens. The proceedings are now closed, and if everything goes according to plan, this CA will never meet again. [Applause.]

The meeting adjourned at 12:02.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# DEBATES

OF THE

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

(HANSARD)

THIRD SESSION — FIRST PARLIAMENT

15 January to 7 November 1996

(VOLS 9 AND 10 — DEBATES;  
VOL 11 — INTERPELLATIONS,  
QUESTIONS AND REPLIES; and  
VOL 12 — INDEXES)

Appendix K

MANDELA, NELSON. "APPROPRIATION BILL:  
DEBATE ON VOTE 1, 21 JUNE" DEBATES  
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, CAPE TOWN.  
HANSARD, 1996: 3654-3660.



# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The House met at 09:30.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS**—see col 3782.

## LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO MEMBER

(Draft Resolution)

Mrs G N M PANDOR: Madam Speaker, on behalf of the Chief Whip of the Majority Party, I move the draft resolution printed in his name on the Order Paper, as follows:

That leave of absence be granted to Ms B A Hogan for the period 12 to 30 August 1996.

I also welcome the Chief Whip of the NP to our side. [Applause.]

The SPEAKER: Order! I take it that later there will be a constitutional amendment to section 43 of the Constitution! [Laughter.]

Agreed to.

## COMMISSION ON GENDER EQUALITY BILL

(Consideration of Senate amendments)

Mr D H M GIBSON: Madam Speaker, the DP certainly objects to the Senate amendments. We express our surprise at the fact that a party such as the ANC, which is dedicated to democracy, freedom and equality, should countenance amendments such as those which have come from the Senate. We in our party are certainly not prepared to go along with this.

Amendments agreed to (Democratic Party and African Christian Democratic Party dissenting).

## UPGRADING OF LAND TENURE RIGHTS AMENDMENT BILL

(Consideration of Senate amendments)

Order disposed of without debate.

Amendments agreed to.

## CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON CORRECTIONAL SERVICES—PRISON HEALTH CARE SERVICES†

Order disposed of without debate.

Report adopted.

## CONSIDERATION OF REPORT OF PORTFOLIO COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE, WATER AFFAIRS AND FORESTRY—GRAINS TRADE CONVENTION‡

Order disposed of without debate.

Report adopted.

## WELCOMING OF CHAIRMAN OF IDEA

The SPEAKER: Order! Before the fifth Order of the Day, I would wish to recognise the presence amongst us of the former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth and a friend, the chairman of the board of Idea, the international Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Sir Sonny Ramphal. [Applause.]

## APPROPRIATION BILL

Resumption of debate on Vote No 1—President:

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker, hon members, we have now come to the end of a lively debate on the President's Vote.

As in the Senate two days ago, many thought-provoking issues were raised and many concrete proposals were made about how to improve our efforts in government and how to forge our people into a united nation. Many well-considered arguments were put forward about the worth or otherwise of this or that party.

It is naturally not possible to refer to all the issues raised, but the observation needs to be made that the leadership of South Africa in this august House rises in quality with each debate and with each new step that we take towards a better life.

What struck me over and over again was the constant and unanimous refrain from the parties in support of the Vote. In the frailty of character that afflicts us all, this does add to one's sense of personal satisfaction, yet in reality that support expresses the consensus among South Africa's leaders about the direction in which the country is

†See column 2822.

‡See column 3338.

going. It expresses the new patriotism that is taking root among all sectors of the population and all political schools of thought. It reflects the new level of democracy that the country has attained, both in practice and in the broad framework contained in our new constitution.

Indeed, this was the defining character of the debate, and our attention to some of the detail, both during the debate and in these closing remarks, should not detract from this basic fact. A number of matters were raised pertaining to our new constitution, most of which are crucial to the extent that they are expressed within the ambit of broad support for the basic law of the land.

This broad support for the constitution was played out some 40 days ago when the NP decided to withdraw from the Government of National Unity. In the NP's statement, and that of the ANC, there was concurrence that this step, regrettable as it may have been, represented the further maturing of our democracy. We expressed the hope then, and were reassured, that the NP would become a vigorous opposition, loyal to the constitution and the country's interests.

We are indeed appreciative of the fact that this approach has not changed. We hope that some of the remarks made in the debate yesterday do not detract from the fact that South Africa has long passed the stage of discourse around constitutionally enforced coalitions. We hope that the common approach that we adopted then is not transmuting into a small-minded stance on the issue. Indeed, when we celebrate the maturing of democracy, we should accept the full implications of what this means.

In addition to this, there was an agreement during the constitutional negotiations that at the present stage proportional representation constituted the best electoral system for our condition, in large measure because it is sensitive to the interests of minority parties. Therefore to us references to a Westminster system seem to be thoroughly misplaced.

The new constitution also guarantees individual as well as collective rights. It weaves together, in a particularly unique South African way, the prerogatives of individual rights with the sensitivities of religious, linguistic and cultural communities. It is in this context that the issue of language and education are dealt with. On the one hand, there is a need for fundamental transforma-

tion that few would find fault with. On the other, the collective rights of distinct communities have to be taken into account. Institutional mechanisms have also been proposed to deal with the sensitive question of religious, cultural and linguistic minorities.

Within a few weeks the Constitutional Court will pronounce on whether or not the constitution accords with the Constitutional Principles. A number of parties represented here have lodged their complaints and misgivings with the court, and we accept, without qualification, their right to do so. The Constitutional Court, made up of South African men and women of integrity, a court whose independence all parties accept, is indeed the most suitable to determine this question. It is a forum in which actual mediation between various interests, and various interpretations of the Constitutional Principles, by South Africans, amongst South Africans, is taking place.

Many hon members referred to the situation in KwaZulu-Natal and the concern that we all have about the loss of life, the maiming of individuals and the displacement of communities. It is heartening that for the first time references to the problems in this province were all tied together by a common thread of hope and confidence that solutions are indeed being found.

This applies to the many initiatives that have been taken to bring communities and leaders together to work jointly for peace. In this regard we should congratulate His Majesty the King, religious leaders, political leaders and others for this new surge towards a lasting solution.

Hope and confidence also derive from the unanimous acknowledgement among all parties that strong security measures are required to deal with the perpetrators of violence. We are heartened by the fact that speakers from various parties accepted the need for this. This consensus is also reflected in the references that were made to the issue of crime.

When the National Crime Prevention Strategy was launched a few weeks ago, it had the support of all parties, and this remains the situation today. We are convinced that as hon members study and internalise the strategy, as well as the police plan of action, they will be able to make an informed input on how to improve on the measures that are being taken, as distinct from protestations that reverberate with great sound, but contain little



concrete substance. Thus, the debate on the scourge of crime will move to a higher and practical plane and take us a step further in the war against criminals. These and other areas of national endeavour constitute a concrete foundation for co-operation among all parties, whether in opposition or within the Government.

In the context of these efforts in pursuit of a common objective, we shall not only reinforce one another and improve our service to the nation, but we shall also come to understand each other better. As such, we shall all mature from the wild imaginings of seeing, in other parties, creatures with horns, from nursery rhymes, goggas behind every bush and under every bed.

The Minister of Finance reported to hon members yesterday on the major conference on European investment in South Africa which he recently attended. He spoke about the groundswell of support for our economic policies and of the positive view of the potential of our economy as an investment destination. This accords strongly with my own experience on visits abroad, whether it be my recent visit to Germany, or earlier ones to the United States and Japan, or others.

One of the advantages of going to other countries is the opportunity to learn at first hand how our country is perceived by others. What such visits make clear, and what was again illustrated in yesterday's debate, is how unreliable the declarations are of some of South Africa's self-appointed spokespersons for foreign investors. This goes, in particular, for those who, as the United States ambassador said in the statement cited by Minister Manuel, present negative accounts of South Africa to potential investors, allowing short-term political differences to operate in the economic arena in ways that are counterproductive to long-term investment.

As the invaluable Nedcor study on crime found, foreign companies in fact base their investment decisions overwhelmingly on hard economic factors. Amongst the foremost of these are the Government's macroeconomic policies. On that score, in our relations with the international and South African investor community, things are indeed falling into place.

The Macroeconomic Strategy for Growth, Employment and Redistribution, like the National Crime Prevention Strategy and other initiatives of the Government coming to fruition, provides

guidelines for action and frameworks for operation of a quality that this country has, frankly, never known before.

Differences between parties over detail and development do exist. But in this context, the measure of parties or leaders is their capacity to give direction to their constituencies. In the midst of all the detail, accurate or inaccurate, positive or negative, which finds its way into the public domain, the challenge is not to lose sight of the wood for the trees. It is to identify the essence of these real and momentous developments. The strategies, frameworks and plans should be improved through criticism, when necessary, and used for the benefit of the whole country.

Ultimately, in debate and in action, now and in the future, we shall always face the option of whether to wallow in the mire of pettiness or to deal with the real issues that face the nation.

In this regard I should say that I found quite refreshing the earnest analysis of dynamics within the White community by one of the speakers. In identifying the possible reasons for anxiety among some of them, enlightening and honest facts were put on the table. These are issues that all parties and leaders should heed. Yet our approach to these questions should be one of ensuring that members of this community, professionals, businesspersons, workers, religious leaders and others become a full part of the changes engulfing our country today.

In the various forums that exist, such as Nedlac, professional organisations, religious bodies, local governments, and indeed we ourselves as their representatives, the concerns should not only be aired, but should jointly be addressed within the context of practical work to improve the conditions of all the people. We should find practical answers to the following question: What do liberation and a better life mean to every sector of our people?

The day before yesterday the Cabinet held its last meeting before the winter recess. By the time we reconvene, the NP will not be in the Cabinet, having voluntarily decided to relinquish what reins of executive power they still had after the democratic elections.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank Deputy President De Klerk and all the Ministers from his party who served with us during the difficult days of our transition. We wish them well in the

opposition benches. We are hopeful that in their new role they will add another brick to the edifice of our young democracy.

Among the Ministers and senior leaders of the NP leaving positions of responsibility are personalities who are taking leave of public life such as Roelof "Pik" Botha, Chris Fisser, Leon Wessels, and perhaps others in the near future. [Laughter.]

As I indicated in the Senate two days ago, this concerns me personally, given that these leaders who are leaving worked hard and played a critical role in building national unity and preventing the revival of racism, both within parties and in communities in which they worked. We hope that wherever they are, they will continue to be of service to the nation.

We adjourn for the winter recess, confident that the wheels of government are now rolling with

better capacity and co-ordination to meet the mandate of the electorate. We hope that as hon members interact with their constituencies, they will be better able to assess the national mood, the priorities of communities and the expectations that they have of all of us. In the final analysis, as we continue our work after the recess, our performance for the year will be judged by them. They are the ones on whom we shall continually rely to make the dream of a winning nation a reality. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

In terms of Rule 12(2), the House adjourned at 09:56 until Wednesday, 14 August 1996, while the business of Parliament would resume on 12 August 1996.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

APPENDIX L.

MANDELA, NELSON. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC,  
7 FEBRUARY", JOINT SITTINGS OF OF  
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~~2-24~~ 2-24

## JOINTS SITTINGS

## BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

(HANSARD)

FIRST SESSION – SECOND PARLIAMENT

7 February to 13 May 1997

(VOL 4)

ISBN 0 621 27555 7 (Vol 4)

ISBN 0 621 27556 5 (Set)

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING (HANSARD)

FIRST SESSION – SECOND PARLIAMENT

1

FRIDAY, 7 FEBRUARY 1997

2

### PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The SPEAKER: Order! This Joint Sitting has been called to enable the President of the Republic to address Parliament. I now call upon the hon the President to address Parliament. [Applause.]

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, hon Chairperson and Deputy Chairpersons of the National Council of Provinces, hon members of Parliament, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, a new year is upon us, once more affording us the opportunity to account, in a comprehensive manner, to the citizens on the awesome responsibilities they have mandated us to fulfil.

All of us, in the executive and legislatures, the majority party and members in the opposition benches, are called upon to outline practical programmes to improve the nation's quality of life.

Again and again, over the past year, the people showed remarkable commitment to the country's wellbeing. They took advantage of resources offered through RDP projects. They turned adversity into opportunity in the export market. They

excelled in international sporting events, including the Olympics and Paralympics. And they joined hands to raise awareness regarding crime, and actually to work together to combat it.

In practical action, a new nation is being forged, a nation whose new patriotism and sense of pride derive not only from ideals in our hearts, but also from concrete progress made in improving the wellbeing of all.

Our task is to mobilise all our people, to create more and more opportunities, to ensure that the citizen's potential is given the fullest expression. We have to do this, and more, sensitive to the feelings of the majority and the minority, the haves and the have-nots, those who have the media to communicate their ideas and those deprived of such resources.

We can all derive pride from the fact that we took a historic step in this direction last year through the adoption of our new Constitution, the basic law of our country reflecting the nation's yearning for a rising quality of life, in circumstances of democracy, peace and respect for human rights.

In a sense this is the first session of the new Parliament. And allow me to take this opportunity to welcome members of the National Council of Provinces, the living embodiment of co-operative governance. Their presence here already starts to redefine relations between the Government and the people – not abstract national or regional or local people, but South Africans, requiring and deserving of the highest professional service from their elected representatives.

Last Friday I had the honour to thank our erstwhile senators for their service to the nation. I wish to reiterate that today. At the same time as they infused the debate in these chambers with their unique knowledge and expertise, they were also pioneers at an important moment of creation, the culmination of which is the national Parliament as we have it today.

The major restructuring of Parliament represented by these changes epitomises the maturing of our democracy. Of no less significance is the process that led to the adoption of the Constitution,

including mass involvement on the one hand, and the meticulous approach of the Constitutional Court on the other. With each major judgment, this court grows in stature and places our democracy on a higher pedestal.

Co-operative governance and the New Patriotism also mean a loyal opposition, an opposition that opposes, but remains loyal to the Constitution, an opposition that takes part in the major national programmes to reconstruct, to develop, to reconcile, to improve South Africa's standing in the world, to enhance business confidence, to put shoulders to the wheel in the fight against crime – in brief, an opposition that takes part fully in the efforts to build a better life for all.

We are encouraged that all parties in this Chamber have committed themselves to this national consensus.

Through the new Constitution, we have laid the foundation for a peaceful and prosperous nation. But it is just that, a foundation, and it will not amount to much if its provisions are not felt in the daily life of our people. We must and will popularise the Constitution. But above all, we need to act together to implement its provisions. [Interjections.] [Laughter.]

I confess that I am disappointed. I thought that they would have put something stronger in my glass. [Laughter.]

We can take pride in the fact that as we enter the last half of this Government's mandate, in all matters of governance we have laid the foundation to move even more speedily to our nation's goals.

We enter 1997 with all but one locality in the whole country enjoying democratic local governance. The completion of this process during the course of last year was significant, not only because of the peaceful manner in which it was conducted, but also because a new corps of leaders has emerged, in close touch with the people, and steadily but surely starting to make an impact on their lives.

To improve the food security and nutrition of at least the most indigent of the population, projects

which amount to R400 million, and reaching over one million people, were undertaken last year. The Primary School Nutrition Programme now benefits more than 3 million children. Programmes to develop new farming entrepreneurs, to return land to communities and resettle others, and to start tenure reform are starting to change the face of our countryside.

Over 700 000 people have already been supplied with water – people who have never had it before – and projects are under way which will affect over 6 million citizens.

After two years of preparing the ground, the national housing policy is now fully operational. Today more houses are in production than at any other time in South Africa's history. [Applause.] Millions now enjoy the benefits of electricity.

Arguably, nowhere else is the fact of democratic transformation felt more keenly than in the area of universal access to health facilities. The building of clinics and hospitals, the immunisation programme and the beginnings of a new drugs policy – all these, and more, are practical and new qualitative steps that have transformed the majority of South Africans from being neglected outcasts into beneficiaries of a compassionate health policy. [Applause.]

During the course of last year, by dint of hard work by the Minister of Health, the efforts of relevant community-based organisations and, ironically, the debates around one famous play, the campaign against Aids was more visibly put on the national agenda. Indeed, it is in part because of South Africa's efforts that we were invited to take part in the UNAIDS meeting in Davos, Switzerland, just this week.

For the first time in South Africa's history, citizens are starting to benefit from integrated human-resource development represented by a nonracial education system, life-skills training, financial support to students in tertiary institutions, supply-side measures in industry to promote training, and a sports programme based not only on the promotion of healthy lifestyles, but also on constructing facilities in areas that were hitherto neglected.

With the estimated 3% growth during the course of last year, the South African economy has turned the corner towards consistent expansion. Beneath this figure, which is of course less than all of us would prefer, are strong signals of a robust industrial revolution in the making.

This is reflected in the many megaprojects with investments of more than R0,5 billion each, a phenomenal growth in fixed investments and improved capacity utilisation in enterprises. The physical volume of production is on a steep rise, and so are our manufactured exports. The potential of the tourism industry has started to manifest itself, and overall our balance of payments has started to improve.

We are heartened by the fact that small and medium enterprises can today boast not only of a Government that promotes their interests, but of one that has in place the structures, the procurement policies and the will to allocate resources to this sector. Be it in the housing programme, the building of roads, the school nutrition programme or public works projects, these entrepreneurs are gradually becoming a critical part of the economic mainstream.

We are confident that the new labour relations legislation, so painstakingly set in motion during the course of last year, will improve the management of this important area. Although no one piece of legislation can be a panacea for our deep social problems, this new regime should temper conflicts at the workplace and help strengthen the partnership between business and labour in national development.

Despite exchange rate pressures, our fiscal and monetary authorities have performed extremely well to ensure that we meet the targeted budget deficit and improve the management of Government finances.

In brief, great progress is being made to implement the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy – itself an achievement in integrated planning – introduced last year.

Another such achievement, which is starting to make a difference, is the National Crime

Prevention Strategy. Despite the difficulties, despite the fact that such achievements mean little to those who still experience crime, the fact of the matter is that the offensive is on, particularly with regard to most priority crimes. The Government is confident of making further progress in the fight for safety, security and stability.

In this regard, the role of the intelligence services deserves special mention. These brave policemen and policewomen and intelligence operatives have made a critical contribution, behind the scenes, to the success that we have started to register. We pay tribute to all these dedicated citizens who quite often put their own lives in danger so that we can all lead safe and secure lives.

Indeed, we have laid the foundation for a better life. This is what the Reconstruction and Development Programme is about. The RDP is alive and well. It is not merely a sum of projects, but an integrated national programme to improve the nation's quality of life. But we would be less than candid if we did not acknowledge our shortcomings.

Firstly, because of capacity constraints some projects could not be undertaken. For instance, a number of provinces have barely spent the funds allocated to them for housing and the building of classrooms. It therefore does not make much sense to our people for us to decry the debt burden and lack of resources while we are unable to utilise even what we have.

Secondly, ordinary citizens continue to complain about practices that have not changed in many Government offices. Corruption, including the endemic problem of so-called ghost workers inherited from the past, continues to bedevil the Public Service. [Applause.] [Interjections.] Please, no one should be frightened! Laughter.]

Thirdly, the growth achieved last year was not sufficient to absorb entrants into the labour market.

Lastly, there are increased reports of crimes such as child abuse, rape and domestic violence. In some instances, offenders easily elude our criminal justice system because of a fragmented and ridiculously backward data base.

We can list other examples, not to create despair, but because we are determined to address these shortcomings. This will be a major area of focus in our programme this year.

The primary consideration in this programme is the citizen. For we can peddle figures of billions allocated to any project, but the question is whether the funds have been spent, and how they have benefited the citizen! The people come first, and our models, strategies and plans should be measured by this yardstick.

In a nutshell, the weaknesses we have identified amount to three things: co-operative governance, management and capacity-building.

In so far as local government is concerned, there is nothing as urgent and as critical as the training of councillors. Their ability to raise funds and manage them, to play their role in the multibillion housing and infrastructure programmes, to attract investments, to deal with distortions of the apartheid era, and to work with communities in a partnership for development, are skills that should be built more intensively this year.

At the same time, amendments will be introduced to the Local Government Transition Act to help stabilise local government finances. While provincial and national government will step in to assist where practicable, progress in this regard will depend on the Masakhane effort to build co-operation between communities and their local representatives.

Closely related to the issue of local government is the matter of traditional leaders. In a number of areas the social fabric of communities has suffered because of conflict between elected structures and traditional authorities. We will, this year, intensify interaction with this institution, and we hope to launch the National Council of Traditional Leaders within three months.

This year, in keeping with the spirit of the new Constitution, some of the recommendations of the Financial and Fiscal Commission, and consultation between national and provincial structures, a large percentage of the national Budget will be

allocated globally to the provinces. This step implies greater responsibility and accountability on the part of the provinces.

Intense discussions are taking place between national and provincial executive structures. In these consultations the vexed questions of national minimum standards, national priorities, national norms in spending and a rigorous common system of finance management are being thrashed out, and we are confident that there will be no major hiccups.

In the final analysis, the question is not so much technically what powers and rights this or the other sphere of government has, but what service we can perform and how well we should co-operate in meeting the mandate of building a better life for all.

Closely tied to this is the question whether we are making any headway in transforming the Public Service into a public service in fact.

I wish to congratulate the staff at all levels for their efforts during the trying times of transition. We had to land running. And because significant achievements were made in social delivery, an impression was created that we had found in place a Public Service ready to implement the new policies.

From the experience of the Presidential Review Commission, it is quite clear to us that while work on long-term restructuring of the Public Service should continue, immediate practical actions are required to speed up the transformation.

From the investigations that the national Ministry is conducting in the provinces, task teams will be sent to deal with such weaknesses as those involving personnel records, management of finance, strategic planning and prioritisation, information technology and labour relations.

What may seem simple and straightforward are precisely the things that require thorough attention. Without this, the danger is as stark as it is real – that we shall not be able to meet the challenges of transforming society.

The Green Paper on Service Delivery has been drafted and the aim is to have legislation in place as soon as is practicable.

At the same time, it has become critical to examine the question of Government services which can easily, more cost-effectively and more efficiently be undertaken outside of Government. This has to be done with sensitivity, with the interests of the citizen at the centre of our considerations.

I wish to assure the Public Service that all these changes will take place on the basis of consultation. The historic agreement reached last year on a new salary and grading system is still in place. As with all agreements, there were conditions applying to both sides, and the Government will strive to honour both the spirit and the letter of the agreement. If and when a review is required, this will be pursued on the basis of negotiations.

Indeed, if we do not restructure the service, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to build on the foundation that has been laid. We shall have good plans, and even the resources to carry them out, but we shall, year in and year out, be saddled with unspent funds, terrible services and millions siphoned off in corrupt practices, in callous disregard of the most vulnerable sections of society.

The challenges in the areas of safety and security also derive from similar weaknesses. We need to ensure that when a crime has been prioritised, that emphasis is felt throughout the whole criminal justice system. We should, this year, establish a comprehensive data base, improve the witness protection programme, empower victims and introduce a new style of work, with clear delivery targets and deadlines which must be met. We are also putting in place proper mechanisms of co-ordination among the police, the intelligence community and the prosecutors, particularly in relation to crimes that are a national priority.

Further, within the framework of our commitment to the culture of human rights, the Government is grappling with the issue of bail and appropriate sentences for such serious offences as rape and murder associated with robbery. Legislation on these issues is being drafted. This is being done

along with practical measures to improve the investigative capacity of the police.

Let me warn the criminals, especially the car hijackers, the drug syndicates, those who smuggle weapons, corrupt personnel in the criminal justice system, the rapists and child abusers and those involved in taxi violence: We will continue to escalate the offensive against them; we will make their life really difficult this year. [Applause.]

Many of them have been identified, and we have examined the ways in which they have been evading the law. We are closing in on them, and we shall demonstrate convincingly that in our young democracy crime does not pay!

Our communication system is probably not as effective as it should be. There are many people, including members of this Parliament, who say that we are soft on crime. I do not know what their yardstick is, because in the two and a half years in which we have been in power, we have arrested more policemen than were arrested throughout the four decades of NP rule. [Applause.] [Interjections.]

In Gauteng alone, in the period from July 1994 to September last year, the attorney-general received 8 303 dockets on police corruption. We arrested more than 400 policemen in that province during that period. [Interjections.] In KwaZulu-Natal, we arrested close to 300 policemen during that period. The same applies throughout the nine provinces.

Whatever criticisms are made, they must be made honestly. Those who say that we are soft on crime must indicate the yardstick they are using in saying this. Is this mere politicking, or a statement from people who have nothing to say? We know that those who have no depth of vision can only specialise in criticising and destroying what others have built. But these are the figures. [Applause.]

In the near future, we shall complete the investigation and take steps to cut the number of commercial entry points into the country, including some odd so-called international airports. It is quite clear that the careless attitude of the days of Third Force destabilisation and sanctions-busting is not only providing a haven for criminals, some of

whom were part of these networks, but is also plainly and simply a threat to national security.

However, when all is said and done, success depends on our whole society adopting a new value system. For in many ways, by buying stolen goods, conniving with unscrupulous businesspersons to evade tax, allowing criminals to lord it over communities, we do become our own worst enemies.

We also become our own worst enemies by co-operating with forces which commit crimes such as murder and destruction of property in the name of campaigning against gangs and drugs. [Applause.] We must mobilise against crime, yes, but as partners in a law-governed society that respects our legitimate Government and other citizens, a law-governed society that does not tolerate illegal occupation of land and houses.

As a result of the tireless efforts of the police, the intelligence community, the National Defence Force, the affected communities and political, religious and business leaders, we have all but eliminated political violence. For this, all these sectors and others must be commended.

Yet with the kind of timing, selection of victims and political rationalisation that are bizarre in the strictest sense of the word, some individuals decided a few weeks ago to use bombs to challenge our democracy. We have examined these dark clouds and we are certain that the storm they threatened to bring has been averted.

Let me repeat that there is no reason at all for any of our citizens to seek redress through violence. The avenues are there in the Constitution and the structures it sets out for airing grievances. It will be the height of folly for anyone to seek to provoke the patience of a people who have elected, against their own deep emotions, to forgive and to reconcile. For their retribution will be decisive and telling. [Applause.]

Let me take this opportunity to commend the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for the magnificent work they are doing to realise their mandate. We did not expect their work to be easy,

and we are struck by the impact they are making on the national psyche, for theirs is a process that hurts as much as it cleanses.

We are confident that they will be able to meet their deadline, and we hope that the recent decision they and the Freedom Front persuaded us to take on the amnesty deadline will assist in their work. In this regard, and in the interests of an inclusive process, I take this opportunity to place before Parliament the recommendation that the cutoff date for amnesty be extended to 10 May 1994.

As it inches towards the truth, the TRC is helping to seal the coffin of a heinous system and to unearth what remnants of the old networks may still be burrowing in our midst. It is helping to consolidate our democracy, and thus to complement the magnificent work of the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission and other such institutions.

Another set of institutions critical for the advancement of our society are the Youth and Gender Commissions. We are confident that the Youth Commission will, this year, start to make its presence felt throughout society, promoting the interests of this precious asset to our nation.

After considering recommendations from Parliament, I have accepted the names put forward for the Gender Commission. I wish to congratulate the chairperson, Thenjiwe Mthintso, and the other commissioners-designate whose names will be made known in a media statement during the course of the day. [Applause.]

Let me also take this opportunity to welcome the new Chief Justice of the country, Ismail Mahomed, and to assure him and the judiciary that we shall promote their independence and do our bit to make their work easier. [Applause.]

We have earlier noted the progress in the implementation of our socioeconomic programmes. During the course of this year we shall further speed up the process of practical implementation. South Africa must become a beehive of communities acting to change their lives for the better.

The nutrition programmes we referred to earlier should reach one and a half million people and a further 2 million schoolchildren. Close on 200 000 housing units are in line for construction. Eighteen agricultural ventures should be completed this year to develop new farming entrepreneurs. A further 1,7 million people will benefit from the water and sanitation programme, and over 200 000 destitute people in rural areas should be allocated land on which they can live normal lives. More public works programmes will be undertaken, especially in the rural areas, and the Bill on secure tenure rights should be adopted this year.

I wish to reassure the commercial farming sector that these measures, as well as the proposals on water rights, will be pursued in a manner that does not undermine an industry which is so critical to the nation's food security and exports. I hope Dr Pieter Gous is listening! [Laughter.] At the same time, we all know too well that long-term security and productivity in the countryside depend primarily on the upliftment of poor rural communities.

This year more than 500 clinics will be built or upgraded, and the construction of at least 7 hospitals should commence. We aim, in this period, to decrease the national backlog in devices for the disabled by 60%; and we will strive to achieve an 80% cure rate for tuberculosis by 1998. [Applause.]

In line with the South African Schools Act, we will start implementing provisions relating to compulsory attendance, a code of conduct for teachers and students, and national norms for funding.

A White Paper on Higher Education should have been introduced by the end of the year; and we hope to reach the same number of students with the financial aid scheme as was done this past year. It should be emphasised that the basic criterion to determine continued assistance will be academic performance.

The restructuring of the welfare system has begun. We will ensure speedy implementation of the decision to attain efficiency, resolve the problem of corruption, and bring more of a focus to those in

acute need, especially unemployed mothers with children under five.

These are just examples of some of the programmes we are committing ourselves to. Within the departments responsible for these programmes, the process of reorienting spending and costing plans on a medium-term basis will continue.

Related to this is a delicate balance that needs to be struck between two extremes. On the one hand, our tender procedures are either not suitable to current needs or are, at times, so rigidly applied as to become a break on implementation. On the other hand, there are instances in which individuals in authority have ridden roughshod over these procedures, leading to unauthorised expenditure. These procedures need to be reviewed, in line with the demands of transformation.

The confidence we have regarding these socioeconomic commitments derives from the fact that our economic fundamentals are sound. This has given us a firm base from which to achieve higher and sustainable rates of growth and development.

The Government's programme to facilitate this positive trend is guided by the critical signposts identified in our macroeconomic strategy, namely growth in production for export, infrastructural development, restructuring of State assets, reduction of the Budget deficit, human resource development and a comprehensive labour relations dispensation. Critical in all this is the need to create jobs and ensure equitable redistribution of wealth.

Our programme this year includes the implementation of the Maputo Development Corridor Initiative in terms of road construction and the other industries, big and small. Similar initiatives will be launched in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. Investigations are being conducted in the Northern and North West provinces. And in all these projects, great care will be exercised to allocate a given percentage to small contractors.

In Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria, metropolitan development initiatives will be launched

combining industrial hubs, housing and community centres, roads and other infrastructure. Through these initiatives we shall start fundamentally to reverse apartheid planning and ensure that workers stay close to their workplaces and that the racial divide in residential areas is done away with. [Applause.]

The municipal infrastructure programme will see to the implementation of over a thousand projects costing more than R1 billion, and the gigantic programmes in the telecommunications industry will start to change the lives of millions.

In order to encourage changes in production methods and improve skills training and technology usage, a number of incentives will be put in place during the course of the year. And the tax holiday initiative has become fully operational.

A range of promotional measures and diplomatic initiatives will be undertaken to facilitate exports. At the same time, significant progress is being made to tap foreign capital, as the true potential of the country becomes more and more apparent abroad.

All these elements of our industrial revolution will go a long way towards creating jobs, and we should, slowly but surely, start to reduce the army of the unemployed.

The macroeconomic strategy identifies the restructuring of State assets as a critical part of our programme to attract investments and technology, ensure efficiency, guarantee affordable prices and reorient State assets towards the goals of reconstruction and development.

In a matter of months, besides the mammoth task of general restructuring, Telkom will acquire a strategic equity partner, and Sun Air and Aventura will be wholly privatised. The Airports Company and Safcol - in forestry - should complete their bidding processes this year. Alexkor - in diamond mining - is also being attended to. South African Airways and Autonet should have completed their restructuring processes by the first half of 1998, and intense discussions are under way in Transnet to address these and other subsidiaries.

All these steps will be taken in full consultation with all role-players, and I wish to urge both management and workers to respect this principle.

Our nation should be proud of a trade union movement that has taken an active part in the major national debates and, along with business, has started to realise co-operative relations in the workplace and in Nedlac.

Yet on both counts the trade union movement faces the challenge of unity across racial lines, taking advantage of the opportunities that have opened up and adapting fully to the challenges of the current phase. On the other hand, business has a long way to go with regard to such issues as equity in the workplace and reorienting companies to the developmental needs of the moment.

We hope that this year negotiations on issues of basic conditions of employment, employment equity and the vexed question of a national social agreement will reach some resolution.

As indicated earlier, we are equally optimistic with regard to the issue of Government expenditure. During the course of this year we shall complete the plans towards medium-term budgeting in order to bring budget allocations closer to our strategic objectives and to speed up reprioritisation within departments. We shall also intensify efforts to improve the Government's management of cash flows and eliminate unnecessary burdens on the fiscus.

I also wish to emphasise that in our efforts, as Government, to ensure that the nation lives within its means, we will take into account our mandate to the electorate, particularly the social requirements of the present and the future, and the benefits that will accrue from bold decisions.

The South African Revenue Service should be commended for the improvements in the tax collection system. We are, however, concerned that many people are not meeting their tax obligations, and as such the tax burden is borne by too few honest citizens.

It is fair to assume that we all want the programmes outlined above to materialise, that we all

want South Africa to succeed. But we must be prepared to foot the bill for success.

To broaden the tax base and break the culture of nonpayment, we have offered certain relief measures which expire on 28 February this year. All persons who qualify are again urged to make use of this opportunity. Those who have not responded should be assured that after this will come the knock of the taxman and taxwoman, backed by the full force of the law.

Overall, we are confident that we have moved into high gear in the implementation of the macroeconomic strategy. I would also like to reaffirm our commitment to the phased removal of remaining exchange controls.

We appreciate the new surge among all sectors to promote South Africa's true qualities abroad. This has already helped improve the economic environment, and, with the co-operation of all, it can only get better.

I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the South African National Defence Force on its continuing contribution to the maintenance of our country's integrity, on the assistance it has rendered to the police in combating crime and dealing with natural disasters, and on the speed with which it has taken up the challenge to prepare for active peacekeeping tasks that we may be called upon to undertake.

The integration process and development of new doctrines have proceeded fairly well. But we cannot claim that the process has been flawless. The challenge is for the former statutory forces to embrace change and to eschew the temptation to maintain the status quo. It is for the former nonstatutory forces to utilise the positions they hold to help speed up transformation and not shy away from responsibilities at the slightest hint of difficulties.

Debate will continue this year on the White Paper and the Defence Review, but what is critical is to move towards practical implementation. One of the issues in this regard is the Defence Force's equipment requirements. The question here is not whether, but how, to meet these requirements and



how much the country can afford. As Commander in Chief, I wish to emphasise that we shall not shirk our responsibility to the Defence Force.

We are confident that out of all these efforts we shall strengthen our unity as a nation. [Interjections.] But this will also depend on the ability of the Government to communicate clearly, coherently and professionally, and on the preparedness of the media to transmit and interpret our actions and omissions in a professional, objective and fair manner. The Government welcomes the report of the Communications Task Group, and its recommendations are being processed for implementation.

As we improve South Africa's communications, also in the areas of culture, film, monuments and other media, as we mature towards understanding one another better, and as we join hands to improve our quality of life, we shall at the same time be building a nation ready for the challenges of the next millennium.

Our young democracy is still grappling with the challenge of its positioning in the international milieu. It is understandable that at times this debate will be heated and acrimonious, because it is more than just a debate about how we relate to the world. It is part of the process of defining who we are. It is part of the resolution of past divisions within South African society, divisions which informed our divergent views of the world.

Within the Southern African Development Community, the first steps have been taken towards a free trade area within 8 years. Historic initiatives exemplified by the Maputo Development Corridor are gradually going to become the norm as we bring our collective strength to bear in meeting common challenges. It is a measure of our collective destiny that even bilateral negotiations between ourselves and the European Community had to be underpinned by regional realities.

Welcome progress was made in bilateral trade arrangements with Zimbabwe, and we aim to move faster this year to complete negotiations on the Customs Union.

We were honoured last year to be elected as chairperson of the SADC for three years, and we will continue to work to strengthen the Community and enhance its standing in Africa and abroad. In this context, we shall continue to make our humble contribution to the resolution of the crisis in the Great Lakes region and to assist in facilitating the peace process in Angola.

Over the past year we strengthened our relations with countries such as India and others in Asia, Brazil and others in Latin America, Saudi Arabia and others in the Middle East. We are all only starting to appreciate the full meaning of these relations in terms of exports, opportunities for investments and sources of capital. And evolving quietly from this there is a special relationship that is more or less natural among countries with broadly the same level of development, socioeconomic challenges and interests.

How this will impact on South-South co-operation, assist in redefining the world balance of forces and enhance the unique potential of each of the countries, are matters that still require further examination.

Our commitment to the strengthening of the Organisation of African Unity is a matter of course. We also wish to congratulate UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, and offer our co-operation as this august body restructures itself. As President of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, we will continue to contribute to building bridges of co-operation between North and South. We shall also start in earnest this year to prepare for the next Summit of the Nonaligned Movement which we shall be honoured to host in 1998.

In the next few days we shall play host to the King of Sweden and the Vice President of the United States of America. These visits epitomise the intimate relations we have forged across the spectrum before and since our democratic elections. Binational commissions with the US, Russia and the Federal Republic of Germany, and our special relations with countries of Northern and Western Europe, Japan and others speak of the positive climate that we have, in pursuit of South Africa's interests, which are in many

respects the interests of the majority of the world's peoples.

We shall not falter in our contribution to the resolution of conflict and promotion of peace throughout the world. In this context, and in the context of our own principles, we shall continue to approach the issue of the manufacture and sale of weapons with circumspection. And as in everything else we do, we shall always defend our right as a nation to take decisions independently. [Applause.]

In all areas of endeavour we have laid the foundation for success. At work, in sport and leisure, in business and the professions, in the schools and places of worship, we are forging a resilient nation, a nation conscious of its responsibilities to itself, to future generations and to the world in which we live.

The Government has put the practical programmes in place to contribute decisively to the attainment of the nation's objectives. At the same time as we intensify the implementation of reconstruction and development, we shall improve co-operative governance and capacity and management at all levels. The foundation for a better life has been laid. In the spirit of the New Patriotism, we can only rise to new heights.

Hon members are aware that there has been a lot of pressure on me to reshuffle the Cabinet. I have rejected all the reasons that have been given. But as I was addressing hon members, I thought I had found a reason to reshuffle my Cabinet. [Laughter.] As I looked around, I came across serious difficulties. I saw some members of the Cabinet dozing off as I was speaking. [Laughter.] I concluded that this would be a good reason for dropping them from the Cabinet.

But then I looked at the Premiers right in front of me here, as well as at members of the opposition, and I saw that the same thing was happening there! [Laughter.] I thought I should be fair and not discriminatory, so there will be no reshuffling. [Applause.] [Laughter.]

However, on a more serious note, I want to conclude with something that I have repeatedly said

on countless occasions. Even though some hon members may have heard these remarks before, they are still very important, especially at this critical phase in our task of building national unity and promoting reconciliation. I have said that there are good men and women in all communities in this country, without exception – amongst Africans, coloureds, Indians and whites. They have made a lasting contribution towards this peaceful transformation, and we have to appreciate that.

I have gone further and said that they can be found in all political parties in this country, without exception. They are to be found in the ACDP, the PAC, the DP, the FF, the IFP, the NP and the ANC. [Interjections.] No, let us not scream.

Two of the most important people inside and outside South Africa are a member of the ANC and a member of the NP, because of the contribution they have made in the drafting of our Constitution. They are Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer. [Applause.]

I want to repeat that in all political parties there are good men and women, and that it is our task, as people with depth in thinking and foresight, who want to unite this country and promote the spirit of reconciliation, to be able to identify these good men and women. We do not want them to leave their political parties, because then they would be useless. [Laughter.] We want them to continue to put forward ideas that are going to contribute to this new environment of giving opportunities to talented men and women to make their contribution for the good of South Africa.

I have given an illustration in order to underscore the point that if we do not contribute towards the creation of this atmosphere, extremists who have no depth of thinking, who have no vision, can destroy what others have spent years building. I am thinking of the illustration of a meeting which was held by J B Marks, who was a prominent leader in the trade union movement, the Communist Party and the ANC.

I was asked by some men, whom I will not identify ... [Laughter] ... who are here, to go and break up that meeting of the Communist Party. At



the meeting, J B Marks was in his element, and there were prolonged ovations as he was speaking. He was outlining the strategies which we should use in order to mobilise our people to overthrow white supremacy in this country. It was a perfect speech.

I did not know what to say. I had no answer, because he was logical, clear and convincing. But I was not concerned with that. I had to carry out the instructions of my bosses. [Laughter.] One of them is a Cabinet Minister who is here now - I will not point him out - who was very young at that time.

I arrogantly went up to J B Marks and said: "I am going to speak." I then addressed the crowd. I had not organised the meeting; I had just gone there to break it up. I said to the crowd: "There are two bulls in this kraal. There is a black bull and a white bull. J B Marks says that the white bull must rule in this kraal. I say that the black bull must rule. What do you say?"

The same people who had been screaming for J B Marks a moment earlier now turned round and said: "The black bull, the black bull!" [Laughter.] I had actually said absolutely nothing! Unfortunately, there are many people like that who are to be found inside and outside this House.

I would like to make an appeal. We profit from criticism and the existence of a powerful, vigorous and articulate opposition. We have used that within our own structures in the ANC. We tear ourselves into pieces when we discuss issues. Not even the President can escape that sharp criticism when he brings to the organisation views that are not properly cooked. Hon members know very well how I proposed that young people above the age of 16 should be given the vote.

HON MEMBERS: Fourteen! [Laughter.]

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: I thought I had prepared myself well, and I quoted

seven countries throughout the world where young people of 16 had been given the vote. I did not know that my organisation was not so very democratic, because when I mentioned this, every member of the national executive developed gooseflesh, and some of them even wanted to choke me to death. They kicked that suggestion out, and I had to retreat because I had not made proper preparations. I had not done the necessary spadework.

But the point I want to make is that internally in the structures of the ANC there is vigorous debate, and we profit from that. Of course, the *Sowetan* depicted this very painfully in a cartoon: They showed a baby in a nappy putting a voting paper in a ballot box! [Laughter.] I then realised that I could not win.

I want to say that we welcome vigorous opposition, but we want an opposition that will help us see ourselves, one which we can use as a mirror to see whether we are performing correctly or not. That is what we expect from an opposition.

I have no doubt that every day there are more good men and women emerging in all these political organisations. Every issue that we discuss here identifies the real leaders of our country, and I am confident that this united nation that we are building is already emerging. It is a hope that we all have that in due course we will be able to identify the issues on which we should speak with one voice.

I must stop here, because I want hon members to reserve a few hours of sleep for tonight, even though some hon members have slept throughout this address. [Laughter.] [Applause.]

The Joint Sitting rose at 12:28.

## PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 14:17.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### WELCOMING ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT AHTISAARI OF FINLAND

The SPEAKER: Order! It is a privilege to welcome to this Joint Sitting of the South African Parliament the President of Finland, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, an international statesman and consummate diplomat, with his delegation from Finland.

President Ahtisaari is known as a person who has made a significant contribution to world peace. In our region, of course, we know him for his involvement in the decolonisation of Namibia. Today, after that decolonisation process, he has continued to be involved in international peace-making, including in Yugoslavia, and in various capacities on behalf of the United Nations.

We welcome him here today as the Head of State of a friend of South Africa. [Applause.]

I now call upon Mr Ngcuka to introduce President Ahtisaari.

The DEPUTY CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP (Mr B T Ngcuka): Madam Speaker, Chairperson of the NCOP, President Mandela, ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a privilege for me to be asked to introduce His Excellency Mr Martti Ahtisaari, President of the Republic of Finland.

Mr Ahtisaari is no stranger to this part of the world. He is best remembered for the role he played in bringing about Namibia's independence from South Africa; although his links with the African continent go back to the early 1970s, with his appointment as ambassador to Tanzania, when he was also accredited to Somalia, Zambia and

Mozambique. In fact, it is as a result of the role he played in that region that President Julius Nyerere recommended him as the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia in 1977.

His role in the Namibian peace process, as head of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group, Untag, earned him the respect of the international community. This period was arguably the most trying, although probably also the most rewarding, period in his life. One journalist had this to say about him:

Ahtisaari has shown that his political instincts are finely honed, that he is an operational master, that he can administrate efficiently and effectively at the highest level, that he is cool under pressure and that, having made disagreeable decisions, attacks roll off his ego like grease.

[Applause.] Resolution 435 will probably go down in history as one of the most creative and successful operations ever undertaken by the UN, and its success did much to improve the embattled organisation's credibility in the international arena.

But Mr Ahtisaari's contribution to the UN goes beyond his role in Namibia. When he was appointed Undersecretary-General for Administration and Management of the organisation, his brief was to reform and restructure the UN at a time when the organisation was facing serious financial difficulty. He managed to stem the tide of anti-UN sentiment, particularly on the part of the US. He also earned the respect of his co-workers in the UN, and was at one stage mooted as a possible contender for the post of Secretary-General. But ultimately the yearning to return to his home country won out.

For the next three years he served as Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Finland. This move by no means meant that he would turn his back on the international community. During that period, he acted as a special adviser to the international peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, and continued to make available his expertise to assist in solving international conflicts. No stranger to the world's trouble spots, Mr

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

APPENDIX M.

MANDELA, NELSON. "PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS, 12 FEBRUARY" DEBATES OF  
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. CAPE TOWN: OF THE  
HANSARD, 1997: 141-149.

## DEBATES

# NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

(HANSARD)

FIRST SESSION – SECOND PARLIAMENT

6 February to 25 November 1997

(VOLS 13, 14 AND 15 – DEBATES;  
VOL 16 – INTERPELLATIONS,  
QUESTIONS AND REPLIES; and  
VOL 17 – INDEXES)

ISBN 0 621 27549 2 (Vol 13)  
ISBN 0 621 27556 5 (Set)

# ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

## TABLINGS:

### *National Assembly and National Council of Provinces:*

#### *Papers:*

1. The Speaker and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces: Report of the Human Rights Commission for the period 2 October 1995 to 31 November 1996.
2. The Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry: List relating to Government Notice and General Notices – 18 October 1996 to 10 January 1997.
3. The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism:  
  
List relating to Proclamations, Government Notices and General Notices – 3 January to 1 February 1997.

4. The Minister of Correctional Services:  
  
List relating to Government Notice – 8 November 1996.
5. The Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology:  
  
(1) Report of the –  
  
(a) South African Council for Natural Scientific Professions for 1995–96.  
  
(b) Human Sciences Research Council for 1995–96.
- (2) List relating to Government Notices – 10 to 24 May 1996.

#### *National Assembly:*

#### *Bills:*

1. The Speaker:  
  
(1) *Exchequer Amendment Bill* [B 7–97] (National Assembly) – (Portfolio Committee on Finance – National Assembly).

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The House met at 15:00.

The Deputy Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS – see col 150.

## INTERPELLATIONS, QUESTIONS AND REPLIES – see that book.

### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

(Resumption of debate on Subject for Discussion)

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker, hon members, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, we have come to the close of the debate on the state of the nation. I think it is appropriate to thank all the participants individually, and all the parties collectively, for a lively exchange of views on matters pertinent to the lives of our citizens. With each such debate the consensus we share, as custodians of our young democracy, becomes clear; and so do our divergencies. This is as it should be in a democracy.

As the debate once more underlined, the divergence of views on many issues is essentially about matters of detail and the process of implementation. So obvious are the advances that we are making as a nation, and so clear the challenges which we are facing, that even if we hail from diverse backgrounds, even if we have disparate constituencies, even if our interpretation of the interests of these constituencies might differ, we all cannot but acknowledge that for each to succeed, all must succeed. We are one people with one destiny.

Though not strictly within the purview of the debate, we were extremely heartened by the

response of all sectors of society, particularly business and the working people, to the programme of action that we set out when we opened this session of Parliament.

This morning I had the opportunity to exchange ideas for a couple of hours with the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. More intensely than before, the message that we are getting is that the country is on the right track. There is cause to be optimistic about the future. There are a great many opportunities that beckon, opportunities that we need to seize firmly with both hands. This is not because the Government seeks to be all things to all people, nor is it because we are loath to take sides among the conflicting interests. It is because even in the context of these conflicting interests, there are certain basic issues that are a matter of course in the current era.

The protection of fundamental human rights, economic growth and job creation, the speedy implementation of socioeconomic programmes and decisive action against crime – this is the foundation of our national consensus, our nation's tryst with destiny, which we should redeem together in action. That is the mood out there; this desire to get down to work for the benefit of each of us individually, for the benefit of our families and for the benefit of society as a whole.

It is particularly noteworthy that most, if not all, of the speakers restated their concern about the conditions of the poor, the millions of South Africans unable to make ends meet. Whatever the reasons behind these pronouncements, the fact of the matter is that they enhanced the quality of discourse in these Chambers. Indeed, this august body would not be worth its salt if it were impervious to those in our society who are in dire need, not of their own choosing, but because the *raison d'être* of the previous system was their subjugation, their humiliation, their ignorance and their decrepitude. The task of rectifying this historical injustice is not that of the ANC alone. It behoves all of us to join hands to build a just and prosperous nation.

Hon members posed many searching questions about the capacity of Government to lead the nation towards this objective and few questioned

whether we have the policy and programmes to do so. What then is the essence of the Government's message for this year? As most of the speakers acknowledged, South Africa has laid the foundation for speedier movement to a better life. By means of the Constitution and other legislation, through the beginnings of socio-economic delivery, by means of prudent and appropriate economic policies and through the strategies and firm action against crime, we have begun to change the lives of our people for the better.

Proceeding from this foundation, we have outlined the concrete targets for this year in all these areas - targets to which we are committed and on the basis of which we should be judged.

We have also outlined the many weaknesses that exist in the Government machinery, and we emphasise issues of co-operative governance, the restructuring of the Public Service and the improvement of the criminal justice system as critical to improving our capacity to transform society.

Of course, there are limits to the kind of detail that can be contained in a state-of-the-nation address. During the early part of this session, Ministers will elaborate on the issues that have been identified and also many others. They will give more detail and, where applicable, a blow-by-blow account of steps that can be taken to meet these targets.

However, what should be appreciated is that for the first time the executive has identified and committed itself to a whole gamut of concrete things that we seek to do this year. We have set targets for delivery in line with the Reconstruction and Development Programme. I suppose it is safe to assume that because none of the parties questioned these concrete targets, we all agree that they are realistic goals for the year. We therefore call on society, on members of the opposition and on members in the ruling party to monitor the implementation of this programme, to identify weaknesses in its implementation, and to make proposals on how the weaknesses can be corrected and how, where possible, the process can be speeded up.

Hold the President to account. Hold the Deputy President to account. Hold the Ministers, the

provincial executives and the local executives to account. Judge this Government on its ability to meet the objectives it has set itself. If it is not building on the foundation that has been laid, then one can challenge its right to govern. However, if it is building on that foundation, then the successes should be acknowledged.

Many concrete comments were made on a variety of issues. These have been noted, and they are an invaluable contribution to the pool of ideas from which the executive will draw. I wish to select only a few for special comment.

None of us will have failed to be moved by the assessment of the Government's programme to assist the disabled. Many shortcomings and corrective measures were identified. At times it escapes us that we are talking about millions of citizens and that what they desire and deserve are the simple things that we tend to take for granted. I wish to reiterate the commitment of the Government to continuing to address these issues and to correcting any shortcomings that may exist in our programme.

Because of an approach that seeks to identify the negative, we tend to pay more attention to the problem of scientists and other professionals leaving the country than to the great contribution that South African scientists are making in all areas of endeavour. We pay tribute to them, and we once again commit our Government to a science and technology policy that promotes the best in South Africa's brains, a policy that seeks to apply our scientific and technological research to the requirements of the country, a policy that creates opportunities in the schools and universities so that all children with talent will flourish.

Questions were also raised about the availability of Ministers to deal with concerns pertaining to language and culture. We have always stated, collectively and as individuals in the executive, that our doors are always open. Where programmes may not allow for matters to be dealt with speedily, we would urge that this is brought to our attention so that we can assist in clearing the blockages. What we do know, though, is that there is no other sensible alternative to dialogue.

In its comments on the issue of restructuring of State assets, the trade union movement particularly welcomed the Government's commitment to consultation among all stakeholders, including management. There is broad consensus on these issues, because the programme of Government derives, in part, from discussions with trade unions, resulting in the National Framework Agreement with which all of us should be familiar. The disparaging comments made about the role of this movement in regard to this and other issues were therefore misplaced. It might ring familiar and reassuring to those who despise the workers to paint the trade union movement as an ogre to be feared and to be felled at the first opportunity, but it does not help to clarify the question of the real forces involved in transformation, the array of partners, including the Government and business, who are working together to build our economy.

In this regard, I wish to pose a few questions on the style of our discourse within the context of our responsibility as leaders. Firstly, on the issue of affirmative action, the Government has stated its position over and over again, ie that what we strive to do is to ensure training, promotion and fair opportunities for a section of our society which was, by law, denied these rights.

After years of deliberate neglect and exclusion, any other course of action would be disastrous. In any case, the Constitution enjoins us to undertake this programme.

What message, therefore, do we as leaders send out, particularly in the name of constituencies that were privileged all along, when we characterise these efforts as racism?

May I challenge each and every one of those hon members to come out with me now, not to fight ... [Laughter] ...but to show them evidence which will disprove all their propaganda. However, before I refer to that, I was asked the same question that has been raised by my friend here, F W de Klerk: "Why are you applying racism in reverse and letting our people down, punishing the Afrikaners?" I said: "Very well. Can you give me some statistics? How many Afrikaners have been dismissed? When? Who replaced them?" He said:

"I do not have the facts with me." I said: "I am very surprised that a professor should put a question like that to the President of the country without facts." I said I would give him time and asked how long he needed before he could supply me with that evidence. That was the last time I saw him. [Laughter.]

I want to say that whilst we are empowering those who have been discriminated against, we are acting sensitively to the people who were there before we took over.

Just outside this Chamber is Supt Riaan Smuts, who comes from the apartheid regime. I have retained him. I have two white secretaries from the old regime, typical boeremeisies. [Laughter.] They are Elize Wessels from Kakamas and Zelda le Grange from George. Those hon members can go through my staff. I challenge any one of them - those who were in Government and pulled out. They do not have the record that we in the ANC, and I believe in the IFP as well, have established - a record of accommodating all population groups in this country. [Applause.]

May I tell an interesting story. I have a major who is an Afrikaner. Security came to me and said that that fellow was one of those who had bombed Khotso House and that they would like to take him away from my security unit. I asked: "What for?" They said: "But he bombed Khotso House!" I said: "So what? I work in Government with people who have done worse things than that. I am not going to punish youngsters because of the crimes they were asked to commit by their superiors."

Mr S J SCHOEMAN: [Inaudible.]

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: I would like to point out to Mr Schoeman that he can come up with me tonight when I go back to Johannesburg. I will call that major and he will tell him the story. I will not move him, because I am not concerned with what people did in the past, but with what they do now. [Applause.]

So the whole hue and cry about affirmative action being a reverse form of racism is a misplaced perception.

Secondly, on the issue of crime, we outlined the progress that has been made on most priority crimes, the real weaknesses that are there for all to see, and the concrete steps we will be taking this year to address these issues.

We cannot claim to have realised everything we wish to achieve. But no one can question the commitment of this Government to dealing with the root causes of the problem, including firm action against corrupt officials in the criminal justice system, the setting of clear delivery targets and deadlines, legislation on bail conditions and minimum sentences, and steps towards a radical reduction in the number of commercial entry points such as the 36 so-called international airports, all of them issues I referred to in my opening address.

What message are we then sending out to society and the outside world when we assert that since 1994 South Africa has become the most murderous country? Is this callous insensitivity to the fact that this Government has eradicated the scourge of political violence and repression which left hundreds of thousands dead, murders whose gruesome nature is only starting to come out in the hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission?

Thirdly, on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission itself, both in the negotiations on the Constitution and in the drafting of relevant legislation, we all took great care to ensure that proper guidelines were set out about this process so as to attain the two objectives of truth and reconciliation.

As it was mandated by us, the TRC is striving to establish the truth. It has approached its work fearlessly and in as impartial a manner as is possible. [Interjections.] Many parties here have fallen foul of its rebuke, justified or otherwise, as the TRC leadership seeks to proceed with an impartial, honest and transparent process.

As leaders, what message are we sending out to our constituencies by questioning the body's integrity? Many of the leaders outside the ANC who are here are failing to follow the lead of those South Africans who are not members of the ANC,

but whose patriotism compels them to speak the truth and to serve their country.

An important appeal has been made by Anglo American and Sanlam that South Africans must stop bad-mouthing their country abroad. [Interjections.] [Applause.] Nobody can accuse Sanlam and Anglo American of being members of the ANC. [Laughter.] However, these are institutions which are led by men and women of vision who want stability in their country. Some of the remarks that have been made here fall far short of the views of South Africans with real depth of thinking and vision.

I have selected these particular issues because they illustrate one critical lesson about our responsibility – all of us, without exception. The lesson is that leadership means more than the articulation of the perceived self-interest of a constituency. It means avoiding, as much as possible, the temptation to arouse the base feelings of sections of a society that was, for so long, rent apart.

Leadership means leadership. It implies sometimes moving ahead of one's constituency and – not seldom – taking unpopular decisions in the interests of the country and all its people. In the end, our narrow constituencies and the nation as a whole will respect our integrity if we act honestly and with vision.

I am confident that we have, in all parties, leaders who are able to rise above the narrow mind-set of one section of society. This came through during the course of this debate. Indeed, I feel strengthened in my conviction that there are good men and women amongst all parties and sections of our society, men and women who can identify weaknesses and dangers and who are able to see the low road towards the precipice, but who do not lose sight of the opportunities that beckon, men and women who are able to concentrate their minds on the high road towards justice, prosperity, peace and a better life for all.

It is in this spirit that I have made my remarks, and I am confident that we shall all pull together to build on the firm foundation that has been laid.

People in the ANC have been in the vanguard of the struggle since 1912. Ours has been a proud liberation movement of the 20th century. None here or outside can deny that we have made the greatest sacrifices. Many have lost their lives. Many have been in prison and many have been banned. Many have lost their loved ones, their land and their dignity. Without the ANC, its members and its supporters inside and outside the country, we would not have gained freedom in our lifetime. [Applause.]

However, we must confess that we were not alone in this struggle. We were helped by many people and many organisations, both black and white; by workers and their trade unions; by the churches and other religious bodies – by the Muslims, Hindus, members of the Jewish faith and Christians; by youth and student organisations; by women's organisations; by the community and by professional organisations.

We have acknowledged that we have no monopoly of wisdom. We have no monopoly of patriotism. Men and women in all sections of the population – as I have said before – and in all political parties, without exception, also possess wisdom and the spirit of patriotism and are ready to serve their country. Our appeal, which we have made several times in the past, is that those good men and women in all sections of our population and in all political organisations will be identified. It is our task, and I am encouraged by the fact that, as I move around the country, I can see that the numbers of those men and women who are ready to serve their country are growing.

It is happening every day in various parts of the country, in various organisations, and it is happening in this Chamber. It happened on Friday, and it has happened today during the interpellations. Those probing questions are necessary for the Government and for the majority party to use as mirrors in which we can see what people think about our performance. Every time that happens, our capacity to deliver services to our people is sharply enhanced. It is in that spirit that I am closing this debate. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

The House adjourned at 17:12.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

### ANNOUNCEMENTS:

#### National Assembly:

##### 1. The Speaker:

- (1) Ms D P Jana has been elected chairperson of the *Ad hoc* Committee on Allegations by Dr W A Odendaal and Deputy Minister E G Pahad with effect from 10 February 1997.

### TABLINGS:

#### National Assembly and National Council of Provinces:

##### Papers:

1. The Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces:

Reports of the Auditor-General on the –

- (a) Council for Scientific and Industrial Research for 1995-96 [RP 111 – 96];
- (b) Financial Services Board for 1995-96 [RP 116 – 96];
- (c) Forestry Industry Fund for 1994-95 [RP 126 – 96];
- (d) Sea Fishery Fund for 1994-95 [RP 127 – 96];
- (e) Local Authorities Loans Fund for 1995-96 [RP 128 – 96];
- (f) Reconstruction and Development Programme Fund for 1994-95 [RP 129 – 96];
- (g) National Road Fund and Toll Roads for 1994-95 [RP 131 – 96].

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**JOINT SITTINGS OF BOTH  
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT**

(HANSARD)

APPENDIX N.  
MANDELA, NELSON. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC,  
6 FEBRUARY", JOINT SITTINGS OF SECOND SESSION — SECOND PARLIAMENT  
BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, CAPE TOWN.  
HANSARD, 1998: 1-24.

6 FEBRUARY TO 26 MARCH 1998



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# DEBATES

OF THE

## JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

SECOND SESSION — SECOND PARLIAMENT

1

FRIDAY, 6 FEBRUARY 1998

2

### PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

The Speaker announced that the Presiding Officers had received a message from the President requesting that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened, in terms of Joint Rule 2(1)(a), on Friday, 6 February 1998, at 11:00 to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

### ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, hon Chairperson and Deputy Chairpersons of the National Council of Provinces, hon members of Parliament, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, let me at the outset put your minds at rest and assure you that these remarks will not last more than five hours. [Laughter.] I should start by expressing my appreciation for the opportunity to exchange views with you at the beginning of this penultimate sitting of our first democratic Parliament. I wish all of you a productive new year in the service of our people.

As Government, we are confident of the progress being made to meet our mandate. We are resolved to build on the solid foundation that has been laid

over the past three-and-a-half years. As always, the most critical challenge is whether we are succeeding, as leaders, in mobilising the people in actual practice to be their own liberators.

We know too well that on our own we cannot succeed. We know that the programmes of Government are not the panacea for all the ills of our terrible past. They are but a platform for South Africans to let their strength shine through. By our own pronouncements and actions, we could relate to these citizens as passive recipients of "Government delivery", as if Government were a force on high. Worse still, we could turn some constituents into passive critics, their own rationality drowned in the chorus of regret that the past has passed. On both counts, this would be a recipe for sure failure.

That is why, during the course of last year, we once again put the Masakhane campaign at the centre of our activities. And our performance should be judged, above all, on the basis of whether our programmes are positively affecting the lives of especially the most vulnerable sections of society: the poor, women, the disabled, children and the rural masses – the primary victims of the iniquitous system from which we have just emerged. We are proud to answer the question in the affirmative.

Last year we increased the supply of clean and accessible water from 700 000 to 1,3 million South Africans. [Applause.] We have surpassed our plans to build or upgrade 500 clinics last year, and the primary school feeding scheme reaches 4,9 million children. [Applause.] From 250 000 in 1996, we are in line to make 421 000 telephone connections this financial year, making life that much easier for millions of South Africans. [Applause.] With more than 400 000 electricity connections in 1997 alone, today South Africa has reached a 58% electrification level, so millions can have light. [Applause.] Besides the impressive land redistribution programmes, the law on secure tenure will bring more certainty in the lives of over 6 million citizens.

There is no magic in numbers as such. But we are proud that through these and many other projects, our programmes are impacting on the lives of particularly the poor. This applies, to varying degrees, with regard to other challenges to which we shall later return.

And it is all a result of a clear strategy, properly managed plans, good governance and, more than anything else, the determination of the overwhelming majority of our countrymen and countrywomen to change their lives for the better. It is therefore understandable that unlike some of us, those who bore the brunt of apartheid oppression say that things are a lot better. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

But they also say, and are justified in saying so, that what has been done is not enough, not because they expect the legacy of centuries of colonialism to be eradicated in a few years, as we ourselves have said on countless occasions before, not because they are frustrated with Government, but because they appreciate that together we need to do much more, over many years, to realise a truly just and prosperous society. [Interjections.] [Applause.] They do recognise that in this Government they have a serious, committed and caring institution – a Government that they can call their own.

We are at the beginning of an arduous and protracted struggle for a better quality of life. In the course of this struggle we shall have immediate successes, we shall have setbacks, but we shall certainly progress, inch by inch, towards our goal. [Applause.]

From time to time incidents do happen which bring out, in bold relief, the enormity of the challenges we face. As the saying goes, one falling tree makes more noise than millions that are growing. [Applause.] As such, for both good reasons and bad, occasional problems are seized upon by our detractors as the stock-in-trade of this Government, indeed, as the essence of democracy.

I will raise a few of them, particularly difficulties with regard to old age pensions, education, crime and corruption, housing and job creation, because they touch on the very essence of issues of resources to meet our obligations, the size of the Public Service and its management, civic duty and a new morality.

A few weeks ago the problem of disbursement of old age pensions and other social grants came to the fore. Let me start off by saying that in the way that



we increased old age pensions last year, and as we eliminate fraud, we shall seek to find resources this year for a further increase, modest as it may be, working towards a life of dignity for our senior citizens. [Applause.] Let me further emphasise that we are committed – not merely because of statutory obligations, but because we care – to ensuring that whatever the occasional administrative hiccups, the right to a pension will always be met. [Applause.]

What has not received much public coverage is the fact that the problems we experienced recently derived from the fact that, firstly, the audit of our newly integrated system is not only eliminating “ghosts” but has also identified people who were callously refused these pensions under the apartheid system and its bantustan offshoots. [Interjections.] They are today on the roll, and it was decided that their right to back pay could not be disregarded.

Secondly, the measures that have been taken to eliminate corruption have uncovered many fraudsters in the Government machinery, but we still have a long way to go to resolve this problem.

Thirdly, some public servants are, to put it mildly, not imbued with the spirit of public service, to the extent that even in instances where these funds are available, they do not turn up on time and/or they relate to senior citizens with attitudes bordering on the criminal.

Through co-operation between national Government and the provincial governments concerned, we shall ensure that these problems are dealt with methodically and with a ruthless determination.

Related to this, we did indicate last year that we expected some teething problems in the first year of total budget allocations to the provinces. Indeed, we need to pause here to pay tribute to the provincial administrations, which were able to come through without debilitating dislocation. Given the serious problems identified by central Government’s task teams last year, it is thanks to the efforts of all provinces, without exception, that the problems have not been much worse. But we must eliminate overspending. A related and critical matter is the issue of how the public resources at our disposal correspond with the social backlog that we have inherited.

In our view, the starting point in addressing the question of the national Budget and public finances in general is that we cannot behave like fools who cut off their noses to spite their faces, throwing policy out of the window in search of fractions of percentages in deficit targets. We have to strive creatively to meet our obligations within the context of a reduction of the public debt.

Indeed, we cannot pretend that the deficit targets we have set ourselves do not test our capacity and will. But we cannot deviate from the course we have chosen. There is no other route to sustainable development.

Two critical matters arise from this. In the first two years of our democracy, we sought to use the special mechanism of a so-called RDP Fund to lever changes in the patterns of departmental spending. Today this task is built into the normal functions of all departments. Reprioritisation and more reprioritisation is the challenge that we shall continue to grapple with in the coming years.

For, if we should not and cannot cut down on houses and clinics being built, on the supply of water, on improving the quality of education, including the building and equipping of schools, on improving policing and so on, then we have to cut down elsewhere.

There have been some commendable savings from better cash-flow management, but this is limited. There has been some reduction of staff in certain departments and provinces, but it is not nearly enough. And we cannot use the proceeds of privatisation to fund salaries and other consumption expenditure. Put in simple terms, we need to cut spending on personnel.

I am confident that all of us, and the trade union movement in particular, will agree that apartheid South Africa was overgoverned and oversupervised. The size of the Public Service had nothing to do with public service. On the other hand, democratic governance is management of a process whereby people govern themselves. Government is not an employment agency. [Interjections.]

This year we shall go into this question without equivocation. Frankly put, we shall need to start comprehensive discussions with the unions on

retrenchment in accordance with the provisions of our labour laws. These negotiations will need to take into account the principle that shedding jobs in the Public Service does not necessarily have to translate into worsening the problem of unemployment.

For instance, retrenchment packages that include investment capital and tender obligations on the part of the Government can, in fact, help expand the job market, especially in depressed rural areas. We shall, as a matter of urgency, require our Public Service department and provinces to work out proposals in this regard.

Jobs, jobs and jobs is the clarion call that should guide us. We do pride ourselves on the health of our economic incentives that we introduced which have attracted over R7 billion in investments, close on 400 projects related to spatial development initiatives such as that of the Maputo Corridor which have attracted investments to the tune of about R77 billion, the rising graph of productivity, and increased exports.

With regard to the Budget, we have introduced transparency and certainty through the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework, and tax collection is improving as more people are brought into the net. We can quote many more examples, including a relatively stable exchange rate in the face of global adversity, and the hundreds of thousands of jobs created through the public works, municipal infrastructure and investment promotion programmes. But the economy continues to shed too many jobs.

This is, in part, because the rate of investment, particularly by us as South Africans, is not enough. Within an overall increase in fixed investments of about 3%, public authorities show a massive decline in the rate of growth of capital expenditure. Public corporations are doing much better, and they need to be commended for this. The rate of growth of productive private investments has not been impressive.

As such, we should all agree that the issue is not merely one of Government creating a favourable environment to attract investments. This it has done with commendable determination. What is required is a deliberate effort to increase investments, the type of investments which create jobs.

These are the things, I am told, that the various sectors in Nedlac are addressing in preparation for the jobs summit. By the time of this summit, we hope that a real partnership will have emerged between Government, business and labour to tackle this critical task.

One would not be exaggerating if one said that given its impact on everything else we do as a nation, including crime prevention, reconciliation and the very survival of democracy, the jobs summit is perhaps the most important event since our first democratic elections, an important launching pad for a determined national drive as we move into the 21st century.

It is quite clear that as we finalise preparations for this summit, we cannot continue to imprison ourselves in the paradigm of large profits, and only large profits, as the driving force of business operations. We cannot continue to wallow in the illusion that the protection of the narrow interests of the employed is the driving force in poverty alleviation. We must launch a joint effort towards an economy that creates jobs, towards a society that cares, by helping the unfortunate in its ranks to help themselves.

Within the context of facilitating economic growth, transfer of technology and black empowerment, we have made great progress in the programme to restructure state assets. As we promised at the last opening of Parliament, the previous year has seen Telkom acquire strategic partners, SunAir has been privatised, and SA Airways is completing its restructuring towards acquiring a strategic partner. While the Airports Company and Safcol processes are taking longer than anticipated, they are on their way to completion this year.

The pace in the restructuring programme is broadly in keeping with our set timeframes. Where difficulties have been experienced, they represent lessons about both our past and our present.

With the Aventura Holiday Resorts, for instance, a government of the people could not ignore the complex land claims that are attached to some of these resorts. With Alexkor, in diamond mining we once again learnt that much information about the net worth of many state assets had been concealed

by those who ran the previous government, or that they simply did not care about these assets. [Interjections.] [Applause.] But we are on course to resolve these problems.

I wish, once more, to reiterate that for us the issue of restructuring of state assets is not driven by ideology. We shall privatise where necessary, but we shall also set up new state enterprises where market imperfections and failures play themselves out to undermine social programmes. [Applause.] Such is the case with elements of the liquid fuels industry and the servicing of housing construction, which has not received optimum support from the banking industry. Restructuring also means strengthening management of existing enterprises, a programme that we have intensified.

On the issue of housing, in particular, it is necessary to go back to basics. The numbers of close on 400 000 subsidised houses either completed or under construction and about 700 000 subsidies allocated, are important indicators of progress. But as we indicated earlier, there is no magic in numbers as such, and the target of 1 million houses in five years, provided directly by Government, may not be attained. What we need to examine closely is whether, after the delays in the launch of the housing programme in 1994, we have mustered the capacity to accelerate this programme. And the answer is yes! [Applause.]

The pace of housing construction is accelerating. Today 1 000 houses are started or completed every two and a half days, and, as a result of our programmes, 1,2 million South Africans have a permanent roof over their heads. [Applause.]

In consultation with some of the banks, we have cleared hundreds of so-called red-line areas, we have ensured over 60 000 loans at the upper end of the subsidy market, many constructors have been registered, and the monitoring of quality and the capacity of the provinces have been enhanced.

In addition to issues of quality, questions have also been posed about the sizes of houses that are being built. Going back to basics here means appreciating that Government is focusing on the poor and most vulnerable sectors of society. If we have to reach the widest spectrum of these citizens with

the resources available, we cannot increase the size of the subsidy. In addition to services and a plot of land that families can call their own, possibilities are left for them to exercise initiative with the resources available, and to improve the basic structure when they are in a position to do so.

Indeed, among the proudest moments of this programme are the involvement of the people themselves, especially women, who, through their own labour and creativity, are able to achieve much more with less. [Applause.] In consultation with local government, we have also started to examine in greater detail the question of density, integrated development and rental accommodation. In brief, whatever the difficulties and initial delays in the first year, we are on course to ensure that in the end there shall be housing and security for all. [Applause.]

Hon members and delegates will agree that significant progress has been made in transforming education, including adult basic education, from the mess it was under apartheid. [Interjections.] [Applause.] Today, children starting their schooling can, for the first time, do so just as children—not a black “piccaninny” or a white “kleinbaas”. [Laughter.] [Applause.] From the self-criticism last year about the school-building projects, we are happy that provinces have started to use more of the funds set aside for this purpose.

But, as in other areas, there have been moments, in this sphere, which bring to the public mind the enormity of the tasks we face. Such were the matric results of last year. It is encouraging that in typical South African style, after the brief flurry of accusations and counteraccusations, we started to focus attention on the real issues. Among these issues is the fact that the standard of the papers was somewhat higher and the security of exams somewhat tighter, most inconsequential subjects taken in the past simply to fill a certificate were done away with, the marking was more rigorous and there were minimal adjustments of the marks. [Laughter.] As such, though ironic to say, there were fewer but better passes. [Applause.]

This is not to detract from the fact that we have only scratched at the surface of the legacy of apartheid education. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

Many children still study under trees and in dilapidated buildings. Many schools are hollow shells without even the most basic equipment for normal teaching. Many teachers do not have the capacity to transmit knowledge in a professional manner, and some simply do not see it as their civic duty to relocate to areas in need. [Applause.]

There are inexcusable and unacceptable delays in the supply of textbooks which derive from poor management and shoddy tendering deals, not to mention the nonexistence or malfunctioning of many school governing bodies. Yet when all is said and done, many schools in disadvantaged areas have shown that serious application to duty by school authorities and the students can bring positive results. We pay tribute to these heroes. [Applause.]

This spirit of community, of partnership and of hard work is required when dealing with problems of crime and corruption. Again, in this area, the tendency often is to exaggerate and distort the real situation, to use half-truths and sensationalism to paint a picture of a situation out of control. It is understandable that unscrupulous politicians, media commentators and those who wish to question the legitimacy of the democratic process as such will conjure up crises in their heads, when in reality there are no crises. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

The task of those interested in improving the country's quality of life is to examine the real situation in its complex forms, even if this may not please the prophets of doom. That reality is that since 1994 there has been a marked decline in virtually all serious crimes such as murder, robbery, taxi violence, car-hijacking and others. [Interjections.] In other words, since this democratic Government came into being, there has been a decline in most serious crimes. [Interjections.] This is a result of better co-ordination among all arms of the security services, the police, the intelligence services and the Defence Force, and of co-operation across Southern Africa. One such example of effective co-ordination is in the farming areas, where there is an 80% success rate in apprehending murderers.

The National Crime Prevention Strategy has got off the ground, and as we promised last year, the law on bail and mandatory sentences for serious

crimes has been passed. A detective academy – interestingly, the very first one in the history of South Africa – has been opened to improve the police's investigative capacity and skills to do their jobs. Proposals on reducing commercial entry points, including closing some so-called international airports, have been finalised, and we hope that we shall receive the co-operation of all affected parties, despite the formal agreements that they might have entered into with the previous government.

Among the elements which know how effective the security forces are becoming are the crime syndicates themselves. It will happen that from time to time, and not seldom during crucial political moments, they will engage in dramatic acts such as the robbery of cash-in-transit, syndicate turf wars and prison escapes.

But they know, better than any politician, that the net is closing in on them; that the intelligence services are on their heels, even if it may take time to build water-tight cases against them; that wherever they may be hiding – even in the police and other state structures, in the private security companies, among prison warders and even in the legal fraternity, and even if they form a web of political forces bent on destabilising our young democracy – their days are numbered. [Applause.]

The same should be said about corrupt elements who see public service as an opportunity for self-enrichment. Mechanisms are in place and are being improved all the time to root them out. In this regard, I wish to thank the media for its vigilance. While there may be instances where fingers were pointed at individuals without justification, there are a good many examples where investigative journalism has helped us uncover the scoundrels, old and new, who prey on the public purse. [Applause.]

To find a lasting solution to all these challenges requires a community spirit among all of us, a new patriotism which is finding root within the populace. We must build our nation into a community of citizens who appreciate their civic duty as each one of us improves our wellbeing. We must be ready to give back to society part of what we gain from it.

In this respect, the words of one eminent citizen who has actively joined the campaign against crime are worth repeating in this august Assembly:

... this country, warts and all, has been good to me – it is unbelievable. It has fed me; it has clothed me; it has educated me; it has given me opportunities in the business world that were unthinkable when I was a kid in Brits. I think the very least I could do is put something back. And this is my kind of national service, and I am enjoying it.

[Applause.] This is a challenge to all of us, especially those whose past privileges have afforded them skills that are in high demand in public service, to volunteer skills to help improve the lot of the nation.

Indeed, on the vexed question of crime, we could do more if each South African of integrity consciously asks himself or herself every day whether he or she may have assisted in the commission of crime, as a parent who conceals the activities of a child who is taking drugs, without assisting the police to track down the suppliers, as a customer who co-operates in a transaction which allows one a large discount because the seller will not pay VAT, as a trade unionist or ordinary worker who turns a blind eye to pilfering on the shop floor or, worse still, to corruption in government service, as a politician who stands behind individuals who break the law in the name of challenging bodies such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission ... [Applause] ... and as a parent or spouse who avoids asking questions when a relative is suddenly awash with money and behaves like a fugitive from justice. Do many of us not do this and more, and yet express bewilderment at the high rate of crime?

What this emphasises is that we need a campaign of moral regeneration. As we reconstruct the material conditions of our existence, we must also change our way of thinking, respecting the value and result of honest work, and treating each law of the country as our own. [Applause.]

This is our call to all South Africans to strengthen the moral fibre of our nation. It is a call to artists, musicians and sportspersons, to religious leaders and traditional institutions, to intellectuals, to the

media and to all those who should give leadership as we establish new symbols and role models, to all of us to join hands in a new patriotism, not because the Government says so, but because it is in our common interest to do it. [Applause.]

In this regard it is encouraging that the youth of our country, through the National Youth Commission, have taken important steps to define a youth policy that will give all, irrespective of the skin colour that is an accident of birth, a stake in our new society. Particularly heartening is the proposal for youth community service, which can be broadened to encompass most of society, be it in helping to clean streets, volunteering services in schools and so on.

Civic duty is the central purpose behind the Masakhane campaign, whose awareness week last year was fairly successful. We shall continue, this year and beyond, to intensify this drive, including the mobilisation of, and assistance to, nongovernmental and community-based organisations which truly have the interests of the community at heart.

It is to promote the spirit of Masakhane that we set up the President's Award for Community Initiative. This annual award honours those who roll up their sleeves and take the initiative to uplift their conditions. We are privileged today to have with us, as guests of the President, representatives of the nine communities that were the first provincial winners. Selected from some 2 000 entries, they embody the unquenchable determination of South Africans to better their own lives. [Applause.]

We recognise the Buhlebemvelo Garden Project from KwaZulu-Natal ... [Applause] ... the Ikgodiseng Sewing Project from Huhudi ... [Applause] ... the Malungeni Training and Development Centre; the Bekkersdal Flagship Project for unemployed mothers ... [Applause] ... the Dassie Preschool Centre from Oudtshoorn ... [Applause] ... the Khotsoong branch of the Homeless People's Federation ... [Applause] ... the Nkomazi Farmers' Association ... [Applause] ... the Hantam Community Education Trust ... [Applause] ... and, finally, the project which was yesterday announced as the national winner of the President's Award for Community Initiative, the

Mhala Development Centre in the Northern Province. [Applause.] Interestingly, this was set up by retrenched mineworkers working with their union and their former employer. [Applause.]

Our congratulations to those whom they represent and, indeed, to all 54 runners-up. May the financial prizes from Government strengthen their efforts, and may their example inspire others to seek this honour in future years. [Applause.]

There are also countless others outside the limelight who deserve our admiration and gratitude, for example school principal Mr Mandla Hlatshwayo of Ndwedwe in KwaZulu-Natal, who braved a raging river during torrential rains to deliver matric examination papers to his students. . . [Applause] . . . the security guard who risked life and limb single-handedly to hold highway robbers at bay, leading to their arrest . . . [Applause] . . . and the many sportspersons and other citizens who make us proud to be South African. [Applause.]

This multifaceted effort to build our society on the basis of a new morality demands that we should be open about mistakes that we committed in the past. Such is the importance of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Because these mistakes were committed by us, their airing in public will be hurtful and at times embarrassing. But the more we know about how low we once sank, the more difficult it will be to repeat these mistakes. [Applause.]

At the hearings of the TRC over the past year many horrific details emerged. We cannot fail to have been moved by the remorse of some perpetrators and the willingness of victims to forgive. We cannot fail to have been astounded by their very modest appeals for their dignity to be restored. But this should not be surprising, for their suffering was not for pecuniary gain, but for the great prize of freedom and a better life for all.

The Government has heard the appeals for urgent reparation, and we shall be ready to provide modest assistance when the details have been forwarded. As part of the multiyear Budget, account will be taken of the needs, within our limited resources, and we hope that those who benefited from the suppression of others will find it within themselves to make a contribution.

[Interjections.] [Applause.] As the TRC moves towards finalising its work, we shall do our best to ensure that their needs are provided for. But we know, too, that this will not be the end, but the beginning of the process of reconciliation.

It is quite unfortunate that some amongst us still refuse to co-operate with the TRC. [Interjections.] Given that part of its task is to unmask the networks that not only violated human rights, but also formed one web with crime syndicates, this question will haunt such forces forever. Why is it that they continue to conceal this information? We need to make it clear that those who cringe at the banks of the Rubicon of truth, those who served in state structures and refused to apply for amnesty, will not be assisted by the state in the face of whatever consequences accrue to them from their past. [Applause.]

Related to this is the danger of any political leadership and media continuing with the campaign of exploiting the fear, uncertainty and anxiety of certain communities about the transition. The clamour among some parties to outdo one another in this regard is counterproductive, to say the least. [Interjections.] It worsens polarisation and stokes the fires that have the potential to consume all of us.

In any case, it is pointless because it will not stop change. [Interjections.] Transformation is this Government's reason for existence, and we shall not, for a moment, shirk our responsibility to the poor. [Interjections.] This Government is humane, and we know that the wellbeing of those previously denied their rights is a sure guarantee for the wellbeing of all.

It is for this reason that it pains me personally when I listen to some of the debates in this Chamber. Always, a clear distinction emerges between those who were at the cutting edge of the struggle for freedom, who strive for change, and those who implemented or benefited from oppression, who seek to block transformation, in defence of a modified form of the old order. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

I should take this opportunity to pay homage to the institutions charged with the task of enhancing our democracy and culture of human rights. If we

say with confidence that South Africa will succeed, it is in part because we know there is the Constitutional Court, the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission, the Electoral Commission, which has started its challenging work, and the attorneys-general, all of which will assist in ensuring that what we do is not only constitutional, legal and legitimate, but is seen to be so by all and sundry, including the weakest amongst us. [Interjections.]

A word of congratulation goes to the Gender Commission which has started its work to ensure that our society is true to the principles of consistent equality in everything we do. Yet this commission and the Office on the Status of Women should not be seen as watchdogs of an alien force bent on doing wrong. Rather society as a whole should see them as part of our joint efforts, as men and women, to liberate ourselves from gender prejudice. [Applause.]

We are also encouraged by the systematic work being done regarding the position of the disabled. What matters is not merely the thousands of wheelchairs and hearing aids and the tens of thousands of cataract operations provided in the past year alone, but also ensuring that the attitude in employment practices, in discourse, in design of infrastructure and more is changed with the participation of the disabled themselves. [Applause.]

This year we shall ensure the intensification of the efforts regarding multilingualism in Government work, and we should thank the Pan South African Language Board for its vigilance. Further, after extensive consultations during the course of last year, we are a step closer to the setting up of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. [Interjections.]

Our programme for this year will once more seek to speed up the improvement of the lives of all, with particular emphasis on the most vulnerable and needy. Some of the additional highlights of this programme, whose details will be announced by the various ministries during the course of next week, include our commitment to meeting our budget deficit targets as we further improve the efficiency of tax collection. As the further steps we

took recently indicated, we shall continue, on a case-by-case basis, to lift exchange controls as conditions for that mature.

Construction starts on many Maputo Development Corridor projects. Two new development initiatives on the Cape West Coast and in Northern KwaZulu-Natal will be launched in the first half of the year. Work starts in the west to complete the highway across South Africa from Maputo to Walvis Bay. The basic economy is being revolutionised. The integrated tourism programme will be launched in earnest, with the potential to create 300 000 jobs by the turn of the century.

In the workplace, the departure from apartheid practices will be felt even more keenly as we finalise and implement the Employment Equity Bill. [Applause.] And let us hasten to add, in this regard, that we shall not be discouraged by the sirens of self-interest that are being sounded in defence of privilege and the insults that equate women, Africans, Indians, Coloureds and the disabled with a lowering of standards. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

As we have said before, affirmative action is corrective action. [Interjections.] There is no other way of moving away from racial discrimination to true equality. We therefore reject campaigns which are based on fear, rumour and gossip. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

Special attention will be paid this year to the further consolidation of local government, with its critical contribution in areas of infrastructure, job creation, small business development and the very legitimacy of democracy. We should also take this opportunity to acknowledge local government delegates present here, and with them celebrate the beginning of their full participation in the National Council of Provinces and intergovernmental forums. [Applause.]

The White Paper and new legislation on local government which should be finalised this year will help to streamline this sphere of government without derogating from representivity and accountability. And to start meeting the requirements of the Constitution, in the context of poverty alleviation, over R3 billion will this year be equitably and directly allocated to this sphere of government.

As we attend to these matters, particular attention will be paid to continued dialogue with traditional leaders, so as to ensure that all of them become full and active partners in the struggle for local development.

This year also sees the launch of the new Government communications and information service, which, we are certain, will contribute to the challenge to improve communication among South Africans so as to afford citizens their right to information and their right to air their views.

Our continuing work to reduce incidents of crime will also pay particular attention to the abuse of women and child abuse, crimes which, regrettably, seem to be on the increase. Special programmes for the six metropolitan areas, which account for the bulk of violent crime, are being finalised for immediate implementation. Let us once more underline, to those who choose to live a life of violent crime, that as recent incidents regarding cash heists have shown, we shall, with the combined might of the security services, return fire with overwhelming fire. [Interjections.] [Applause.]

This year we launch the programme that will streamline the judicial system so as to alleviate overcrowding in prisons without creating any new dangers to society. Above all, we shall appoint the national director of public prosecutions and the provincial counterparts – a first in the history of our country. [Applause.]

Within the intelligence services it has become even more urgent to expose the few rotten apples who arrogantly pursue an agenda which runs counter to transformation. [Interjections.] To put it mildly, they are an affront to our security and our pride as a nation. They are a blight on the commendable work that these services are doing to defend democracy.

We are proud that after a year or so of healthy and informative debate, we can now start the protracted process of re-equipping our National Defence Force. We wish to congratulate the armed forces and economic ministries which have ensured that much of this will be done without a strain on the Budget and in a way that will benefit the economy.

Our social programme will be aimed at accelerating implementation and consolidation of what has been achieved, within the limits of our resources. This includes ensuring that 90% of mothers and young children have access to free medical care; starting the child support grant system which will reach 3 million children by the fifth year; achieving an 85% cure rate for tuberculosis; implementing the new laws to make drugs and doctors accessible; and, in addition to the building of clinics, dedicating R100 million to the upgrading of hospitals. [Applause.]

In this the Year of Science and Technology, our programmes to improve the learning environment, including the setting up of the Council on Higher Education, will be enhanced by a campaign to usher in a new and dynamic culture of scientific and technical innovation rooted in our schools, communities and enterprises.

In the next financial year a further 580 000 telephones will be installed, and we aim to supply a further 1 million citizens with clean and accessible water. At the same time, it is our responsibility, as the Water Bill is finalised, to change our own water consumption culture, recognising that this is a scarce resource that must not be squandered.

As Cabinet finalises these and other plans in the context of multiyear budgeting, we shall, as always, be guided by our concern for the poor and most vulnerable sectors of society in providing basic services, in improving the economy and job creation, in deepening democracy and good governance and in improving the safety and security of all.

I should also announce that as proactive measures to improve good governance further, and in accordance with the Constitution, the President's Office will this year start drafting legislation on ethics in government, including a statutory code of conduct applying to members of the executive at national and provincial levels. [Applause.] In these, our efforts, we draw inspiration from countries that have to address problems similar to ours in varying degrees.

In our relationship with the world, we can now confidently say that South Africa has found her niche as an independent participant in world



affairs. Our starting point in these relations is obvious: South Africa is an African country. [Applause.] It is a country for South Africans of African, Coloured, Indian and European origin. [Applause.] Thus we draw pride from the fact of increased trade with Africa, reflected in a 70% increase in exports and a 60% increase in imports since 1995. We shall continue to expand these relations and close co-operation with our sister African nations, bilaterally and through the OAU, within the context of Africa's renaissance. We are grateful that African nations have afforded us the opportunity to make our humble contribution to the resolution of problems and reconstruction in places such as the now Democratic Republic of Congo, the Great Lakes region and the Sudan.

During the course of this year we shall host Africa Telecom, the aim being to work out strategies and plans for the continent to become part of the communications highway. Within the SADC we were honoured to take collective leadership of the process towards a free trade area. The matters to be resolved in this course are complex and, as is to be expected, there is much individual self-interest. But the will and determination are there, including the difficult question of ensuring that the democratic gains that have been made over the past few years are not reversed.

As an active and respected part of the developing world, we shall, in August, host the summit of leaders of the Nonaligned Movement. As such we shall be afforded the opportunity to play a leadership role as these countries, in their own terms, define the nature and direction of globalisation. All in these countries are concerned about the widening gap between the rich and the poor, both within and among nations. We also recognise the challenge of ensuring that our own co-operation helps to define the new world order.

As a country, we are making strides in this direction, as shown by the fact that today Asia is our second-largest trading partner after Europe, and we are starting to exploit the huge potential that exists with regard to Latin America. This year we started a strategic relationship with the People's Republic of China, the biggest nation on earth. The launch, last year, of the Indian Ocean Rim Association is a great step that will re-

establish, in the new age, strong relations that date back to precolonial days. At the same time we have intensified dialogue with the North about a common human agenda as we enter the millennium.

In such dialogue, pertinent questions about the structure of the United Nations and its agencies, and the issues of the international financial system, the debt crisis and world trade are on the agenda. There is world consensus that solutions need to be found to the causes and rampant effects of stock market crashes that can beggar even those economies which have their fundamentals in place.

It is encouraging that the Commonwealth of Nations, a body straddling the North-South divide, and whose summit we attended last year, put high on the agenda the issue of economic development. Again, as a reflection of the place we occupy in international relations, this body decided to hold its 1999 summit in South Africa. [Applause.]

Our relations with North American countries, Europe and Japan have grown from strength to strength. We value these relations with our main trading partners and sources of investment and aid. More particularly, we have now reached the point at which negotiations with the European Union on free trade should soon reach finality.

We shall continue our humble contribution to the search for peace and to the humane conduct of international relations. Our contribution on these issues, including the campaign for a ban on antipersonnel land mines and for nuclear disarmament, derives from our own experience about what humanity should not do to itself. [Applause.]

Ahead of any other country, South Africa destroyed its stockpile of over 200 000 land mines in a record five months. [Applause.] The severed limbs of children, women and men in our neighbouring countries are a clear warning to us that never again should our country be a source of destabilisation. [Interjections.] [Applause.] As such, we shall support the stern action taken by countries whose peace is disturbed by any South Africans.

We are driven by this desire for peace when we urge the resumption of Middle East peace talks on the basis of the Oslo Agreements. We are driven by what we believe are the long-term interests of the Palestinian and Jewish communities when we condemn prevarication and provocation by those who calculate that they can use might to prevent right. [Interjections.] [Applause.] We condemn, without equivocation, violence by any party, for it feeds animosity, rather than encouraging reconciliation. In the same spirit, we call for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Western Sahara and East Timor, and we shall do our best to assist where we can.

Wherever we go internationally, we are always moved by the appreciation of the world for our efforts in resolving problems that seemed intractable. These international forces are always willing to assist in our exciting transition. But they recognise that in the final analysis our success will depend on our own efforts. They appreciate and have confidence in our economic environment, and equally, they expect the same amongst South

Africans themselves. They respect our nation because they know we are contributing to the collective efforts of humankind in redefining itself and reclaiming its humanity as we move into the new millennium.

This, our programme for 1998, is a humble contribution to the quest for a better world. As always, we are encouraged, first and foremost, by the fact that South Africans are ready, and they have rolled up their sleeves to build a society that cares.

These millions of South Africans are joining hands to sustain their democratic achievement, and they will protect it like the apple of their eye. They are filled with hope about the bright future that beckons. They shall not be distracted by the noise of a falling tree amidst the dignified silence of a new future starting to blossom, because they know that the foundation has been laid and the building has begun. [Applause.]

The Joint Sitting rose at 12:30.

APPENDIX O.

MANDELA, NELSON.  
FEBRUARY, 1999.  
SITTING. CARE TOWN: HANSARD.  
1999: 2-22.



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

"ADDRESS BY FREEDOM OF THE REPUBLIC, 5  
DEBATES OF THE JOINT DEBATES  
SITTING. CARE TOWN: HANSARD."

OF THE

JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

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**RABIE, Mr J A:**

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**RAMATHLODI, Mr N A:***[Premier of the Northern Province]*

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# DEBATES

## OF THE

# JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

THIRD ANNUAL SESSION — SECOND PARLIAMENT

1

FRIDAY, 5 FEBRUARY 1999

2

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:01.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**CALLING OF JOINT SITTING**

The Speaker announced that the Presiding Officers had received a message from the President requesting that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened, in terms of Joint Rule 2(1)(a), on Friday, 5 February 1999, at 11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly, hon Chairperson and Deputy Chairpersons of the National Council of Provinces, hon members of Parliament, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, today we start the ultimate session of our first democratic Parliament. The profound changes of the past four and a half years make the distance traversed seem so short, the end so sudden. Yet, with the epoch-making progress that has been made, this period could have been decades.

South Africa is in a momentous process of change, blazing a trail towards a secure future. The time is yet to come for farewells, as many of us – by choice or circumstance – will not return. However, there is

no time to pause. The long walk is not yet over. The prize of a better life has yet to be won.

Allow me, Madam Speaker, to cast my eyes further back than the period under review. Ten years ago, in a letter to the head of the apartheid state, in an attempt to launch negotiations, one humble prisoner said that, at a first meeting between Government and the ANC, two central issues needed to be addressed:

Firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state. Secondly, the concern of white South Africans over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks.

In yet another letter, it was emphasised:

The very first step on the way to reconciliation is obviously the dismantling of apartheid, and all measures used to reinforce it. To talk of reconciliation before this major step is taken, is totally unrealistic.

These are some of the matters that I will address today.

Our transition has been managed with such success that some generously invoke the imagery of "a miracle". Things such as equality, the right to vote in free and fair elections and freedom of speech, many of us now take for granted. Many past difficulties are now mere footnotes of history.

There can be no equivocation that the majority of South Africans, coalesced around our founding pact, are outgrowing the apprehensions which required the convoluted structural guarantees of the first few years. Though we might differ on method, it has become a national passion to pronounce commitment to a better life for all.

What then is the nation's scorecard on the fundamental question of socioeconomic change? Census '96, whose result was made public last year, has for the first time given South Africa a detailed and comprehensive portrait of itself. And it is against its dimensions that we must measure our progress.

In 1994, some 30% of South Africans lacked access to a safe supply of water near their homes. Today, after 3 million people have benefited from the Government's water supply programme, that has been reduced to 20%. In 1994, less than 40% of South African households had electricity. Today, after more than 2 million connections, 63% of households are connected to the electricity grid. [Applause.] In 1994, about a quarter of homes had telephones. Today, after 1,3 million homes have been connected, 35% are linked to the telephone system. [Applause.] This means, on average, that every day since our democratic elections has meant another 1 300 homes electrified, another 750 telephones installed and another 1 700 people gaining access to clean water. Every day!

With the primary school nutrition programme, reaching over 5 million children, and the benefit of free health care, millions of children are growing healthy and unstunted. Today, within the framework of our Integrated National Disability Strategy, we have a Government whose concern for the needs of the disabled is unprecedented in the history of South Africa. [Applause.]

This means more than the dry rhyme of statistics. The words of Ms Gladys Nzilane of Evaton, who received keys to her new house last year, ring true from the heart:

I hear people on radio and television saying the Government has failed, but I do not believe that. The Government has given us life.

In this, she was echoing the feelings of millions, including Mama Lenah Ntsweni of Mpumalanga who, a few weeks ago, was the three millionth person to receive safe and accessible water.

Before we lose ourselves in detail, important though it may be, let us come back to the trends. The critical question is about a machinery which is improving its capacity to meet the needs of South Africans. Even where we might not have met our targets, this is the question that we need to probe.

Such is the experience in the provision of subsidised housing. With 700 000 houses either built or under construction, we do acknowledge that we shall not reach the target of 1 million that

we set ourselves. But, after the initial hiccups of the first two years, we have now developed the capacity to build 15 000 houses every month. [Applause.]

From the jobs summit new initiatives have emerged, in a splendid partnership between business and Government, to start major projects that will put more roofs over the heads of those in want. As this project starts unlocking the problem of limited public resources, so will its beneficiaries multiply – from the supplier of building material to the small building contractor; from the new employees to those who will occupy those dwellings.

The construction of sports facilities reached new levels in 1998 and the establishment of community arts centres exceeded the target. New ways of facilitating land restitution and redistribution are being implemented. The Adult Basic Education and Training Programme has reached more people than was originally planned. In the area of welfare, after the pain of restructuring, the reach and the efficiency of delivery has improved, and R350 million a year is being saved through better management and by eliminating corruption. [Applause.]

The examples are many. But let us focus for a brief moment on two of the issues, namely welfare and education. The savings that have been effected through tackling fraud should rightly contribute to an expansion of assistance to those in need. During this Year of Older Persons, all of us – and I include myself – are especially aware of the needs of senior citizens. We are therefore pleased to announce that we are able, once again, to increase old age pensions ... [Applause] ... this year by 4%, that is R20, and the disability grant by the same percentage. [Applause.]

I am very excited about this. [Laughter.] [Applause.] In Davos, Switzerland, I told the plenary session that in a few months' time I will be standing next to the road, saying: "Please help. Unemployed. No money. New wife. Big family". [Laughter.] [Applause.] With this R20 I might not need to stand on the side of the road. [Laughter.]

Regarding education, why is it that the majority of South Africans feel that things have improved in this area? This is because many of those who were

studying under trees or in dilapidated buildings have benefited from the R1 billion spent on the construction or renovation of 10 000 classrooms. It is because the doors of all public schools are open. It is because the higher education assistance scheme is reaching more students. It is because, despite the setbacks of one or another year, the matric results are improving. [Applause.] And even if this majority does not read or hear or see in the media the praise that is due when the matric examinations are conducted without a major incident, they do not need to be told, for they live these experiences. [Applause.]

Last year, we made the observation that it was inexcusable that textbooks were not supplied within seven days of the beginning of the school term. Many areas did meet this target. However, many did not. We hope that this year the planning and funding will be settled earlier in the year. For, if this does not happen after the pressured experiences of last year, if our administrations are unable to carry out such a straightforward project, then in the coming year, ordinary citizens, like myself, will feel justified in calling, so to speak, for heads to roll. [Applause.]

What this experience with textbooks says to us is that capacity cannot be built through the ordinary motions of Government as we know it. I know Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has taken this issue to heart, that is, how to restructure Government with the primary objective of fulfilling people-centred functions rather than merely observing self-serving and archaic rules.

Such is the challenge in dealing with the difficult areas of crime and job creation. On both these issues there is, naturally, public impatience. So the question we need to ask is whether there is a possibility of a strategic and visible break with the perception of stagnation. It is not my task, at this last sitting of Parliament, to set out a medium-term and long-term programme, but I feel more than confident in saying that on both counts – with regard to crime and job creation – there is hope.

What are the trends and concrete measures on crime? [Interjections.] No, I will not shout "Cheers!", because I had expected, for the final session of the current Parliament, that at least I

would have been given something a little stronger than water. [Laughter.]

The statistics show that there has been a reduction or stabilisation in most serious crimes. Murder, for instance, has declined by 10% since 1994. But the response is that figures are meaningless in the context of people's concrete experiences. A myriad of laws have been passed to narrow the space for criminals, the latest among these being legislation on crime syndicates, minimum sentences and conditions on the granting of bail. But the response is that not enough criminals are being arrested and the quality of investigation is poor.

A detective academy has been set up and the skills acquired there are starting to be felt when dealing with crime syndicates. And major steps have been taken to deploy police where they are needed most. But the response is: Where are the results?

All these responses arise from a failure to appreciate the fact that turning the tide against crime cannot be achieved overnight. There are also deliberate efforts to sensationalise and politicise this issue. But we are the first to acknowledge that the impatience and dissatisfaction among ordinary people are justified. We can, and shall, break out of this bog. There is hope.

Examine the experience of the Johannesburg central precinct and the Durban beachfront where communities and businesspeople have joined with police to cut the crime rate, and you will know that there is hope. Ask the kingpins of cash-in-transit heists who are in C-Max, and you will know that there is hope. Ask the corrupt police who are facing various charges, and you will know that there is hope. Even though the level of attacks is rather too high, assess the trends in farming communities after the summit on this issue, and you will know that there is hope. For this we salute the men and women in blue, the overwhelming majority of them citizens of outstanding bravery and integrity. . . . [Applause] . . . men and women who daily put their lives on the line so that the nation can enjoy security.

Above all, the establishment of the Office of the National Director of Public Prosecutions, and along with it the special investigation unit, has already shown that a systematic approach to major

crimes — combining intelligence, professional investigations and prosecutions — is bound to bear fruit. And in expressing our appreciation to the intelligence services for their contribution in this and other areas to guarantee our people's security, I wish to join the public in saying: More can be done, and more must be done.

Questions have been asked as to whether we have the balance right between the rights of criminals and those of ordinary citizens. This Government is not about to join the chorus baying for the death sentence or to reverse our human rights gains. [Applause.] Yet, in addition to the measures we introduced regarding bail and mandatory sentences, we need to examine spaces that need tightening. For instance, should interference with witnesses and the murder of policemen and policewomen not attract very harsh mandatory sentences? What about the form and content of evidence that should be given to defence attorneys in bail applications? For it does not help for the police to do their work and for the justice system to be efficient if criminals will subvert investigations and prosecution by violent and foul means. These are just some of the issues that need to be addressed, along with — and I should underline "along with" — the plodding industry on all fronts which will take many years to bring crime down to acceptable levels.

Let me also briefly reflect on recent developments in Cape Town. Without presuming any organisation or individual guilty, there are some obvious things that cannot be concealed. Firstly, what started off expressly as a campaign against gangsterism has now become a violent and murderous offensive against ordinary citizens and law-enforcement agencies. [Applause.] Secondly, what is portrayed as moral and god-inspired against oppression, exploitation and imperialism, has assumed the form of terrorism to undercut Cape Town's lifeline and destabilise a democratic Government. [Applause.] Thirdly, what is undertaken as an expression of militancy could now very easily provide cover for a right-wing counter-revolution against the new South Africa. [Applause.]

This campaign is rotten to the core. It is misguided and its attempts to invoke religion are blasphemous. [Applause.] What South African, indeed,

who owes loyalty to this country and this continent, would engage in such callous deeds! What fighter against crime would engage in a campaign that diverts the resources of the police from dealing with criminals! I want to assure the people of Cape Town that we know who these people are. We know who trains and backs them and steadily we are building watertight cases against them that will ensure that they stay in jail for a long, long time. [Applause.] Let me reiterate: The battle against crime has been joined, and we have no doubts at all about who the victors will be.

There is hope too in the area of job creation. For a start, if economic growth last year and this year are less encouraging, we are confident that this is an exception that confirms an otherwise upward trend. Indeed, in this era of volatility, what we need to ask ourselves is why South Africa did not experience the kind of paralysing turbulence that was the lot of most countries at our level of development.

The answer is that our fundamentals are robust. Local and foreign fixed investments are on the rise, though not at the pace we would prefer. Exports are increasing and in some areas, agriculture for instance, the increase has been as much as 1 000%. Steadily our economy is becoming more competitive. Telecommunications and tourism are growing at an impressive rate; road construction and spatial development initiatives are expanding the economic base of regions that were ignored in the past; and public works programmes have created hundreds of thousands of jobs, though some of them are temporary.

We have also taken impressive strides in the restructuring of state assets, and let us remind ourselves that some of the successes in the provision of services derive directly from this. We are determined to continue with this programme, but to do it in a way that is systematic and professional and benefits the people as a whole. This includes widening the base of ownership through, among others, the National Empowerment Fund.

South Africa did not experience what others did, because we have credible and sustainable fiscal and monetary policies combining discipline and

flexibility. Despite the difficulties that we have experienced, deriving from the global economy, we have resolved that we shall not cut the social spending required to build a better life for all, including the Poverty Relief Programme that now runs into billions of rands.

While strict econometric models may require certain fractions for a balance among indicators, we shall continue to discuss realistic inflation targets and interest rates for a developing country like ours. We shall not deviate from the course of discipline nor shall we, as we said last year, cut off our noses to spite our faces. Yet the public is within its rights to ask: If all is well, why is the economy shedding jobs? Is there hope? Yes, there is hope.

Many of the initiatives will take time to be felt in the lives of ordinary people, but there are immediate things that can be done. It was in recognition of this challenge that representatives of Government, labour, business and communities came together last October to work out a concrete programme of action around this challenge of job creation, and we emerged from there confident in the future because we set out to build it together.

Among the decisions taken there, some of them unprecedented in any country, are: Firstly, the proposal of the trade union movement to mobilise all working people to dedicate one day's pay to the projects meant to create jobs for our fellow citizens. [Applause.] And today I commit all Ministers and Deputy Ministers in my Government to taking part in this initiative by contributing a day's gross salary. We hope that all levels of Government, Parliament included, and all public and private institutions will do the same. [Applause.]

Secondly, the mobilisation by the business community of funds, which should run into more than R1 billion, for special projects in tourism and skills development. We can take tourism beyond the impressive 8.2% of GDP that it has already achieved to create hundreds of thousands of jobs.

Over the next few years there will be a dramatic expansion of the existing Government package of R5 billion of labour-intensive programmes such as Working for Water, the Land Care Programme,

the Municipal Infrastructure Programme and selected welfare projects. One major project on housing has already started in which public and private funds will be pooled to start a process that will speed up housing delivery at the same time as it creates jobs.

The Umsobomvu Fund, which will be worth over a billion rand and which is aimed at creating jobs, learnerships and business opportunities among the youth, is one of many projects, many of which have been proposed by the youth themselves. Together these major initiatives have the potential to change the face of South Africa. And if we say there is hope in so far as job creation is concerned, it is because we know that all the partners have put their shoulders to the wheel to ensure that we succeed.

In this context, we should reflect on our achievements regarding the regulation of the labour market. I refer here to the Labour Relations Act, Basic Conditions of Employment Act and Employment Equity Act, among others. Liberation could not have meant otherwise to a working class which was divided by racial laws and sections of which were blocked by edict from advancing in the workplace. We cannot retreat from this achievement in human rights. That our trade union movement has initiated the kind of contribution to job creation that I referred to, is testimony to the responsibility that goes with a sense of social belonging.

Notwithstanding these achievements, if indeed job creation and ending poverty are among our primary challenges, we must continually evaluate how our labour market policies and the rate of private investments, among others, facilitate the realisation of these objectives. This we must do in order to ensure that we achieve our common objectives.

This hope that we have for the future derives also from the knowledge that this Government is serious about utilising state structures for the benefit of the people. And this applies not only to the national sphere. If, in the past, the profile of provincial government was portrayed more in the mistakes they made, it is perhaps a reflection of great improvement in their work, in the context of

South Africa's news content, that little is heard about most of them in the media.

We referred earlier to the management of the matric results, some improvement in the supply of textbooks and the management of social security grants. In addition to all of this, should we all, as South Africans, not be proud that only two years after the introduction of mass allocations of funds to provinces, we are able to achieve fewer overdrafts and deficits. This is not merely a stroke of good fortune. It is a result of hard work, and congratulations go to those public representatives and administrations. [Applause.]

Last year we spoke of the need to cut expenditure on personnel as part of reducing a bloated Public Service and changing its orientation. That commitment remains. The new Public Service regulations, based on each individual's output, especially management, rather than just the observance of rules, should ensure the improvement of service to the public.

Great progress has been made towards comprehensive agreement on redeployment and retrenchment. Logically, this must be based on an assessment of public needs and on the very objective of governance. But let us emphasise that none of the parties in these negotiations will or should be allowed to use these processes to delay decisive action on this issue.

Within local government there is steady progress in regularising finances, in implementing poverty-based assistance, in setting up mechanisms to reduce the number of councils. And there is now seldom any need for national interventions to resolve unnecessary conflict between these structures and traditional leaders.

I urge hon members to remember my impressive performance so far. [Applause.] A man of 80 usually starts coughing after uttering his first sentence. [Laughter.]

But we must be honest and acknowledge that in many respects this level of government has often played itself out as an Achilles heel of democratic governance. This is not due to a lack of structures and rules. Where this happens, it has more to do

with the behaviour and attitudes of cadres that all parties have deployed in these structures. It is a matter of the survival of democracy, of the confidence that people will have in the new system, that all of us should pay particular attention to this issue. The public is justified in demanding better service, more respect and greater concern for their needs rather than self-aggrandisement.

Our hope for the future depends also on our resolution, as a nation, in dealing with the scourge of corruption. Success will require an acceptance that in many respects we are a sick society. It is perfectly correct to assert that all this was spawned by apartheid. No amount of self-induced amnesia will change this reality of history. [Applause.]

But it is also a reality of the present that among the new cadres in various levels of government one finds individuals who are as corrupt as – if not more than – those they found in government. [Applause.] When a leader in a provincial legislature siphons off resources meant to fund services by legislators to the people or when employees of a Government institution set up to help empower those who were excluded by apartheid defraud it for their own enrichment, then we must admit that we are a sick society.

This problem manifests itself in all areas of life. More often than not, it is businesspeople who launder funds to curry favour with public servants; it is ordinary citizens who seek to buy themselves out of trouble; it is strange religious leaders who sing the praises of criminals or hoard land acquired by the foul means of apartheid. All of us must work together for our redemption.

Many mechanisms have been put in place or strengthened to investigate and ensure proper punishment for these vile deeds, such as the Public Protector, the Heath Commission, the Auditor-General, the Office for Serious Economic Offences, to name but a few. Within Government more resources are being provided to allow them to do their work.

And very practical resolutions emerged from the public sector anticorruption summit held last November. By the time we go to the national

summit in March, which will be informed by the decisions of the religious morals summit and the public sector conference, all sectors of society, including business and the trade union movement, should have worked out concrete proposals to take this matter forward in a visible and meaningful way. It is commendable that the Public Service Bargaining Chamber has, this week, agreed on drafting new disciplinary mechanisms to facilitate dealing with cases of corruption, mismanagement and incompetence. Our nation needs, as a matter of urgency, what one writer has called an "RDP of the Soul".

When we succeed in changing our own way of doing things, when we make progress in transforming society at all levels, we shall not only be improving our own quality of life. We shall also be laying the foundation for a future of hope for our children and grandchildren. We know only too well that if there is a problem of unemployment, it is the youth who bear the brunt of it. If there are high incidences of crime, it is the youth who are misused as foot soldiers and consumers of illegal substances. If there is corruption and a lack of morality, it is they who suffer a warped upbringing. If we do not rid ourselves of the culture of violence, it is the youth who will be infected with it.

It is therefore encouraging that youth organisations have started playing a more visible role in initiatives such as the jobs summit and community service. We value the increasingly powerful role they are starting to play in the critical campaign against HIV/Aids. They do have the capacity to make a special contribution to breaking the silence which fuels this epidemic, as we shall all be doing during the coming National Condom Week when we focus on prevention.

This leadership role by the youth reinforces my own hope in the future of our country and our nation. And I wish to call on all the youth of our country, in their millions, to recognise their civic duty in all spheres of life, including taking part in exercising their right to elect a government of their choice.

I referred at the beginning to the letters written by a notorious prisoner. In one of them he said:



I am disturbed, as many other South Africans no doubt are, by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps: blacks on one side and whites on the other, slaughtering one another; by acute tensions which are building up dangerously in practically every sphere of our lives...

As I said earlier, we have collectively managed the transition in a commendable manner, but it is matter of public record that elements of these divisions remain. We slaughter one another in our words and attitudes. We slaughter one another in the stereotypes and mistrust that linger in our minds and the words of hate that spew from our lips. We slaughter one another in the responses that some of us give to efforts aimed at bettering the lives of the poor. We slaughter one another and our country by the manner in which we exaggerate its weaknesses to the outside world, heroes of the gab who astound their foreign associates by their self-flagellation. This must come to an end. For, indeed, those who thrive on hatred destroy their own capacity to make a positive contribution. [Applause.]

To the extent that the apprehensions about the meaning of democracy relate to real fears about matters such as language and culture, we are proud that progress is being made towards the establishment of the commission on these and other issues so that all can feel secure as part of a united nation. To the extent that some of the apprehensions are imagined or based on opposition to change, to that extent we are convinced that history will be the best teacher. We hope though, especially as we go into the election campaign, that real leaders will emerge who base their messages on hope rather than fear; on the optimism of hard work rather than the pessimism of armchair whining. [Applause.]

Dealing with these challenges also means accepting the facts of our history. As I said when I received the TRC interim report last October, the Government accepts it with its imperfections. We recognise that it is not a definitive or comprehensive history of the period it was reviewing; neither was it a court of law. It was an important contribution on the way to truth and reconciliation. The critical act of reconciliation, to

come back to the letters I referred to earlier, is the dismantling of what remains of apartheid practices and attitudes. Reconciliation, without this major step, will be transient, the ode of false hope on the lips of fools.

It will therefore be critical that when we go into the detail of the TRC report's recommendations in the coming period, we must work out concrete plans on how we can make a practical contribution together. This applies particularly to reparations, not so much to individuals, but to communities and the nation as a whole.

Let me reiterate that we shall all assist that process of nation-building and reconciliation, reconstruction and development, by protecting the institutions which guarantee the checks and balances that make social and political aberrations impossible. Our word of acknowledgement goes to the Human Rights Commission, the Public Protector, the Gender Commission and others for the sterling work they are doing to strengthen democracy.

We should also underline that while it is a matter of design rather than accident that our social programmes for the poor impact most significantly on the lives of women, this is but a small element in dealing with gender relations. Need we remind ourselves that the greatest number of violent crimes that we have referred to take place in the home and mostly against women. Need we remind ourselves of the various forms of discrimination that still exist in the workplace, schools, places of worship and other social activities. But we should also derive pride from the fact that never in the history of this country has any Government done so much to improve the status of women – black and white – and this with their active participation. [Applause.]

The institution of the independent judiciary has, throughout these first years of our freedom, been a fundamental pillar of our democracy. And it continues to be. It is a matter of great pride that we have established a dispensation in which no-one, not even the President, is above the law. [Applause.] And for this we owe thanks to the men and women of integrity who serve in this institution.

Another pillar of our democracy is the Independent Electoral Commission, and we respect it as we do all the others. Like all other such bodies, it is being assisted in various ways in accordance with the mission set out in the Constitution and what the country can afford. I should indicate that, after rational discussion, agreement was reached that the IEC should be allocated more than R160 million in additional funds in the coming budget year to enable it to fulfil its functions. [Applause.] For the work that it has done to register potential voters, the IEC deserves our encouragement. But it is you, the citizen, who has to come out voluntarily to register and take part in South Africa's governance. We urge those who have not registered to do so without delay. Democracy needs your voice.

Because of the impediment placed on us by some of the parties in this Parliament, I am unable to formally announce the election date. [Interjections.] It is due to the insistence that we retain the option contained in the Constitution for Premiers to announce their own election dates – and not any reluctance on the part of the President – that this matter cannot be settled here and now.

If we dare ourselves to succeed in this endeavour, it is because the benefit will be primarily ours. But there is a sense in which it will be for all humanity, the majority of whom took part in efforts to help us achieve our democracy. Naturally, Southern Africa is our most critical point of reference. As we progress towards social and economic integration in the region, we are guided by the need to reverse the legacy of our past in the form of a trade balance skewed in South Africa's favour.

The renegotiation of the Southern African Customs Union and the progress towards a SADC free-trade area, slow as they may seem to outside observers, are making progress along a path that is meaningful and sustainable. Amongst the many concrete symbols of the integrated reconstruction of our region is the progress towards the establishment of a Southern African Electricity Power Pool, co-ordinated from Harare, which will also augment the region's power from the rehabilitated Cahora Bassa project.

These firm steps towards integration are part of the renewal of our continent, an African renaissance campaign which is growing to become

a continental movement. Our celebration of the millennium must reinforce this campaign and draw our artists, intellectuals and journalists more actively into this enterprise. Sports events such as the Africa Games in Greater Johannesburg this spring and the African Cup of Nations in Zimbabwe next year, should form part of this celebration of Africa's rebirth.

Fundamental to our success in generating this rebirth is to root out the causes of conflicts which are ravaging parts of the continent. It is with great concern that we see Angola once more threatened by all-out war. We ask ourselves whether the time has not come to draw basic lessons from this experience; to pose the question whether the United Nations' approach has been what is required of a situation in which one party rejects the results of a free and fair election.

In the Democratic Republic of Congo we welcome the growing realisation that political inclusivity in transition is one of the solutions required. There can be no winner in the military contest – there can only be untold suffering to the African people.

Further afield, we remain hopeful that the protracted conflicts and the terrible suffering of civilians in countries such as Sierra Leone, Somalia and the Sudan will be brought to an end. And, looking beyond our continent, we join all humanity in calling for a speedy resolution of the problems in the Middle East and in East Timor.

If I may, I would like to say a few brief words on Lesotho. There is no doubt that the SADC's collective initiative succeeded in creating the space for that country's political leaders to find a peaceful resolution to their differences and we ought to take this opportunity to congratulate the Botswana Defence Force and the South African Defence Force on their decisive contribution and to pay tribute to those who lost their lives. [Applause.] We wish to assure members of our defence force that the nation is behind them in their endeavours, be it in the fight against crime, in peacekeeping operations or in their calm and professional assistance during voter registration. We remain as committed as ever to equip the force in a manner that will ensure its effectiveness and add value to the economy.



The building of our region and the renewal of our continent to which we have referred, in turn, form part of the broader movement of developing countries to eradicate poverty and overcome the historical imbalances between north and south. The successful Nonaligned Movement summit in Durban last year has brought South Africa the opportunity to assist in asserting the interests of the developing world in serious issues facing humanity.

Amongst the most pressing of these is the debt burden and the need to bring under control the vast movements of capital which wash across the globe without much social benefit and with the capacity to undo years of industrialisation where it is most urgently needed. The initiatives under discussion to manage these rampant effects of globalisation, including unfair protectionist measures in some industrialised countries, require the reform of Bretton Wood institutions and, even more critically, the United Nations Security Council, in conforming with the democratic ethos of our age. [Applause.] We are encouraged that more and more nations are starting to recognise not only the need for this, but its urgency as well.

We are proud that we as a country have, over the past four and a half years, broadened our relations with developing countries in Asia, now the second largest bloc with whom we trade, as well as with Latin America across the Atlantic. Our strategic location places us well to act as a bridge linking these two important regions and the African continent.

We scarcely need to add that this burgeoning of our links with the countries of the south is not in opposition to our relations with Japan, the United States, Europe, including Russia, or the new strategic partnership we are building with the People's Republic of China. On the contrary, they serve to enlarge the possibilities for truly equitable partnerships of mutual benefit to all our peoples. For a country that not many years ago was the polecat of the world, South Africa has truly undergone a revolution in its relations with the international community. The doors of the world have opened to South Africa, precisely because of our success in achieving things that humanity as a whole holds dear. Of this we should be proud.

As we reflect on the years of transition and the beginnings of transformation, we have cause to draw inspiration from what South Africans can do. We dare to hope for a brighter future, because we are prepared to work for it. The steady progress of the past few years has laid the foundation for greater achievements. But the reality is that we can do much, much better.

In the discussions that I have had with Deputy President Mbeki, we have posed ourselves the question whether we should be satisfied with steady progress. Is South Africa not capable of breaking out of the current pace and moving much faster to a better life? As the Deputy President has often said, the policies we have accord with the needs of the moment. There is no need to change them. Yet the speed and style of implementing them can be improved. There are a few ingredients to this that need further attention.

I would like to elaborate on some of them. The first ingredient is partnership. If we examine the major successes that have been achieved this year in addressing the most serious problems we face, one factor stands out above all others and that is the partnership among various sectors of society. The jobs summit, the new Aids awareness campaign, the summits on morality and corruption, and the issue of security in the farming communities are concrete examples from recent months. So, too, was last year's successful Masakhane Focus Week. And it is in this spirit that we shall, on Freedom Day, announce this year's winners of the President's Award for Community Initiative. These initiatives have resulted in major advances, as society mobilises hand-in-hand with Government to tackle the issues head on. As such, one of the launching pads to faster progress has to be the mobilisation of South African society to act in unison on critical issues facing the nation.

The second element is discipline – the balance between freedom and responsibility. Quite clearly, there is something wrong with a society in which freedom is interpreted to mean that teachers or students go to school drunk, warders chase away management and appoint their own friends to lead institutions, striking workers resort to violence and destruction of property, businesspeople lavish money on court cases simply to delay the

implementation of legislation they do not like, and tax evasion turns individuals into heroes of dinner-table talk. Something drastic needs to be done about this. South African society – in its schools and universities, in the workplace, in sports, in professional work and all areas of social interaction – needs to infuse itself with a measure of discipline, a work ethic and responsibility for the actions we undertake.

Thirdly, and related to the above, is the question of reconstruction of the soul of the nation, the "RDP of the Soul". By this we mean first and foremost respect for life and pride and self-respect as South Africans rather than the notion that we can thrive in senseless self-flagellation. It means asserting our collective and individual identity as Africans committed to the rebirth of the continent, being respectful of other citizens and honouring women and children of our country who are exposed to all kinds of domestic violence and abuse. When I talk about Africans, I mean all who regard the continent of Africa as their home. [Applause.] It means building our schools into communities of

learning and improvement of character. It means mobilising one another and not merely waiting for Government to clean our streets or for funding allocations to plant trees and tend school yards.

These are things that we need to embrace as a nation that is nurturing its new patriotism. They constitute an important environment for bringing up future generations. They are about the involvement of South Africans in building a better life. Thus we shall take not just small steps, but giant leaps to a bright future in a new millennium.

As we confounded the prophets of doom, we shall defy today's merchants of cynicism and despair. We shall, as we said in those letters of 10 years ago, fully dismantle apartheid and achieve true reconciliation. Our hopes will become reality. The foundation has been laid – the building is in progress. With a new generation of leaders and a people that rolls up its sleeves in partnerships for change, we can and shall build the country of our dreams. [Singing.]

The Joint Sitting rose at 12:22.

## APPENDIX . P

<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/990326530p1004.htm>

### **SPEECH BY PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA AT THE FINAL SITTING OF THE FIRST DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PARLIAMENT, 26 March 1999**

[CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY]

Madame Speaker;  
Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces;  
Honourable Members and Delegates,

Today does not mark the end of our country's first democratic government.

Nor does it bring to an end the term that I have the profound privilege to be serving as President.

The business of government continues for some months to come and the high responsibilities which our Constitution confers on the President must still be exercised in the interests of our nation.

But this day is a moment of deep significance for all of us whom the people of South Africa have entrusted with representing their needs and interests, their aspirations and hopes.

And so it comes to pass that we who have collectively accepted the role of political leadership of our nation, today take leave of one another as members of this, our country's first democratically elected Parliament.

Because the people of South Africa finally chose a profoundly legal path to their revolution, those who frame and enact constitution and law are in the vanguard of the fight for change.

It is in the legislatures that the instruments have been fashioned to create a better life for all.

It is here that oversight of government has been exercised.

It is here that our society in all its formations has had an opportunity to influence policy and its implementation.

In brief, we have laid the foundation for a better life. Things that were unimaginable a few years ago have become everyday reality. And of this we must be proud.

Questions have been raised, we know, as to whether this House is not a carriage on the gravy train, whose passengers idle away their time at the nation's expense.

To those who raise such questions we say: Look at the record of our Parliament during these first years of freedom

Look at the work of the nation's representatives when they formed themselves into a Constitutional Assembly.

With a breadth of consultation and public participation that few would have imagined possible, and in a spirit of unprecedented consensus-seeking, it was here that a constitution was formulated and adopted to enshrine our people's deepest aspirations.

Look at the one hundred laws on average that have been passed by this legislature each year.

These have been no trivial laws nor mere adjustments to an existing body of statutes. They have created a framework for the revolutionary transformation of society and of government itself, so that the legacy of our past can be undone and put right. It was here that the possibility was created of improving the lives and working conditions of millions.

Look at the work of the committees that have scrutinised legislation and improved it, posed difficult questions of the executive and given the public insight and oversight of government as never before,

This is a record in which we can take pride.

But even as we do so, we do need to ask whether we need to re-examine our electoral system, so as to improve the nature of our relationship, as public representatives, with the voters!

Honourable members and delegates;

I raise this question with great pride in what has been done to lay the foundation of democracy in our country. Personally I dare to say that moments in my life have been few and far between when I have sensed the excitement of change as in this august chamber.

Each historical period defines specific challenges of national progress and leadership; and no man is an island.

As for me personally, I belong to the generation of leaders for whom the achievement of democracy was the defining challenge.

I count myself fortunate in not having had to experience the rigours of exile and decades of underground and mass struggles that consumed the lives of such giants as Oliver Tambo, Anton Lembede, Duma Nokwe, Moses Kotane, Robert Sobukwe, Oscar Mpetha, Lilian Ngoyi, Bishop Alpheus Zulu, Bram Fischer, Helen Joseph, Alex La Guma and Yusuf Dadoo.

I count myself fortunate that, amongst that generation, history permitted me to take part in South Africa's transition from that period into the new era whose foundation we have been laying together.

I hope that decades from now, when history is written, the role of that generation will be appreciated, and that I will not be found wanting against the measure of their fortitude and vision.

Indeed, Madame Speaker, I have noted with deep gratitude, the generous praise that has often been given to me as an individual.

But let me state this:

To the extent that I have been able to achieve anything, I know that this is because I am the product of the people of South Africa.

I am the product of the rural masses who inspired in me the pride in our past and the spirit of resistance.

I am the product of the workers of South Africa who, in the mines, factories, fields and offices of our country, have pursued the principle that the interests of each are founded in the common interest of all.

I am the product of South Africa's intelligentsia, of every colour, who have laboured to give our society knowledge of itself and to fashion our people's aspirations into a realisable dream.

I am the product of South Africa's business people - in industry and agriculture, commerce and finance - whose spirit of enterprise has helped turn our country's immense natural resources into the wealth of our nation.

To the extent that I have been able to take our country forward to this new era it is because I am the product of the people of the world who have cherished the vision of a better life for all people everywhere. They insisted, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, that that vision should be realised in South Africa too. They gave us hope because we knew by their solidarity that our ideas could not be silenced since they were the ideas of all humanity.

I am the product of Africa and her long-cherished dream of a rebirth that can now be realised so that all of her children may play in the sun.

If I have been able to help take our country a few steps towards democracy, non-racialism and non-sexism, it is because I am a product of the African National Congress, of the movement for justice, dignity and freedom that produced countless giants in whose shadow we find our glory.

Madame Speaker;

When, as will be the case in a few months, I once again become an ordinary citizen of our land, it shall be as one whose concerns and capacities are shaped by the people of our land.

I will count myself as amongst the aged of our society; as one of the rural population; as one concerned for the children and youth of our country; and as a citizen of the world committed, as long as I have strength, to work for a better life for all people everywhere. And as I have always done, I will do what I can within the discipline of the broad movement for peace and democracy to which I belong.

I will then count myself amongst the ordinary men and women whose well being must, in any country, be the standard by which democratic government must be judged

Primary amongst these criteria is the Reconstruction and Development Programme aimed at building a better life for all.

Primary amongst these criteria are national unity and reconciliation amongst communities and citizens whose destiny is inseparable.

Honourable Members;

It is a measure of our success as a nation that an international community that inspired hope in us, in turn itself finds hope in how we overcame the divisions of centuries by reaching out to one another. To the extent that we have been able to reciprocate in renewing hope amongst the people of the world, we are grateful indeed and feel doubly blessed. And it goes without saying that we should all live up to those expectations which the world has of us.

As I was reminded yet again on the visit which I have just made to the Netherlands and four Nordic countries, the world admires us for our success as a nation in rising to the challenges of our era.

Those challenges were: to avoid the nightmare of debilitating racial war and bloodshed and to reconcile our people on the basis that our overriding objective must be together to overcome the legacy of poverty, division and inequity.

To the extent that we have still to reconcile and heal our nation; to the extent that the consequences of apartheid still permeate our society and define the lives of millions of South Africans as lives of deprivation, those challenges are unchanged.

I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to all the parties represented in this Parliament for their contribution to the progress we have made. Though we have our differences, often important and sometimes profound, we have as a collective demonstrated our overriding commitment to the new order that we have together established. You have ensured that this Parliament is no rubber stamp in the hands of government and given birth to a new democratic political culture.

And so, in the spirit of that democracy we are today taking leave of one another so that our parties can once again submit themselves to the judgement of the people.

Many of us will return to the second democratic Parliament. Others will not return to his hallowed institution, whether because of the electorate's judgement on our parties, or because of our own choice, or because of the imperatives of advanced age.

For my part, I wish to say that it has been a profound privilege to be accountable to this Parliament.

Though there is sadness in leave-taking, I am filled with contentment by the sounds of voices that I have heard in the many debates that I have attended in this National Assembly, in the Senate, and in its successor, the National Council of Provinces.

Yesterday's debate on issues affecting Afrikaners and other communities was no exception. Amongst the principles which the liberation movement pursued from the beginning of negotiations is that out of any debate we must emerge stronger and more united, and that there should be no winners or losers.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, whom we all expect to be the President of South Africa, exemplifies this approach which is critical to the unity of our country. I call on all to give their support to his leadership, across all political parties.

His and other voices are those of a new generation of leaders that are emerging in answer to new historical challenges.

They are the voices of the good men and women who exist in all communities and all parties, and who define themselves as leaders by their capacity to identify the issues that unite us as a nation.

Together, we must continue our efforts to turn our hopes into reality.

The long walk continues.

Ndlelanhle! Mooi loop! Tselatshweu!

Issued by the Office of the President, 26 March 1999

<EOD>

## APPENDIX. Q

Mbeki, Thabo. "Speech on Accepting his Election as President of the Republic of South Africa" (14 June 1999): <http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/pebble.asp?reliid=2561>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

### **Speech on Accepting his Election as President of The Republic of South Africa, 14 June 1999**

National Assembly, Cape Town

Madam Speaker,  
President of the Constitutional Court,  
Leaders of political parties,  
Honourable Members of the National Assembly,  
Comrade Nelson Mandela,  
Ambassadors, High Commissioners and other members of the diplomatic corps,  
Our international guests,  
Fellow South Africans;

Today, with the swearing in of the members of the National Assembly, we began the process of constituting our country's second democratic national parliament

Today, with the election of the President of the Republic, we commenced the process leading to the formation of our country's second democratic national government.

The simplicity of the procedures in this House has disguised the profound importance of their outcomes with regard to the future of our country.

None in our country or anywhere else in the world can, with any justification, question the fact that this House holds within its walls the legitimate, true and freely chosen representatives of the people of South Africa.

None in our country or anywhere else in the world can, with any justification, question the fact that the Government that will be composed of tribunes drawn from this House will be a government of the people of South Africa.

The President of the Constitutional Court has presided over our proceedings, to affirm the supremacy of the Constitution and the illegality of arbitrary rule.

Here the separate powers, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary sit cheek by jowl, affirming their individual identities, while, simultaneously, confirming their cohesion within one system of governance and, therefore, the integrity of one democratic state.

Present in the House today are also the Premiers-designate, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and other judges, the National Director of Public Prosecutions, the Commanders and Heads of our country's security organs.

We also have Heads of Government Departments, the state corporations and statutory bodies. Also present are traditional, religious, business, trade union, community and other leaders of our people, including the first President of our democratic government, Nelson Mandela.

If all of us stand tall today, as all of us surely do, it is only because we are borne aloft by the firm hands of the ordinary people of our country.

As they did in '94, in '99, these masses have confirmed that all they had been saying through the generations was given peace a chance!

All they had been saying was - give us, the people, the chance freely to determine the future of our country!

All they had been saying was - give a chance for the curtains to part, so that we can see the world beyond, the world of progress and human dignity, in a country which truly belongs to all who live in it, both black and white, both women and men!

If all of us stand tall today, as all of us surely do, it is only because we are borne aloft by the firm hands of ordinary people of our country who, through the generations, have said all they want is peace, progress and liberty.

If all of us stand tall today, as all of us surely do, it is only because we are borne aloft by the firm hands of the ordinary people of our country who fought for generations to make '94 and '99 possible, who gave birth to guaranteed the democratic system which has enabled us to be here today.

If all of us stand tall today, as all of us surely do, it is only because these masses carry us high, convinced that we will not hold them in contempt.

They have put us in the positions all of us hold because they are convinced we will serve their interests, faithfully, honestly, to the best of our abilities.

I am privileged to have the opportunity to congratulate all members of this National Assembly, both old and new, on your election to serve in this House as tribunes of the people.

Because you are here by virtue of the will and the sacrifices of the people, you have a special responsibility, over the next five years, actually to serve the people faithfully, honestly and to the best of your abilities.

Among other things, this will require that the necessary measures are taken to enable the Honourable Members to spend more time with their constituents, as a defining feature of our democracy which we wish to be a participatory system

Throughout the election campaign the people showed great interest in the issues which the political parties raised. At the same time they showed a willingness themselves to participate in confronting the challenges facing our country.

To help address both these issues and further entrench the democratic system in our country, we would urge the Members of Parliament to reach out more regularly to the electorate.

We are, of course, also conscious of the fact that as in the last parliament, you will be fundamental to the process of the transformation of our country.

The demands on your time will therefore be great, but I am certain that building on the experience of the last five years, we will be able to plan so that everything that needs to be



done is done. Similarly, the executive will have to work in a manner which strengthens the links between itself and the people. Among other things, this would provide the Government with the opportunity to assess, directly from the people, whether its policies are producing the intended results.

Any isolation of the Government from the people would be inconsistent with the democratic system we seek to build.

Again building on our experience of the last five years, we will have to improve the interaction between the executive and the legislature to ensure that both branches of our system of governance are able effectively to carry out their work as defined in the Constitution while contributing to the enrichment of our democracy.

Congratulations to the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker on their election to the high positions they hold. I am certain they will continue to discharge their responsibilities with the wisdom, dignity and fairness required of their posts.

Finally, let me thank all the Honourable Members of the National Assembly for the confidence you have shown in me by entrusting me with the responsibility of President of the Republic.

I am aware that the millions of our people expect that we will move faster in pursuit of the goal of a better life for all.

Equally, I am aware of the negative consequences of any failure to move forward faster in a credible and sustained fashion.

Many of the problems we face require the greatest possible unity among ourselves as South Africans so that we use our massed strength for the benefit of the country as a whole.

And yet all of us are aware that our country continues to be divided along racial and other lines and is, therefore, that much more difficult to unite around common objectives.

The new Presidency will have to focus on all these matters, in the interests of the country as a whole.

I am very pleased that I can count on the support of this House. And we will, ourselves, strive to maintain regular contact with yourselves.

Once more, thank you very much and best wishes to you all.

## APPENDIX R

Mbeki, Thabo. "Address at the Opening of Parliament" (25 June 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/9906281018a1006.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

### **ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, THABO MBEKI, AT THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, CAPE TOWN, 25 JUNE 1999.**

Madames Speaker and Deputy Speaker.  
Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces and Deputy Chairperson (one revolving, the other one permanent),  
Premiers of our Provinces,  
Distinguished representatives of local government,  
Deputy President of the Republic,  
Honourable Members of our National Parliament,  
Your Excellencies Ambassadors and High Commissioners,  
Distinguished guests:

We are on course.

Steadily, the dark clouds of despair are lifting, giving way to our season of hope.

Our country which, for centuries, has bled from a thousand wounds is progressing towards its healing.

The continuing process of social and national emancipation, to which we are all subject, constitutes an evolving act of self-definition.

At the dawn of a new life, our practical actions must ensure that none can challenge us when we say - we are a nation at work to build a better life!

When the millions of our people went to vote three weeks ago in peaceful elections that were free and fair, they guaranteed the permanence of the foundations from which we will advance to meet this objective.

To these masses we owe the obligation to recommit the government on whose behalf I speak, to the construction of a people-centred society. This I am happy to do with all the authority at my command.

What will guide us in everything we do will be the challenge to build a caring society.

This society must guarantee the dignity of every citizen on the basis of a good quality of life for every woman, man and child, without regard to race, or colour or disability.

It must be sustained by a growing economy capable of extending sustainable and equitable benefits to all our people.

We seek to replace a society which, in many instances, has been and continues to be brutal and brutish in the extreme.

Over the centuries this has condemned millions to a catastrophic loss of national identity and human dignity, land dispossession, classification and denigration as sub-humans and the systematic destruction of families and communities.

The society we seek to replace was, to a very significant degree, built on the law of the jungle of the survival of the fittest.

Accordingly, the weakest who were denied access to power became the landless, the unemployed, the uneducated, the surplus people deported to the so-called homelands, the victims of abject poverty.

Among these are those in our cities and towns who have lost all hope and all self-worth, who have slid into a twilight world of drug and alcohol abuse, the continuous sexual and physical abuse of women and children, of purposeless wars fought with fists and boots, with metal rods, knives and guns, everyday resulting in death and grievous bodily harm.

The society we seek to replace entrenched corruption in all areas of human activity informed by the notion that the concepts of right and wrong are dead and, therefore, that everything that serves my personal interests is permissible.

What we have said shows the enormity of the challenge we face to succeed in creating the caring society we have spoken of.

For this reason this is not a task that can be carried out by the government alone. The challenge of the reconstruction and development of our society into one which guarantees human dignity, faces the entirety of our people.

It is a national task that calls for the mobilisation of the whole nation into united people's action, into a partnership with government for progressive change and a better life for all, for a common effort to build a winning nation.

The Government therefore commits itself to work in a close partnership with all our people, inspired by the call - Faranani! - to ensure that we draw on the energy and genius of the nation to give birth to something that will surely be new, good and beautiful.

We invite all those in our country who occupy positions of authority and power to join in this new way of doing things, by engaging the people whom they serve and lead in the common effort to transform all of us into a people at work for a better South Africa.

One of the central features of the brutish society we seek to bring to an end is the impermissible level of crime and violence. Acting together with the people, we will heighten our efforts radically to improve the safety and security of all our citizens.

This will entail a variety of measures focussed on ensuring the effective implementation of the national crime prevention strategy. Let me mention a few of these, relating mainly to policing.

We will work to improve the professional competence and effectiveness of the Police Service by introducing new human resource development programmes.

I am also pleased to announce that new recruits with the requisite levels of education will be brought into the Service to help transform the Police Service into the pride of the nation.

Appropriate measures will be taken to give these recruits the necessary training so that they can assume their positions as soon as possible at all levels, including the senior management echelon.

At the same time, all relevant regulations will be reviewed to ensure the proper promotion and deployment of serving members, taking into account their competence, honesty and dedication and the need to end the racial and gender imbalances within the Police Service.

Steps will be taken to review the conditions of service of the Police Service with a view to their improvement.

This must also help us to ensure that we raise the public status of our policemen and police women so that they are seen, correctly, as the frontline guarantors of the fundamental human rights to liberty, life, safety and security.

To enable our law enforcement agencies to translate this into reality, I am privileged to announce that a special and adequately staffed and equipped investigation unit will be established urgently to deal with all national priority crimes, including police corruption.

I have directed that the Ministers of Safety and Security, Defence, Intelligence, Justice, Home Affairs and Finance must finalise all outstanding matters which relate to the activation of this unit within a fortnight.

Co-ordination of all security organs will be improved in accordance with the provisions of the National Crime Prevention Strategy.

Taking into account developments since its passage and to ensure that nobody benefits from the proceeds of crime, amendments to the Prevention of Organised Crime Act will be introduced. Legislation against money laundering will also be introduced.

Legislation will also be introduced to ensure that we can deal mercilessly with all crimes involving guns, including the illegal possession of firearms, the killing of police officers, corruption within the criminal justice system and the intimidation of witnesses.

A study conducted by the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit in the Office of the Deputy President has confirmed what surely all of us have known, of the correlation between crime, poverty and race.

The areas of high crime concentration, including all crimes of violence, are the black and poor areas of our country.

These include such areas as Tsolo in the Eastern Cape, Thabong in the Free State, Katlehong in Gauteng, Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal, KaNyamazana in Mpumalanga, Mafikeng in the North West, Galeshewe in the Northern Cape, Thohoyandou in the Northern Province and Mitchells's Plain in the Western Cape.

We will therefore make multi-disciplinary interventions in these areas, starting with a few pilot areas, drawing in all spheres of government and engaging the people themselves in an offensive to ensure that we reduce the levels of crime in these areas which are characterised by a high incidence of crime.

Measures will also be taken to strengthen the Community Police Fora to improve their capacity to mobilise the people against crime and to improve co-operation between the people and the law enforcement agencies.

As we have said, the partnership between the Government and the people will be one of the hallmarks of the national offensive against crime and violence.

We will also adopt this same approach of partnership with the people in the fight against corruption. In this regard, we must ensure that we pass the Open Democracy Act and move speedily to ensure the implementation of the provisions relating to the protection of whistleblowers.

The coming into force of the Public Finance Management Act will also increase our capacity to ensure proper control and accountability with regard to public finances.

New steps will also be taken to ensure the enforcement of the Code of Conduct for Public Servants as well as the proposals that emerged from the government and national anti-corruption conferences held during 1998 and 1999.

In this regard, standing arrangements will be entered into, requiring that the Public Service Commission and the representatives of the private sector account publicly for the actions to which they committed themselves at the conferences.

A further impetus will have to be given to the initiative of Religious Leaders against Corruption to achieve the "RDP of the soul" which Nelson Mandela spoke about.

I would like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the commitment of our government to honest, transparent and accountable government and our determination to act against anybody who transgresses these norms.

The South African Revenue Service, the Police Service and the Director of Public Prosecutions will further strengthen their co-operation in the fight against financial and economic crimes.

The example set by SARS of openness with regard to violations of the law, regardless of social standing of the violators, will be maintained.

Urgent work is proceeding to determine the possibility of establishing special commercial crime courts as soon as possible as well as the gathering of the necessary complement of intelligence officers, investigators and prosecutors to ensure that we deal effectively with white-collar crime.

The caring society of which we have spoken must, of course, successfully address the challenge of meeting the material needs of our people.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) were implemented by our first democratic government to achieve socio-economic transformation and macro-economic stability.

The structural changes entailed within these processes were also to take place within the context of our economy becoming more competitive as it integrated itself within the global economy.

The RDP and GEAR will remain the basic policy objectives of the new government to achieve sustainable growth, development and improved standards of living.

At the same time, we will actively address any remaining impediments to investment and job creation. Where the structural changes already achieved allow us to evolve new policies, we will do so.

Among other things, the revised GDP figures announced on the 21st of June confirm both the structural change that has taken place within our economy and the fact of a more robust economic performance than the pessimists would have us believe.

The challenge remains for all of us to get to know the real South Africa and, in this context, to fight back to defeat a frame of mind which drives some among us to hope and pray for failure and to celebrate such failure whenever it has occurred, or when we have convinced ourselves that it has occurred.

Our task is to build on the achievements reflected in the economic realities reflected in the figures issued by Statistics South Africa at the beginning of this week.

Accordingly, we have to work to increase both the level of investment and the savings ratio. This will include further steps to eliminate any dis-saving by the state and to introduce incentives to encourage saving.

The improvements in the deficit and debt ratios indicated in the latest GDP figures, will also give us some space further to increase public sector capital expenditure.

This will strengthen the improvement in capital expenditure by public authorities and public corporations reported in the GDP figures to which we have referred.

The further transformation of the state machinery will result in changes to the public expenditure patterns, against personnel costs, in favour of capital expenditure, including maintenance.

These processes will also involve the provincial sphere of government.

The Municipal Infrastructure Programme is now beginning to progress. To increase the momentum requires further improvements in local government financial management.

It also requires concerted action to promote public-private partnerships, which must be constructed on a fiscally sound and sustainable basis.

These matters, affecting the critical local government sphere will be attended to in a vigorous manner.

Investment by the public sector is closely associated with the restructuring of state assets. Progress in this area has been made over the last five years. We are now at a stage where further important restructuring can and will take place.

In the telecommunications sector, there will be further developments with the issuing of new licences. This will have a further positive impact on the expansion and modernisation of our telecommunications infrastructure, the affordability of services to consumers and investment in the economy.

I am happy to inform the Honourable Members that former minister, Jay Naidoo, will continue to work in this sector to assist in its further development domestically and to promote the African Connection, which is a critical element of the African Renaissance.

Some of the most important developments with regard to the restructuring of state assets will relate to Transnet. In part, the priority given to this corporation arises from the fact that the transport and logistic system it contains underpins the success of other major investment projects.

These include the Spatial Development Initiatives, the Industrial Development Zones, cross-border initiatives, the industrial participation programmes arising out of the defence procurement as well as our overall export drive.

The complex work that had to be done to prepare the Transnet corporation for its restructuring enabled us to put part of the national carrier, South African Airways on the market.

I am pleased to announce that the winning bidder is Swissair which will acquire 20 per cent of SAA at a price of R1,4 billion.

We are very satisfied with this result, convinced that it will bring maximum benefits to our country, further strengthen our relations with the Confederation of Switzerland and again demonstrate in practical terms the importance of a measured approach towards the important issue of the restructuring of public assets.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate our new strategic partner and to thank the Honourable Stella Sigcau for the work she did to enable us to reach the important stage we have, during which we will deal with other business units within the Transnet group.

Similarly, the liquid fuels and petro-chemical industry will be given priority, with the Ministries of Minerals and Energy, Trade and Industry and Public Enterprises acting together.

This includes finalisation of discussions with the Government of Mozambique with regard to a gas pipeline from their gas fields to South Africa.

The outcome of these processes will result in adding a highly competitive dimension to the productive economies of southern Africa.

The Government will continue to intensify its work to facilitate investment by the private sector, ensuring that the institutions that have been established to promote investment and the system of incentives achieve the desired results.

Further to improve our effectiveness in these areas, we will shortly establish an International Investment Council.

This prestigious Council, which will include some of the leading players in the global economy who are driven by a passionate desire to ensure that we succeed as a country, will work with the President, as well as our leading business people and trade unionists to help us ensure that South Africa is an attractive destination for foreign investment.

Consistent with our determination to strengthen our partnership with the people for the achievement of our common goals, four Working Groups will also be established bringing

government together with big business, the black business sector, commercial agriculture and the trade unions.

The development of small, medium and micro enterprises remains a top priority of government. Accordingly, new measures will have to be instituted to record more success than has been the case to date.

We have listened very carefully to what the actors in this area of the economy have said. Accordingly, the policy and institutional framework to support and encourage this sector is being reviewed. We will announce new decisions in this regard within the next three months.

The Government will also place more emphasis on the development of a co-operative movement to combine the financial, labour and other resources among the masses of the people, to rebuild our communities and engage the people in their own development through sustainable economic activity.

There are two other areas that have an impact on investment.

Interest rates remain high. The Reserve Bank and the Ministry of Finance will continue to address this matter carefully, conscious of the negative impact these high rates have on the desired higher rates of investment and growth.

The other area that has attracted considerable comment is the labour market and its actual or perceived impact on investment and job creation. Much of this commentary is ill informed or promotes a particular ideological or political point of view.

The most recent independent study on this issue was published by the ILO in February, this year.

The report states that:

" One of the key findings of the study was that when compared to other middle-income countries, labour regulations on dismissal, fixed-term contracts and working conditions do not appear to be particularly onerous...A degree of numerical adaptability (at exit) does exist - thus dismissing the view that inflexible labour markets are at the heart of the employment problem...Unfortunately employers perceive that the recent "avalanche" of labour market policy now make it more onerous to employ. These perceptions, whilst they may not be rooted in reality when one considers the regulatory environment in other countries, do appear to be influencing the behaviour of the economic actors..."

The Government will continue to give priority to the issue of job creation. If perceptions or realities influence the process negatively, these must be addressed.

Accordingly, in keeping with the decisions taken at the Job Summit, consultations have been taking place with our social partners to identify such possible areas.

These include probation, remedies for unfair dismissals, dismissals for operational requirements, the extension of bargaining council agreements and certain provisions of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

We will continue to discuss these matters with our social partners to address the efficiency of the labour market.



Job creation, the opening up of opportunities for all our people to earn an honest living as well as the protection of the rights of all our working people, remain matters of critical concern to the Government.

We will continue actively to address all these matters, including such important questions as skills development, the casualisation of labour, illegal foreign workers and workers whose rights are not protected.

All necessary measures will be taken to ensure the implementation of all other decisions taken at the Job Summit. The necessary funds have already been voted to meet the commitments the Government made at this Summit.

All our partners have an obligation themselves publicly to report on the actions they have taken and are taking to honour their undertakings.

An important project that will soon be implemented within the context of the Job Summit will be the improvement of public buildings to enhance access and use by disabled people. This initiative, elaborated by the disabled, the National Youth Commission and Public Works will be implemented soon, as part of the programme decided at the Job Summit.

The Umsobomvu Fund for youth development and training will become operational as soon as the Old Mutual has completed its demutualisation process.

The Board of Trustees of the National Development Agency will be constituted shortly. Hopefully, this will assist in ensuring the further mobilisation of the people themselves to participate in the development process as agents working for social change and their own advancement.

I am pleased to announce that, immediately, the Minister of Trade and Industry will make recommendations to the Government with regard to those who competed to run our national lottery.

This important matter will be concluded within the next fourteen days. In a few months, it will be possible to allocate even more resources to the promotion of the good causes to which the Government and institutions such as the NDA and the IDT are committed.

Madam Speaker, the rural areas of our country represent the worst concentrations of poverty. No progress can be made towards a life of human dignity for our people as a whole unless we ensure the development of these areas.

The Government is now in a position to implement a rural development programme for the integrated development of the rural areas. This will bring together all government departments and all spheres of government, including the traditional leaders.

The integration we seek must, for instance, ensure that when a clinic is built, there must be a road to access it. It must be electrified and supplied with water.

It must have the requisite personnel, qualified to meet the health needs of the particular community.

The safety and security of the personnel and material resources which are part of the clinic must be guaranteed.

We must also establish the conditions which give the possibility to this medical point to radiate outwards as a point of reference with regard to the larger project of our self-definition as a people at work, building a better life for ourselves.

Consistent with our concentration on this objective, including the critical importance of jobs, the Government remains preoccupied with the issue of gold sales and their impact on gold mining, employment and export earnings, both in our own country and the rest of our Continent.

Working within the Gold Crisis Committee, we will continue to maintain contact with all relevant players both domestically and throughout the world to minimise the inevitable adverse effect on our country, our people and our Continent.

The debt burden of those who cannot both carry this debt and achieve sustained development must be addressed.

In the same way that we have demonstrated our own commitment to contribute to the development of others less fortunate than ourselves, by forgiving the debts of some of our neighbours, we expect that those who are a thousand times wealthier than we are, will not seek to help us as Africans by rendering us less capable of standing on our own feet.

Further to improve the quality of life of all our people, especially the most disadvantaged, the Government will maintain its approach to reprioritise public spending to maintain and improve the safety net available to the most disadvantaged in our society.

It is however vital that we improve the quality of spending in these areas and therefore the delivery of services to the people.

This will be done by managing downwards the amounts spent on personnel, rooting out corruption and theft, improving management skills throughout the social sector and ensuring an integrated, inter-departmental approach to the delivery of services.

Special programmes will also be introduced to speed up the improvement of the quality of life of various sections of our population.

These will include the accelerated delivery of assistive devices for the disabled and the establishment of one-stop centres for abused women and children.

The Office on the Status of Women will present a gender audit to Government by September. This will enable the Government to evaluate the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the Plan of Action on Gender, which the previous government adopted.

This will enable us to take such decisions as may be necessary to ensure that we continue to focus on the vital question of the development and emancipation of women as well as further integrate this issue within all government programmes.

The advances made in this National Parliament and the National Executive with regard to gender equity, point to the need to adopt a similar approach with regard to all other centres of authority and power in our society.

Similarly, the Government will tighten its tracking of the poverty question to ensure that government policies and programmes are actually succeeding to reduce the levels of poverty in our country.

The funds set aside for poverty alleviation will also be allocated without further delay and will be used not as handouts but as a catalyst towards sustainable development.

The Government will also review all the work done so far to confront the scourge of HIV/AIDS with a view to the intensification of all efforts relating to this epidemic.

Of critical importance will be that we take all necessary steps to ensure that the partnerships against HIV/AIDS that have been formed and the public education campaigns we have been conducting do actually result in changing behaviour patterns, improve support to AIDS victims and orphans and speed up steps towards the development of a vaccine.

An historic document of the people of our country asserts that as a consequence of the victory of the struggle for national liberation - the doors of education and learning shall be open to all!

Many people, including our youth, died and sacrificed for the realisation of this objective. They did so because they understood the importance for themselves and all our communities of the right to freedom from ignorance.

Consistent with this correct view, we must ensure that education and training constitute the decisive drivers in our effort to build a winning nation.

The Government will therefore intensify its focus on education so that we succeed in our effort to produce an educated and appropriately skilled population.

A great deal of work has been done in this area affecting all levels of education and training. We will therefore ensure that existing policies and programmes are carried out with a sense of urgency and commitment to their success.

To achieve these results, we will also have to engage in massive in-service training programmes for educators in all fields and at all levels, as well as the transformation of pre-service training.

We will have to focus on an outcomes-based assessment as well as on quality management systems. Our human resource development strategies will only succeed if the people assigned to develop our human resources have the capacity to do so.

All necessary steps must and will be taken to ensure that learners learn, educators educate and managers manage.

Once more we will also take the necessary measures to mobilise the people, including the parents, so that we succeed as a country to meet the challenge of educating all our people in a manner that is consistent with the demands imposed on everybody by the process of globalisation.

The Government is also determined to ensure that the machinery of state is geared towards serving the people in keeping with the vision of "Batho pele!"

We will speed up the completion of the Skills and Service Audits currently being carried out. This audit is aimed at defining service needs, the availability of skills and the possibilities for redeployment to support the process of the restructuring of the public service.

Action will be taken on the basis of this audit, as well as other initiatives, to right-size the public service, to improve skills levels, to improve the quality of management and release more resources for the actual provision of services to the people.

We will also work with the South African Local Government Association to lend all necessary assistance to ensure that this sphere of government improves its effectiveness and efficiency, bearing in mind that this is the point at which our entire system of government delivers services to the people.

In this context, we must make the point that to overcome the problem of urban poverty, will require that local government adopts and pursues a consistent programme of poverty relief, without discrimination on the basis of race or colour.

Our Government is ready and willing to support this effort.

The promotion and protection of the cultural, linguistic and religious rights of all our people must occupy a central place in the work of Government.

It should not happen that anyone of us should feel a sense of alienation. Whatever the sicknesses of our society, none should be driven to levels of despair which drive them to a peripheral existence at the fringes of the mainstream.

Nor should we allow that those who were denied their identity, including the Khoi and the San, continue to exist in the shadows, a passing historical relic and an object of an obscene tourist curiosity.

We consider the work of restoring the pride and identity of all our people of vital importance to the task of advancing the human dignity of all our citizens and ensuring the success of our efforts towards national reconciliation and nation building.

We will work for the speedy implementation of the constitutional requirement to establish a Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Language, Cultural and Religious Rights.

We will also work with the traditional leaders to resolve all outstanding matters relating to the important question of the role of our traditional leaders in our system of governance.

The Ministries of Sports and Recreation as well as Arts, Culture, Science and Technology will play a special role with regard to the critical work to ensure that all our cultures and languages occupy their rightful place within the rich tapestry that constitutes our diverse being as a people.

This will be an important contribution to the effort we must sustain to wipe out the legacies of racism and sexism, which continue to afflict our society.

Capacity will be created within the Presidency to ensure that our Government, at its highest levels, gives attention to all these questions which bear on nation building.

The Government will also focus on the tasks of achieving the objectives of the African Renaissance and ensuring that the next century evolves as the African century.

We will therefore contribute whatever we can towards the resolution of conflicts on our Continent. We cannot accept that war, violent conflict and rapine are a permanent condition of existence for us as Africans.

Nor can we accept that our Continent, endowed with enormous human and natural resources, is incapable of achieving sustained development.

Everyday all those who will hear and see are exposed to the extraordinary integrated cultural heritage which both captures our African past and is an important factor that will contribute towards the recovery of our pride and dignity.

Gradually, Africa will work her way towards the resumption of her rightful place among the continents of our globe.

Where necessary, we will call on the services of such outstanding African statespersons as former Presidents Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Sir Ketumile Masire and Nelson Mandela to assist in the promotion of this agenda.

As part of the world community of nations, we will make our due contribution to the construction of a new world order that will be responsive to the needs of especially the poor of the world.

For us to succeed in our work, both as a Government and as a people, will require that we approach the tasks ahead with all due seriousness and a sense of discipline which recognises the fact that all rights are accompanied by obligations.

It will require that all of us defend the freedoms and the system of government guaranteed and created by our Constitution, underpinned by the understanding that the people are the final guarantors of our democracy, the subject of all government policies and their own liberators.

As the people went to the polls earlier this month, protected among others by our National Defence Force, which had also acted to defend life and democracy in Lesotho, they expected that the government they would elect would work selflessly to respond to their needs and aspirations, bearing in mind resource limitations.

We dare not and will not disappoint that expectation.

As a tribute to these masses, I would like to salute all the provincial winners of the President's Award for Community Initiative.

I am happy to announce that the national winner of the Award, whose work focused on such important issues as poverty alleviation, the emancipation of women, the rebuilding of communities, domestic violence and providing education on HIV/AIDS, is the Makgaung Community Project of the Northern Province.

May the selfless and creative work carried out by the women of the Northern Province serve to inspire all of us to spare no effort in the struggle to create a caring society.

We sit in this parliament, authorised by these women from the Northern Province and others who mirror them throughout our country, to work as their representatives.

We must assume that they were wise to have selected us.

If they were, as we must accept in our self interest that they were, this we must accept also that none of us should forsake their wisdom, as it will watch over us as we carry out our tasks.

Their wisdom will protect us, exalt and honour us, even as it costs us all we have, including the vanity of our prejudices.

If, by word and deed, we take our places among the ordinary people who position themselves among a nation that is at work to build a better life for all within a caring society, then should we expect that the poor of the world will set a garland of grace on our heads and present each and everyone of us with a crown of splendour.

Thus will we all arrive at the starting point - that we are on course!

Thank you.

## APPENDIX. S

Mbeki, Thabo. "Speech at the Launch of the African Renaissance Institute, Pretoria" (11 October 1999): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/1999/991011345p1001.htm>. (Accessed 26 July 2012).

### **SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, THABO MBEKI, AT THE LAUNCH OF THE AFRICAN RENAISSANCE INSTITUTE, Pretoria, 11 October 1999**

Chairperson,  
Distinguished Elders of Africa,  
Secretary General of the Organisation of African Unity,  
Your Excellencies Ministers, Ambassadors and High Commissioners,  
Distinguished participants,  
Comrades,  
Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very pleased indeed to welcome you to the launch of the African Renaissance Institute. I sincerely thank you for giving us, as South Africans, the opportunity to host this launch and for me to speak at this Opening Session.

I would also like to welcome to our country those of our brothers and sisters who come from beyond our borders.

Once more, we would like to express our profound appreciation to you all for the contribution that you made to our own struggle for liberation.

Liberated South Africa is therefore your home, not merely because it is an African country, but because without your determined struggles, perhaps we would not be a free people today.

The sacrifices the peoples of our Continent made to end the apartheid crime against humanity, which denied the very humanity of everybody who was African, were many and varied.

Among other things, the countries of Southern Africa also paid a very high price in human lives lost, as well as property and infrastructure destroyed, as they withstood the campaign of aggression and destabilisation conducted by the apartheid regime.

Undoubtedly, Angola and Mozambique paid the highest price in this regard.

I would like to take this opportunity, once more, to reiterate our profound appreciation to their governments and peoples for their extraordinary solidarity, which our people will never forget.

I am also very pleased to make special mention and pay tribute to our elders who are here, of whom we are justly proud and whose wisdom and African patriotism will make an important contribution to our common quest for an African Renaissance.

All of us are greatly distressed that that great son of all Africa, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, is unable to be here, owing to a difficult health condition. I am certain that we would all agree

that we should send him a heartfelt message of support and our wishes for his speedy recovery.

We have also received the apologies of another great son of our Continent, Ahmed Ben Bella, who could not join us owing to prior commitments.

Chairperson:

As you are aware, the movement of our own struggle for national liberation is the ANC, the African National Congress.

Brought up as we were by this movement and led by it, throughout the entirety of our political lives we have been exposed to the inspiring perspective of African unity and solidarity and the renewal of our Continent.

Beyond this, the struggle for our own liberation led to the development of perhaps the largest and most determined Pan-African movement of solidarity our continent has ever seen, involving both governments and all sections of the population, in every country.

We are therefore pleased and moved that some of our fellow Africans took the initiative to establish the Institute that we are launching today.

I am convinced that all of us present here share a common vision in favour of African unity and solidarity, African development and renewal and an end to the marginalisation of our Continent in world affairs and development processes.

It would seem to us vitally necessary that whereas, for some time, the achievement of these objectives has been left to our governments, it is necessary that we return this vision to the people.

We are therefore of the firm view that there is a critically important and urgent need to develop a Popular Movement for the African Renaissance.

Accordingly, we believe that political organisations and governments in all African countries should be mobilised to act in furtherance of the objectives of the African Renaissance.

Equally, the masses and their organisations in all African countries should similarly be mobilised and drawn into action.

We must also pay attention to the intelligentsia, the professionals, the trade unions, business people, women and the youth, the traditional leaders, cultural workers, the media and so on, to bring them into the popular struggle for Africa's rebirth.

The question has been posed repeatedly as to what we mean when we speak of an African Renaissance.

As all of us know, the word "renaissance" means rebirth, renewal, springing up anew. Therefore, when we speak of an African Renaissance, we speak of the rebirth and renewal of our continent.

This idea is not new to the struggles of the peoples of our continent for genuine emancipation. It has been propagated before by other activists for liberation, drawn from many countries.



But it has been suggested that when this perspective was advanced in earlier periods, the conditions did not exist for its realisation.

Accordingly, what is new about it today is that the conditions exist for the process to be enhanced, throughout the continent, leading to the transformation of the idea from a dream dreamt by visionaries to a practical programme of action for revolutionaries.

What, then, are these conditions! These are:

- \* the completion of the continental process of the liquidation of the colonial system in Africa, attained as a result of the liberation of South Africa;
- \* the recognition of the bankruptcy of neo-colonialism by the masses of the people throughout the continent, including the majority of the middle strata;
- \* the weakening of the struggle among the major powers for spheres of influence on our continent, as a consequence of the end of the Cold War; and,
- \* the acceleration of the process of globalisation.

As we take advantage of these changed circumstances, we must move from the fundamental proposition that the peoples of Africa share a common destiny.

Each one of our countries is constrained in its ability to achieve peace, stability, sustained development and a better life for the people, except in the context of the accomplishment of these objectives in other sister African countries as well.

Accordingly, it is objectively in the interest of all Africans to encourage the realisation of these goals throughout our Continent, at the same time as we pursue their attainment in each of our countries.

We speak of a continent which, while it led in the very evolution of human life and was a leading centre of learning, technology and the arts in ancient times, has experienced various traumatic epochs; each one of which has pushed her peoples deeper into poverty and backwardness.

We refer here to the three periods of:

- \* slavery, which robbed the continent of millions of her healthiest and most productive inhabitants and reinforced the racist and criminal notion that, as Africans, we are sub-human;
- \* imperialism and colonialism, which resulted in the rape of raw materials, the destruction of traditional agriculture and domestic food security, and the integration of Africa into the world economy as a subservient participant; and,
- \* neo-colonialism, which perpetuated this economic system, while creating the possibility for the emergence of new national elites in independent states, themselves destined to join the dominant global forces in oppressing and exploiting the masses of the people.

During this latter period, our continent has experienced:

- \* unstable political systems in which one-party states and military rule have occupied pride of place, leading to conflict, civil wars, genocide and the emergence of millions of displaced and refugee populations;
- \* the formation of predatory elites that have thrived on the basis of the looting of national wealth and the entrenchment of corruption;

- \* the growth of the international debt burden to the extent that, in some countries, combined with unfavourable terms of trade, it makes negative growth in national per capita income inevitable; and,
- \* actual declines in the standard of living and the quality of life for hundreds of millions of Africans.

The task of the African Renaissance derive from this experience, covering the entire period from slavery to date. They include:

- \* the establishment of democratic political systems to ensure the accomplishment of the goal that "the people shall govern",
- \* ensuring that these systems take into account African specifics so that, while being truly democratic and protecting human rights, they are nevertheless designed in ways which really ensure that political and, therefore, peaceful means can be used to address the competing interests of different social groups in each country;
- \* establishing the institutions and procedures which would enable the continent collectively to deal with questions of democracy, peace and stability;
- \* achieving sustainable economic development that results in the continuous improvement of the standards of living and the quality of life of the masses of the people;
- \* qualitatively changing Africa's place in the world economy so that it is free of the yoke of the international debt burden and no longer a supplier of raw materials and an importer of manufactured goods;
- \* ensuring the emancipation of the women of Africa;
- \* successfully confronting the scourge of HIV/AIDS;
- \* the rediscovery of Africa's creative past to recapture the peoples' cultures, encourage artistic creativity and restore popular involvement in both accessing and advancing science and technology;
- \* strengthening the genuine independence of African countries and continent in their relations with the major powers and enhancing their role in the determination of the global system of governance in all fields, including politics, the economy, security, information and intellectual property, the environment and science and technology.

These goals can only be achieved through a genuinely popular and protracted struggle involving not only governments and political parties, but also the people themselves in all their formations.

Such a popular movement for the fundamental renewal of Africa would also have to take into account the multi-faceted reality that:

- \* it is engaged in an extremely complex struggle which would be opposed by forces of reaction from both within and without the continent;
- \* it would achieve both forward movement and suffer occasional setbacks;

\* the continental offensive can only be sustained if the active populations of all countries are confident that none of the countries of the continent, regardless of the extent of its contribution to the Renaissance, seeks to impose itself on the rest as a new imperialist power; and,

\* the forces for change have to be built up and consolidated within each country, without ignoring or underestimating the imperative and the potential for an increasing co-ordinated trans-national offensive for the mutually beneficial renewal of the continent.

From all this, it is clear that the achievement of the historically vital African Renaissance requires that the peoples of our continent should adopt a realist programme of action that will actually move Africa towards its real renewal.

Accordingly, ways have to be found to ensure that:

\* the OAU is further strengthened so that in its work, it focuses on the strategic objective of the realisation of the African Renaissance;

\* links are built across Africa's borders among all social sectors to increase the levels of co-operation and integration;

\* steps are taken to ensure that both Africa and the rest of the world define the new (21st) century as an "African Century", in furtherance of the objective of the mobilisation of the peoples of the world to support the offensive for an African Renaissance; and,

\* work is done to persuade the rest of the world, including such important institutions as the UN, the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, NAFTA, the EU, MERCOSUR, ASEAN and others, to the point of view that we share with them the strategic view that it is obligatory that we all support the vision of an African Renaissance and that they should lend support to this process, guided by what the peoples of Africa themselves want.

The difficulty we will face with regard to the accomplishment of the last of these tasks is illustrated by the problem we are facing even as we stand here, of arriving at the point when we can conclude the bilateral agreement between our country and the European Union.

Stripped of all pretence, what has raised the question whether the agreement can be signed today or not, is the reality that many among the developed countries of the North have lost all sense of the noble idea of human solidarity.

What seems to predominate is the question, in its narrowest and most naked meaning - what is in it for me! What is in it for me! - and all this with absolutely no apology and no sense of shame.

None of us were present when the slaves were forced into the dungeons on the Isle of Goree in Senegal and on the island of Zanzibar.

But we would not be wrong if we came to the conclusion that those who survived these dungeons as well as their transportation across the oceans, did so because of a strong will to survive.

None of us were present when the people of the Congo were slaughtered in their millions, to satisfy the rapacious and insatiable greed of a Belgian monarch.

But we would not be wrong if we came to the conclusion that the Congolese people did not resort to mass suicide to escape the horror, because of a firm conviction that, in the end, as a people they were indestructible.

We were present when the colonial and racist powers put up the most determined resistance to deny the people of Algeria, Kenya, the Portuguese colonies, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa their freedom.

We know that the peoples of these countries and our Continent as a whole were not discouraged by what seemed to be overwhelming odds against them, because they were determined that the people's cause for national emancipation could never be defeated.

We bore witness to the unspeakable genocide that descended on the people of Rwanda in 1994.

We know that, in the end, these extraordinary Africans ended the slaughter themselves because they took it upon themselves to make the determination that Africa will not perish at the hands of her own sons and daughters.

That same spirit of optimism and commitment to overcome must inform all of us now as we build on the victories we have scored, to engage what will clearly be a titanic struggle to achieve Africa's Renaissance.

What will decide the outcome is not the strength of our opponents but our own determination to succeed.

Stretching through the mists, for a millennium, our common African history is replete with great feats of courage, demonstrated by the heroes and heroines and the heroic peoples, without whose loyal attachment to hope and the vision of a bright future for Africa, her people would long have perished.

The moment is upon us when we should draw on this deep well of human nobility to make this statement in action - that Africa's time has come!

We, in all our millions, including those of us who are in the Diaspora, will ensure that Africa will not be denied what is due to her!

The African century will not be proclaimed! It will come to be through struggle!

The struggle continues! Victory is certain!

We wish the African Renaissance Institute success in the historic mission we are all called upon to carry out, to end a long and dark night without whose ending no human being anywhere in the world can claim to be fulfilled as a human being.

\* The only ailment that has no cure is the spawn of a curse.

I thank you for your attention.

# APPENDIX T.

MOEKI, THABO. " ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC, 4 FEBRUARY", DEBATES OF  
THE JOINT SITTING, CAPE TOWN, HANSARD, 2000  
2-22. HANSARD, 2000: 2-22.



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

## DEBATES

## OF THE JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

SECOND SESSION—SECOND PARLIAMENT

1

FRIDAY, 4 FEBRUARY 2000

2

### PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

The Speaker announced that the President had requested that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened, in terms of Joint Rule 7(1), on Friday, 4 February 2000, at 11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

### ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker, I feel somewhat intimidated this morning. I see that we have Nelson Mandela with us. [Laughter.] [Applause.] Also, Graça Machel and my mother. [Applause.] I thought you might use your powers, Madam Speaker, to declare their presence in the House unconstitutional. [Laughter.]

Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker, Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP, hon members of our national legislature, President of the Constitutional Court, Chief Justice, other judges, heads of the security services, hon premiers, representatives of local government and distinguished guests, at no other point in time have we ever

been as well placed as we are today to take decisive forward steps towards the creation of the humane and people-centred society for which the organisations that were unbanned 10 years ago struggled for many decades. It is now 10 years since the people's organisations were unbanned, the last political prisoners released and the exiles began the journey back to the land of their birth.

In the course of a mere decade, we ended the entrenched and pernicious system of apartheid white minority rule. We have put in place a constitutionally governed and stable democratic system whose permanence has been underwritten by two successful general elections. We have put behind us the practice inherent within our social order for three centuries and more of the resolution of competing interests by resort to repression, violence and war. We have turned an economy that was headed towards a catastrophic meltdown into one that is poised to advance in a way that will address the needs of all our people. Where suffering and degradation were the only things that were certain in the lives of millions of our people, we have created a situation in which these millions are now better able to carry their pain, because hope has taken the place of despair. Having ended our dark days as a pariah country, we can rightly say that, today, the nations of our common universe are confident that out of South Africa will emerge a thing of value that will contribute to the building of a more humane world.

Surely, Madam Speaker, we are entitled to make the claim that as a people, both black and white, we did, in a mere decade, carry out a multifaceted task whose accomplishment speaks highly of the capacity of our people and all humanity to achieve results which can only be described as good and noble. I am, therefore, privileged to have this opportunity to extend heartfelt congratulations to all our people, regardless of race, colour and gender, for the extraordinary and sustained effort over the past 10 years which has enabled the overwhelming majority

among us to say: "We are proud to be South African!" [Applause.]

The good that has been done puts into very sharp relief everything that still has to be done to extricate millions of our people from the conditions of poverty, racism, sexism and violations of their human dignity from which too many of our people continue to suffer. However, I am certain that we are all inspired to act with greater vigour—and will indeed act with greater vigour—to achieve the fundamental transformation of our country, because at no point during its entire history has our country been in a better position to confront the challenges we face than it is today. At no other point in time have we ever been as well placed as we are today to take decisive forward steps towards the creation of the humane and people-centred society for which the organisations that were unbanned 10 years ago struggled for many decades.

Last month, the Food and Allied Workers' Union came across correspondence in the electronic mail of one of our companies. This correspondence originated from an engineer within this company, who has since been dismissed. As hon members will recall, among other things, this engineer wrote, and I quote:

I would like to summarise what the kaffirs have done to stuff up this country since they came into power. If a white buys a house, he pays transfer duties. If a kaffir buys a house, it is free of duties because he was previously disadvantaged. More than 20% of the GDP is embezzled by the kaffir politicians and corrupt civil servants. The UIF and state pension funds have been embezzled. Our girlfriends and wives are in constant threat of being brutally raped by some Aids-infested kaffir or gang of kaffirs. Every day someone you know is either robbed, assaulted, hijacked or murdered. Half these black bastards have bought their driver's licences from corrupt traffic cops. All I am saying is that Aids is not working fast enough!

Our successes in the struggle to move our country from apartheid to democracy have led many in our country to reach the premature conclusion that racism in South Africa is dead. This is despite the obvious and naked fact that to this day, and unavoidably, the racial divisions, inequalities and prejudices of the past continue to characterise our society.

Some in our country are so determined to close their eyes to this reality that those who are forced to swallow the bitter fruit of racial inequality and arrogance are regularly rebuked for speaking out against the pain they continue to endure. Such unadorned statements as those made by the company engineer serve a very important function in that they bring us face to face with the brutality of the racism that will continue to exist in our society unless all of us engage this monster consciously and systematically.

After discussions between the Government and the Human Rights Commission, agreement has been reached that the commission will, later this year, convene a national congress against racism. We are convinced that this important initiative will help to move our country faster towards the realisation of the goal contained in our Constitution of the creation of a nonracial society and impact positively on our continuing struggle for a nonsexist society. During this year, the Government will, therefore, give all necessary support to the Human Rights Commission to ensure that it succeeds in engaging all sectors of our society in the common effort further to intensify our offensive against racism and sexism.

Next year, at the request of the United Nations Human Rights Commission and High Commissioner Mary Robinson, our country will also host the International Conference against Racism. We feel greatly honoured that the international community, in recognition of our commitment to the struggle for a nonracial world, have chosen

our country to host such an important international gathering, which will be the first of its kind.

Hon members will have taken note of the deep concern expressed by various European governments at the growth of the extreme right wing in their part of the world. In one of his plays, *The Resistable Rise of Arturo Ui*, the outstanding German playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht warns against the resurgence of fascism with the unforgettable words: "The bitch is in heat again!"

We are committed to act in unity with the rest of the world to confront this challenge and will therefore begin the work this year, together with and under the guidance of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, to ensure that the international conference next year discharges its responsibilities to the peoples of the world. Because we have never been better placed than we are today further to push back the frontiers of racism, we are convinced that our own national congress against racism will also succeed in discharging its responsibilities to our people.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate hon members on the work they did to approve, on time, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act and the Preferential Procurement Policy Framework Act. We have assented to these and other pieces of legislation approved last month. The Government will act to ensure the observance of these laws as part of our common national offensive against all forms of inequality and discrimination, including racial and gender inequality and discrimination, as well as discrimination on the basis of disability. The recently completed gender audit will help us to carry out this task, as will the objectives set out in the Integrated Strategy on Disability.

The elimination of poverty remains one of the central objectives of the Government and the country. As we are all aware, this poverty is intimately related to the issues of racism and sexism which we have been discussing.

Its elimination is fundamental to the realisation of the goal of the restoration of the dignity of all our people. Accordingly, this places high on our agenda the task of ensuring that all of us act together to achieve high and sustained rates of growth for our economy.

Once more, we would like to make the point that we have never been better positioned than we are today to achieve the progress we have to attain with regard to this important challenge. Many major indicators point to the excellent work that has been done to place our country on a strong growth path. All indicators also signal that during this year, our economy will register much more vigorous growth than it did last year. Of great importance in this regard, indicating the resilience, effective restructuring and therefore improved international competitiveness of our economy, was the success we achieved in withstanding the effects of the East Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s.

Let us now turn to some of the major indicators to which we have referred. Whereas the Reuters December 1999 survey resulted in the highest projected GDP growth rates of 3,5% and 3,7% for the years 2000 and 2001 respectively, the January survey sharply raised these figures to 6,5% for both years. We should also compare these figures to average GDP growth achieved in the period 1993-98, which amounted to 2,7%.

In 1993 foreign direct investment amounted to R941 million compared to just under R6,5 billion in 1998, with portfolio investment growing from R2,4 billion to R20,4 billion in the same period. Whereas the level of inflation was 12,5% during the period 1990-94, it had come down to 5,2% for 1999 and is projected to come down further to 5% during this year.

At the height of the Asian crisis, the interest rate rose to 25,5%, but is currently down to 14,5%. Whereas the foreign reserves stood at R32,6 billion in January 1999, as of the

day before yesterday they had reached R46,4 billion. During the period 1990-94, the budget deficit as a percentage of the GDP averaged out at 6,6%, but was managed down to 2,9% during the period 1998-99.

In the past few days, because of the sound management of our financial system, a major international rating agency ranked South Africa with regard to the potential level of nonperforming loans in the same bracket with countries such as Austria, Finland, Hong Kong, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore and Spain. Similarly, the announcements, again made within the past few days, concerning investments in the automobile and air transport sectors by major international corporations reflect the confidence of the international business community in our economy and our country.

These and other developments vindicate the statement made by Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, chairperson of Anglo American PLC, when he spoke in Canada on 1 November last year. Speaking at the CIBC Wood Gundy annual dinner, he said, and I quote:

We believe that foreign investors who have been slow in placing direct investment as opposed to portfolio investment will increasingly share our assessment that South Africa is one of the most attractive emerging markets.

Our Government fully shares this confidence, which was also communicated to us by all the business leaders with whom we had the privilege to interact at the World Economic Forum at Davos.

When we spoke at the opening of our second democratic Parliament in June, we reported on steps that would be taken further to enhance the partnership between the public and private sectors with a view further to reinforce the growth and development of our economy. The four working groups we announced have now been established. Three of them have already met. The four working groups comprise big business, the



trade union federations, black business and the agricultural sector. Of these, only the last-mentioned group has not yet convened, owing to time constraints. These working groups do not replace Nedlac, but provide the possibility for Government to interact with these various sectors on the steps we should take as a country to achieve economic growth and development and to remove all obstacles that might impede the realisation of this goal.

I am also pleased to announce that the International Investment Council has also been constituted, except for three or four confirmations we are still expecting, about which, unfortunately, I am not at liberty to give any further details. The following constitute the membership of the council: Mr William Rhodes, vice president of Citigroup Incorporated of the United States; Dr George Soros, chairperson of Soros Fund Management; Mr Frank Savage, chairperson of Alliance Capital Management International of the United States; Mr Percy Barnevik, chairperson of Investor AB of Sweden; Mr Niall FitzGerald, co-chairperson of British-Dutch Unilever; Mr Minoru Makihara, chairperson of the Mitsubishi Corporation of Japan; Mr Sam Jonah, chief executive officer of Ashanti Goldfields of Ghana; Dr Tony O'Reilly of Independent Newspapers of Ireland; Mr Ratan N Tata, group chairperson of Tata of India; Mr Hassan Marikan, chairperson of Petronas of Malaysia; Sir Robert Ross, chairperson of D-Group of the United Kingdom; Mr Martin Kohlhausen, chairperson of Commerzbank of Germany; and Mr Jurgen Schrempp, chairperson of Daimler-Chrysler. [Applause.]

We would like to take this opportunity sincerely to thank these eminent international business leaders for their readiness to serve on the International Investment Council and their firm and unwavering confidence in our country and our economy. We look forward to working with them as the all-weather friends of our country and people that they are.

The Government is committed to the enhancement of the sound macroeconomic framework which is fundamental to the accomplishment of our economic goals. In this regard, we have already announced that we will be setting inflation targets as one of the measures to ensure this sound framework. I hereby confirm that we will proceed with this issue as we have indicated. The hon the Minister of Finance will address this matter when he presents the Budget in 19 days' time. Driven as we all are by the determination to ensure that our economy continues to expand and transform, I am confident that all our social partners will work with us to achieve the purposes which informed the decision to set inflation targets.

For some years now, we have maintained the position that we will work continuously towards the removal of the foreign exchange controls we inherited from the apartheid regime. Accordingly, we have already removed all foreign exchange controls with regard to foreigners. The remaining controls, therefore, relate only to South Africans. Again, the Minister of Finance will address this issue when he presents the Budget on 23 February.

The Government is concerned about our low savings ratio and the negative impact this has on our rate of investment. We have, therefore, constituted an interministerial group to work on this important issue. After the necessary interaction with our social partners, and later this year, the Government will announce to Parliament and the country the steps it proposes should be taken to address this matter.

Last June, when we presented the state of the nation address, we said that an area that had attracted considerable comment was the labour market and its actual or perceived impact on investment and job creation. We went on to say:

The Government will continue to give priority to the issue of job creation. If perceptions or realities influence the process negatively, these must be addressed.

Consistent with these observations, the hon the Minister of Labour has led a review of the labour market legislative framework. This has included interaction with our social partners at Nedlac. As a result of this review, the Government has concluded that certain aspects of the legislative instruments aimed at giving effect to our labour market policies have led to unintended consequences. For this reason, to ensure that we address simultaneously such issues as fair labour standards and the fostering of economic growth and job creation, amendments to certain provisions of the Labour Relations Act, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Insolvency Act will be introduced this year. [Applause.] The Minister of Labour will provide the details of the areas identified for legislative review.

The Government is also concerned about improving the level and effectiveness of investment by the Government itself. This includes capital expenditure directed at encouraging the growth of small, micro and medium enterprises. We have, therefore, carried out a comprehensive review of Khula and Ntsika to ensure that they discharge their responsibility to give financial and other support to small and medium business. This, coupled with other measures, should enable us to speed up the growth of this sector of our economy, with a positive impact on employment creation, among other things.

Work is also going on to address the issue of microlending, especially as this relates to lending for productive economic purposes. This is especially relevant to the issue of the alleviation and elimination of poverty which continues to afflict millions of our people in both rural and urban areas.

As part of the process of encouraging economic growth and development, we have also established the Local Economic Development Fund to support municipalities as they work to meet their mandate of stimulating economic development at the local level.

The fund has already started to make its disbursements, thus helping to give hope and income to people who are unemployed in both urban and rural areas.

Improvements are also being effected with regard to our Public Works community programmes. These programmes will focus in particular on such infrastructure as rural roads, which are of critical importance to the success of our rural development strategy, to which we will refer later.

Our activities will also continue to focus on the important issue of the deracialisation of our economy and, therefore, the encouragement of black economic empowerment. The working group with black business will facilitate this process, including the consideration of reports prepared by the Government and the Black Economic Empowerment Commission respectively.

At the same time, the Government will continue with its work to improve our infrastructure. Of particular importance in this regard will be the activities of such state corporations as Transnet, Eskom, Telkom, the Roads Agency and the Municipal Infrastructure Investment Programme with regard to the expansion and improvement of our transport, electricity and telecommunications infrastructure.

The programme for the restructuring of state assets is also being speeded up to address these objectives, to increase the levels of investment and further to modernise the economy. During this year we will pay particular attention to the Transnet group to continue the process of change represented by the acquisition of a valuable strategic partner by SA Airways last year. Of special importance will be our capacity to ensure that the cost structure of our transport network is consistent with the high and sustained growth rates we have to achieve.

Consistent with the decisions taken at the Jobs Summit, both the public and the private sectors have committed the necessary funds

for the promotion of the tourism sector, commonly accepted as potentially one of the most important sectors with regard to job creation. The work has therefore begun vigorously to promote the growth of this sector. We are certain that this will produce the necessary beneficial results.

While we were at Davos, I received a letter from Profs Nicholas Conard and John Parkington of the Universities of Tübingen and Cape Town respectively. They make the following important observation, and I quote:

The archaeological record of South Africa, including human fossils, artefacts and organic remains, has an international significance that extends far beyond the country's borders . . . Less well known are the hominids that demonstrate the earliest signs of modern people and the treasure trove of rock art sites.

While correctly pointing to the need to protect this heritage, to which we must surely respond, they also indicate the potential for job creation in the preservation of and other activities at the various archaeological sites. Needless to say, these can also be powerful tourist attractions, thus emphasising the importance of the matter raised by the two professors with regard to the challenge of looking after what we have inherited, which is as old as the origins of humanity.

As we indicated would be done when we opened the new Parliament last June, the Government carried out extensive and intensive work to elaborate an integrated and sustainable rural development programme. The implementation of this programme will begin this year. The strategic objective we will pursue will be to ensure that we achieve integrated and sustainable development in our rural areas outside of and in addition to the commercial farms by the year 2010.

We chose to focus on these areas to reverse a century-old legacy of white minority rule

according to which millions of our people were confined in poverty-stricken areas alternatively described as native reserves, Bantustans and homelands. The hon the Deputy President and Leader of Government Business will provide the details on this matter.

Last June, I made specific reference to our commitment to deal with the relationship between poverty and crime. Accordingly, the Government has been working to address the multifaceted crime and poverty challenges thrown up by the urban areas we identified. Time will not allow us to detail the varied work that is being done in these areas. An opportunity will have to be found in future to present that detailed report. At this stage, suffice it for me to say that these areas of high population density will be at the centre of our urban renewal programme. This is particularly important in the light of the fact that, in reality, the urban areas contain the largest concentrations of poverty in our country.

I would like to take this opportunity, once more, to emphasise the importance we attach to the strategic objective of building the partnership between the public and the private sectors. We will, therefore, further intensify our links and co-operation with the private sector for the successful implementation of the various economic initiatives we have mentioned.

Similarly, we are very encouraged by the response of our people as a whole that we should transform ourselves into a nation at work. Throughout the country, from the wine farms in the Western Cape to rural communities in the Northern Province, the people are responding to this call by taking the initiative to engage in the challenge of productive economic activity. The Government will work further to encourage its partnership with the people for development, which will help to lay to rest the false notion that the Government has the exclusive responsibility to create jobs and there-

fore that everybody should wait for the Government to create these jobs.

In this context we must warn very strongly that illegal and unjustified strikes, such as the one recently experienced at Volkswagen in Uitenhage, cannot be tolerated. [Applause.] Jobs, a better life for our people in the context of a growing economy and our standing in the eyes of the international and national investor community cannot be held hostage by elements pursuing selfish and antisocial purposes. Accordingly, the Government has worked with the management of Volkswagen as well as Numsa to ensure that the problem created by some irresponsible elements at this plant is resolved. The Government will not waver from this position.

In this context, I must also make clear that the Government is determined to carry out the programme for the renewal of our minibus-taxi fleet and the introduction of other measures to ensure that this sector provides a safe, dependable and disciplined service to the public. [Applause.] Aging minibuses which were designed as family vehicles cannot be allowed to roam our roads, condemning paying passengers to risk their lives by travelling in mobile coffins. As some of our provincial governments demonstrated when they closed down taxi ranks to deal with the continuing problem of taxi violence, and while we are ready to engage in genuine consultations, it is a mistake to think that the Government can be intimidated into taking wrong decisions. [Applause.]

Here we would also like to make the point that a low tax morality has led to an increase in tax criminality. The SA Revenue Service will, therefore, introduce new measures which will result in tough action against noncompliant taxpayers who defraud the fiscus of millions of rand through VAT and customs fraud, tax evasion or by not registering for tax at all. Tax criminality feeds other forms of criminality and will also not be tolerated.

We are certain that the combination of the various economic initiatives and processes we have mentioned, including the continuing implementation of all the commitments made at the Jobs Summit, will take us further forward as we address the ever urgent questions of economic growth, development, job creation and poverty reduction. In this regard, we must also mention our hope that the European Union will overcome the problems that have arisen within its ranks which have affected the unhindered implementation of the trade and development agreement which was concluded between ourselves and the EU.

Similarly, we continue to work hard to conclude the matters relating largely to the issue of rules of origin which have delayed the implementation of the SADC trade protocol. We remain convinced that this protocol will come into force during the first half of this year, signifying a critically important step forward towards the transformation of our region into a common economic area. At the same time, we will continue purposefully and systematically to increase our economic relations with countries of the South for our mutual benefit, including Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Brazil, India, Malaysia and China. As hon members are aware, all these matters are of great importance to the success of our economy and will, therefore, receive the necessary attention.

Also receiving similar attention is the problem represented by the fact that we still have not removed the bottlenecks which result in a slow disbursement of funds allocated for poverty relief. The Government has determined that this is unacceptable, while recognising that it reflects the fact that we have not yet completed the work of the fundamental restructuring of our system of governance. These poverty relief funds represent an important part of our social expenditure, which continues to be focused on meeting the social needs of the most disadvantaged in our society. The Government

will continue to allocate significant resources to address these needs as best we can.

We will, therefore, continue with our programmes to address such matters as pensions and social welfare, housing, education and medical care. At the same time, we are working towards the creation of an integrated social security system further to improve the quality of our social spending and to enhance its positive impact on those in our society who are most in need. It is, however, also clear that we need to strike the proper balance between such expenditure and more direct economic expenditure by the public sector to ensure that we address the challenges of growth and redistribution together. This is also being attended to.

Later this year, at the beginning of July, our country will host the 13th International Aids Conference. This will help further to focus our attention on this important challenge. As we announced when we spoke in the NCOP last year, the hon the Minister of Health continues to address the complex questions which relate to the issue of Aids. What seems to be clear, as of now, is that in addition to the work that is being done, and which must be intensified, regarding the sexual behaviour of our people and the use of condoms, all possible interventions will have to be made to deal with the challenges of poverty and malnutrition, a whole range of well-known diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, hepatitis and others, as well as the development of the required vaccines. It is necessary that we further strengthen our partnerships against Aids to ensure that the anti-Aids message reaches all our people. I would also like to take this opportunity to wish the National Aids Council success in its work.

Of great importance to our successful development is the matter of human resource development. Both the Skills Levy Fund and the Umsobomvu Fund will be used to help us to deal with this matter. The Tirisano

programme launched by the hon the Minister of Education also constitutes an important component of our offensive to ensure that we develop the necessary levels of education and training. In particular, this year, we will pay special attention to the improvement of the quality of the management of our schools with the intention to ensure that we really reinductate the culture of learning, teaching and discipline throughout our school system.

Two days ago I had the privilege to participate in the celebration of the success achieved by a group of Soweto high school students who obtained their matriculation exemptions. What is remarkable about this group is that both their parents and their teachers had given up on them because of their involvement in crime and other deviant behaviour. Nevertheless, two outstanding South Africans, Mrs Jacky Maorohanye, who participated in the Soweto uprising of 1976, and Dr T W Kambule, an old and distinguished teacher and principal, now aged 79, decided to act as parent and teacher to these young people. Through the work of their Ithuteng Trust, we now have 1 500 Soweto youths who not only study hard, but also carry out important voluntary community work, including educating their peers to turn against crime, rape and drug abuse. [Applause.] We have to inspire all our schools to emulate the example of the Ithuteng Trust, which can truly be described as an outstanding example of the South African miracle.

When we addressed Parliament at the end of June last year, we made a commitment to step up the fight against crime. This we have done and will continue further to intensify our offensive. Among other things, this involves the restructuring and revamping of our entire criminal justice system. This work is also proceeding apace and includes the improvement of our capacity effectively to deal with the crimes of rape and the abuse of women, children and the disabled. Similarly, we will not relax our efforts to root out

corruption in our society, with special focus on the public sector. The hon Ministers heading the criminal justice system, including the Ministers of Home Affairs and Defence, will have occasion to report on the important work they are doing, severally and collectively, within the context of our National Crime Prevention Strategy.

We are still faced with the task of completing the process of the restructuring of the machinery of Government. Among the objectives we are pursuing are the raising of the skills levels within the public sector and retaining professional personnel; improving management, financial accountability and service delivery; combating corruption and the abuse of public resources; enhancing the motivation of all public sector workers to serve the people of our country; and increasing the proportion of public funds spent on investment. Additional steps will, therefore, be taken this year to ensure the right-sizing of our Public Service.

This year we will be holding our second local government elections. We are confident that, once again, we will all work together to ensure that these elections are held in conditions of peace and peaceful political competition and that they are free and fair. We will appeal once more to members of the Public Service and our population at large to volunteer their services to assist the Independent Electoral Commission to carry out its tasks as effectively as it accomplished the task of organising and conducting the general election.

I am convinced that we will also succeed in removing the misconceptions that have arisen with regard to the local government demarcation process. This relates in particular to issues relating to communal areas and the constitutionally guaranteed place and role of the traditional leaders and the traditional institutions of government. Once again, I would like to assure our traditional leaders, whose representatives around our

country I will see during the coming weeks, that the demarcation process bears no relationship whatsoever to, and has no negative impact on, their role and powers. Accordingly, we will still rely on them to continue to mobilise the people they represent to participate in the processes of the further entrenchment of democracy and the enhancement of development in the rural areas. [Applause.]

When we spoke from this podium in the millennium debate last year, we urged that we should use this year to prepare for the launch of the African century. Specifically, we said:

... we should devote the year 2000 that is upon us to doing everything that needs to be done to ensure that by its end, we see our entire continent at the ready to join in a powerful movement of the peoples of Africa for the realisation of the African century.

The Government is committed to this goal and will do everything it can to ensure that it is realised. We also call on all our people in their various formations to respond to this call. The Government pledges its full support both to Nelson Mandela and to Sir Ketumile Masire of Botswana as they work with the governments and people of Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo to bring peace and democracy to these sister African countries. [Applause.]

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate our hon Minister of Trade and Industry on the work he has done in the past three years; as president of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, an international post he will relinquish soon. [Applause.] Many around the world, including our own people, will continue to rely on the hon the Minister of Trade and Industry to defend the interests of the poor of the world within the forthcoming World Trade Organisation negotiations. [Applause.] We ourselves will continue to do our best to discharge our responsibilities as

current chairperson of both the Nonaligned Movement and the Commonwealth.

As much as the rest of the world stood with us as we fought to end the system of apartheid, which struggle brought about the announcements that were made from this rostrum as the apartheid Parliament opened 10 years ago, so do we have an obligation ourselves to contribute to the construction of a better world for all humanity. From this, we cannot walk away. We should aim to make a meaningful contribution in this regard because with regard to all the important objectives we have to pursue, at no point during our entire history have we ever been as well placed as we are today to meet the challenges that confront us.

Our national soccer team, Bafana Bafana, is in West Africa participating in the African Cup of Nations tournament. We wish them well in their campaign, convinced that, once more, they will return with the Africa Cup. [Applause.] At the same time, it is clear that fairness and the development of soccer, this most popular world sport, demand that, for the first time, in the year 2006, the Soccer World Cup competition should take place in Africa. [Applause.] For this purpose, there can be no better venue than the land of human hope, that has all the necessary facilities, which our country is. [Applause.]

One among us, who sits in the back benches of the majority party, has composed a *Freedom Lament and Song*. In his lament, he says of the men and women that constitute humanity:

they are of spirit which is like the wind  
mind them  
when you touch them  
when you hurt them  
when you kill them  
when you are unkind to them  
when you are cruel to them  
mind them  
they will live in you  
and you in them  
like a story which does not end

It is out of these noble feelings that our own new world will be born whose sighting, perhaps at a distance, has inspired the spirit of hope which reigns so confidently in all corners of our beautiful land. His name is Mongane Wally Serote—poet, patriot and member of Parliament. [Applause.]

I thank hon members for their attention. [Applause.]

The Joint Sitting rose at 11:55.

## APPENDIX. U

Mbeki, Thabo. "Speech at the Opening Session of the National Conference on Racism" (30 August 2000): <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/0008301012a1001.htm>. (Accessed 4 April 2012).

### **Speech of the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, at the Opening Session of the National Conference on Racism, Johannesburg, 30 August 2000**

<http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/0008301012a1001.htm>

Chairperson, <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2000/0008301012a1001.htm>

Distinguished delegates:

On behalf of our Government, I am happy to welcome you all to this important Conference and to wish you success in your deliberations.

I would also like to thank Dr Barney Pitsoa and the rest of the Human Rights Commission, most sincerely, for the work they have done, first of all to ensure that this Conference is held and that it becomes the success it surely will be.

The public discussion that has taken place in our country in the last few months on the issue of racism, demonstrates the point unequivocally that in this area, we are faced with one of the most contentious issues on our national agenda.

Its discussion does not lead to the national feel-good atmosphere we all experience whenever our national sports teams score a victory over a foreign competitor or when other benign events occur that help us to forget the persisting racial divisions in our society.

Arguments are advanced honestly that such a discussion, about racism, can only lead to the division of our country into mutually antagonistic racial camps.

It is also said that it might very well encourage racial conflict, destroying the progress we have achieved towards national reconciliation, towards the birth of a happy rainbow nation.

It has been argued that those who point to the persistence of racism in our country are themselves racist. Those who propagate affirmative action are accused of seeking to introduce reverse racism, or, more directly, of resort to anti-white racism.

Some assert that the description 'racist' is merely an epithet used by bad people to insult others, as well as a means of intimidating and silencing those who hold views critical of the government.

Alternatively, it is said that the issue of racism is brought up by unscrupulous politicians, in an effort to mobilise black constituencies to support them. After all, so it is said, we ended apartheid and therefore racism, when we became a non-racial democracy in 1994.

On the other hand, others within our society argue that those who are most vocal in seeking to suppress discussion of this issue are those who benefited from centuries of colonial and apartheid racial domination.

These will go on to say that the privileged do not want this discussion because they want to maintain their privileged positions at all costs.



It is also said that in order to achieve this result, the privileged work hard to convince both themselves as well as the rest of society, that what is being complained of does not, in fact, exist, except for isolated incidents.

This is categorised as the denial mode, in terms of which the dominant instruments of propaganda, which, by definition, are at the disposal of the privileged, are used to obstruct recognition of reality.

The aggrieved will go further to argue that the privileged sectors of our society, accustomed to setting the national agenda, continue in the effort to set the national agenda, regardless of what the majority of our citizens might desire.

Of course, by this time, the latter have been empowered by the establishment of the democratic system to believe that they have the democratic right, openly and legitimately, to set this national agenda.

The point is also made that our process of national reconciliation has been somewhat of a charade. In this regard, it is said that only the victims of racism have responded to the call to forgive and to let bygones be bygones.

The charge is made that the perpetrators and beneficiaries of racial oppression and exploitation have acted merely to defend their interests, refusing to extend their own hand towards the victim, in a true spirit of reconciliation.

Among others, the response of certain sectors of our society to the request to them to make submissions to the TRC helped to reinforce the view that the beneficiaries of white minority rule were unwilling to contribute to the process of national reconciliation.

The same can be said of the initial response of sections of the media to the decision of the Human Rights Commission to hold hearings on the issue of racism in the media.

It is of course obvious to all participants at this Conference that colour and race would, essentially define the two schools of thought represented in the remarks I have just made.

Necessarily, this adds to the acrimony, the unpleasantness and, therefore, the difficulty of conducting a rational and even-tempered discussion on the question of racism.

With all these problems, some might legitimately pose the question - why not abandon this discussion until some later date, when we can discuss all these matters in a more propitious atmosphere!

The Government is firmly of the view that this would be a very serious mistake.

The postponement of this discussion would sharply exacerbate the danger of the social instability implicit in the racial divisions that continue to characterise our society.

Nevertheless, as we enter into discussion, it is clear that all of us will have to make a supreme effort to allow all points of view to be heard and discussed in an atmosphere that permits the free exchange of views.

As we begin to engage one another at this Conference, I would like to believe that there are some basic propositions on which we would all agree. Let me state some of these.

First: the practice of racism is both anti-human and constitutes a gross violation of human rights.

Second: as it has been practised through the centuries, the black people have been the victims of racism rather than the perpetrators.

Accordingly, what we have to deal with is white, anti-black racism, while giving no quarter to any tendency towards black, anti-white racism, whether actual or potential, as well as anti-Semitism.

Third: racism is manifested in a variety of ways, these being the ideological, existing in the world of ideas, and the socio-economic, describing the social, political, economic and cultural power relations of domination of and discrimination against the victims of racism.

Fourth: for many centuries racism has been a fundamental defining feature of the relations between black and white, a directive principle informing the structuring of these relations.

Fifth: the legacy of racism is so deeply entrenched that no country anywhere in the world has succeeded to create a non-racial society.

Indeed, a deeply disturbing resurgence of racism and xenophobia constitutes part of the current social and political reality in some of the developed countries of the North.

These countries pride themselves, perhaps justifiably, as the home and repository of the ideas and practice of human rights, democracy, equality and human solidarity, and leaders whose example we should emulate.

Sixth: global experience stretching over a long period of time, demonstrates that the creation of a constitutional and legal framework for the suppression of racism is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition to end this violation of human rights.

Accordingly, a constitutional and legally guaranteed right to equality and non-discrimination is very important in the fight against racism. Similarly, the legal possibility and right to redress in case of such discrimination is also critical.

At the same time, the creation of the socio-economic conditions enabling such equality to be achieved is fundamental to the realisation of that constitutional and legally guaranteed right to equality.

The American scholar Alan David Freeman has written that:

" The concept of 'racial discrimination' may be approached from the perspective of either its victim or its perpetrator. From the victim's perspective, racial discrimination describes those conditions of actual social existence as a member of a perpetual underclass. This perspective includes both the objective conditions of life (lack of jobs, lack of money, lack of housing) and the consciousness associated with those objective conditions (lack of choice and lack of human individuality) in being forever perceived as a member of a group rather than as an individual.

" The perpetrator perspective sees racial discrimination not as conditions but as actions, or series of actions, inflicted on the victim by the perpetrator. The focus is more on what particular perpetrators have done or are doing to some victims than on the overall life situation of the victim class."

*(Legitimising racial discrimination through anti-discrimination law: A critical review of Supreme Court doctrine)*

Whatever else we may disagree about, I would hope that, at least, we would agree about these propositions.

Let me address our own situation more directly. Once more, I would hope that we would agree on most, if not all, the observations I will make.

Racism has been a fundamental organising principle in the relations between black and white in our country, ever since Dutch immigrants settled at the Cape of Good Hope.

As the dominant group in our country, the white minority worked to structure all aspects of our national life consistent with the objective that the whites should always remain the dominant group and the black majority, the dominated.

Throughout this period of over three hundred years, this work, focused on the deliberate construction of a racially divided society, was done explicitly on the basis of a racist ideology, legitimised by its open and consistent adoption as official state policy.

The destruction of the Nazi and Fascist regimes in the world was one of the principal outcomes of the Second World War.

The apartheid system constituted a latter-day manifestation of the crime against humanity that Nazism and fascism had imposed on the European, Asian and wider world, more than a decade earlier.

Accordingly, as a country, bearing in mind the post-war process of de-colonisation and the advances achieved as a result of the civil rights struggle in the United States, we became the epicentre of the state-approved ideas of racism, to which all humanity could legitimately attribute such anti-human phenomena as racism and anti-Semitism, slavery and colonialism.

Our own specific history has created a situation that constitutes a common legacy and challenge.

The social and economic structure of our society is such that the distribution of wealth, income, poverty, disease, land, skills, occupations, intellectual resources and opportunities for personal advancement, as well as the patterns of human settlement, are determined by the criteria of race and colour.

An important part of this legacy is that the imposition of the ideology of the dominant group has led to the weakening of the self-respect, pride and sense of identity of the dominated.

This results in the incidence among some of the dominated of self-hate, denial of identity and a tendency towards subservience to a definition of themselves as would have been decided by the dominant power.

Clearly, it will take time for us to wipe out this legacy.

The struggle waged by the black majority against colonialism and apartheid, supported by some principled white compatriots and the rest of the world, has, in the first instance, been aimed at ending the relationship of dominant-and-dominated, as between white and black, and achieving equality among all South Africans, in all spheres of human life and activity.

However, the incorporation in our Constitution and national statutes of the objective of the creation of a non-racial South Africa has placed an obligation on our society as a whole to strive to achieve this outcome, as an agreed national task that transcends all narrow partisan interests.

Our constitutional and legal framework and regime provide us with a strong legal base to confront the scourge of racism. That base includes:

- our Constitution;
- international law, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination;
- domestic legislation such as the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination as well as the Employment Equity Acts; and,
- our jurisprudence, as represented, for instance, by the Constitutional Court decision in the City Council of Pretoria v Walker matter.

Our transition to a non-racial democracy in 1994 and the subsequent creation of the constitutional and legal framework we have just described, have not ended the inherited racist, discriminatory and inequitable divisions of our country and people.

Despite our collective intentions, racism continues to be our common bedfellow. All of us are therefore faced with the challenge to translate the dream of a non-racial society into a reality.

Fortunately for all of us, we have the advantage that the overwhelming majority of our citizens, whether we are white or black, or black or white, we are South African and African.

Almost all of us do not have the option to uproot ourselves, to resettle ourselves and our families in other, wealthier countries, happy to assume another nationality and proud to denounce our former homeland, South Africa, and continent, Africa, for their failures and brutalities.

Whatever the negatives we feel ourselves to be subject to, most of us take the view that we should address such negatives, rather than respond to them by packing our belongings and leaving.

Those of us who do not leave stay because we take the decision to fight for the emergence of a society that would enable us and our children to lead secure, comfortable and happy lives.

In a sense, this constitutes a prayer to the future. It also represents a confident confirmation of our conviction that we are capable and willing to participate in determining what that future will be.

Accordingly, what happens to South Africa, as a result of policies and practices originating from the government and other decision-makers in our society, is of direct concern to all our citizens.

This includes the most lowly and those most marginalised from the centres of social power, regardless of race, colour, gender, age and geographic location.

Consequently, what you will decide at this Conference is of the most fundamental importance to the millions of South Africans whose interests all of us in this hall claim to represent and speak for.

will therefore make bold to advise - please bear in mind that we are a multi-racial and multi-cultural society, born out of and conditioned by policies and practices that sought to emphasise our differences as these racial and cultural groups, rather than our commonalities as human beings who have lived together for many long years.

We must also recognise this, that all of us are products of what the intellectuals have described as a process of socialisation.

Accordingly, all of us are even conditioned to understand South Africa, our common home, in different ways.

Even at this Conference, the apparently simple question - how would you characterise present-day South Africa - will produce responses as varied as the colours of the rainbow.

As we try to determine what is best for us as a people, our intelligentsia will have to consider a wide variety of important matters. These include:

- the interconnections between the abstract and the empirical, between the ideal and the actual;
- social organisation, scientific inquiry and the impact of property relations on the integrity of the process of the expansion of the frontiers of knowledge; and,
- empirical evidence that we are actually succeeding, or not, to end the disparities that define some as the racially dominant and others as the racially dominated.

As I have said, hopefully all of us present here can find it within our possibility to agree also with these assertions about our own specific reality.

Needless to say, we are also perfectly at liberty to disagree with any and all of them.

Such an honest response is surely an inevitable and necessary part of the kind of discussion we need, that will enable us, collectively, to confront the challenge of racism.

All of us at this important Conference will have to answer the question - how do we respond to all the general and specific propositions we have presented to you, thus far!

This might very well include the response that all we have said constitutes the most unadulterated rubbish that you have ever had the pain to listen to.

Naturally, the delegates are perfectly entitled to arrive at this conclusion, having rationally argued that this is the only rational conclusion that any reasonable person would reach.

Having heard the charges that the government acts in a manner that seeks to intimidate those who differ with it, I would like to take this opportunity to encourage all our people to break through the barrier of fear and to speak their minds.

At the same time, they must understand that true intellectual discourse presumes the vigorous contention of ideas.

By this we refer to the concept put forward at some time in the history of China when, for better or for worse, the political establishment advanced the slogan - let a hundred flowers bloom! let a hundred schools of thought contend!

Given the difficult solutions we have to find to the hundreds of problems that confront all of us, with none of us occupying a privileged position of being the exclusive domicile of wisdom, we cannot but agree that, in our instance as well, let a hundred schools of thought contend!

We speak here of a contention of ideas and not the reduction of ideas to persons, such that intellectual debate is reduced to skirmishes, battles and a war among individuals, however much any idea might be identified with a particular individual.

I make these observations because I believe that as we discuss among ourselves at this Conference, it will be important that we do not transform our rejection of any views that might be expressed into hostility towards the individuals who might express such views.

Whatever our protestations and our elevated views of ourselves, many of us are still immersed in a learning process of how to handle open and vigorous debate.

I would now like to request your indulgence to state what our Government believes that we, as South Africans, can and should do to respond to the common challenge of racism.

One of the critical national and international challenges that confront us as a country and a people, is to succeed in the objective of creating a truly non-racial society.

Many across the globe believe, with good reason, that because of our specific history, we have the possibility and will make an important contribution to the universal struggle to defeat the scourge of racism.

Whatever the problems we face today, our Government is convinced that, as a people, we have the capacity to achieve this historic and epoch-making objective.

We are convinced that as a people, both black and white, we have the wisdom, ingenuity and sensitivity to the human condition that will drive and enable us to overcome the demon of racism.

Correctly, much has been made by people around the world about the 'miracle' of our transition from apartheid rule to a non-racial society.

At the heart of the sense of wonder and relief among the international community was the fact that, contrary to many expectations, we avoided a racial war, despite the racial brutality of the apartheid system and the racial antagonisms it generated.

The international community responded with a similar sense of wonder and admiration at the formation of, and the work done, by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, reinforced by the morality and humanism of that outstanding son of our people, the Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Unfortunately, we have not done the necessary work to assess what it was that made it possible for the miracle to happen, being seemingly content merely to bask in the universal praise.

But this we all know, that what we achieved was the product of conscious and purposive human efforts and the outcome of the understanding by the millions of our people that all of us, regardless of race and colour, are interdependent members of a common neighbourhood.

It was the result of the effort expended over many years to entrench the understanding among the millions of our people that black domination was as evil as white domination.

I am convinced that precisely because we can rely on the same factors that made our peaceful transition possible, we can say, with confidence, that we will, indeed, defeat the demon of racism.

The first step we must take towards the realisation of this goal is the common recognition by all of us, black and white, that racism exists and that it is indeed a very serious problem, without whose solution it is idle to speak of a new South Africa.

Secondly, we must abandon any notion that the problem of racism has nothing to do with me and is the responsibility of another. We have to treat racism as a problem that challenges the black people. We must treat racism as a problem that challenges white people.

It is obvious that it makes no sense whatsoever to argue that the responsibility to end racism resides with the victims of racism.

Another step we have to take is to make the common determination that, precisely because this issue is so fundamental to our future, we have to ensure that it is discussed frankly, freely and openly. We must be ready to take the pain that will be an inevitable part of this open discourse.

None among us should seek to suppress this discussion. To suppress it is to guarantee the perpetuation of racism, with the destructive consequences of which all of us must surely be aware.

These requirements place a particular obligation on the white section of our population, itself voluntarily to recognise the reality of racism, not to propitiate any sense of guilt, but to make a contribution to the bright future of our country which they legitimately expect.

It is not possible to over-emphasise this particular imperative, so central is its place among the panoply of initiatives we must take in the common struggle to end racism.

We will never succeed in the struggle against racism if the white section of our population does not join with its black fellow-citizens in common effort to transform ours into a non-racial society.

Naturally, I am aware of the justified feeling among many of our white compatriots that they were not responsible for racism and apartheid.

Accordingly, they argue that they feel insulted when the crimes of the apartheid system are blamed on them.

From this, it becomes an easy step to take to the conclusion that these compatriots have no particular obligation to heal a wound they did not cause.

Correct as this argument may be, nevertheless we have to respond to the actual situation that faces us in this country.

This actual situation is that racism organised our society in such a manner that the black oppressed could not possibly have a way of distinguishing between those who elected to enforce a racist system, and those who were the involuntary beneficiaries of racism.

Explained in other words, racism constitutes the practice of uniting people on the basis of race, even by statute, as in our case, and presenting them as a united entity relative to those who are the victims of racism. It is to such a united entity that the victims of racism must necessarily respond.

In this context, we must also recognise the fact that throughout a very long period of struggle against racism, very few of our white compatriots broke ranks with the system of white minority rule to join the black millions who were in rebellion against racist rule.

In this situation, it becomes easy to argue that - you may not have been against us, which we only know from what you say, but you were not with us, which we know because you were not with us in struggle!

It serves little purpose to take offence at a perceived attribution of guilt and therefore to decide to take no responsibility to help solve the challenges our country faces. In reality, such a position only serves to make it more difficult to end racism in our society.

If I may I would like to refer briefly to what the distinguished President of our Constitutional Court, Justice Arthur Chaskalson said last year when he addressed the Congress of the Jewish Board of Deputies.

He says that by the time he entered the legal profession, discrimination and humiliation of Jews in South Africa because of their religion "had ceased to be a significant factor in our lives." He continues:

" Then, the dominant defining characteristic of our family, within the broader context of South African society, was not our ethnic or religious origins, but the fact that we were white. Because of that, we were entitled to all the benefits then accorded by law to people who were white. We prospered, as so many of the Jewish community did, not only because of our work, but also because of the opportunities offered to us as whites. We were no longer part of a marginalised group within society; we had become part of a privileged group, and part of a society in which others were subjected on a daily basis to the discrimination and humiliation which had been the lot of so many of our ancestors."

As we engage the challenge of racism, it is also clear that we have to address the seemingly two-sided phenomenon of 'white fears and black expectations'.

Many within white society harbour fears that our country will slide into the abyss, if it has not already begun that slide. They fear that they will be the worst and perhaps the express victims of the impending catastrophe.

In her book, *Country of My Skull*, Antjie Krog says that General Constand Viljoen told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

" The Afrikaner can in no way detach himself from the past. But we must be allowed to make for ourselves an honourable role in the new dispensation. The Afrikaner feels disempowered, unsafe, his

language is threatened, his educational structures are in pieces - in short, the Afrikaner feels flooded by the majority and he has nowhere to turn."

In this situation, the many negative things that do happen in our country, as they do in any other, are easily read as confirmation that the expected dismal future is on its way.

It is in this context that even the discussion of racism, aimed at ending racism, itself generates the fear that it will provoke black violence against our white citizens.

Out of all this comes the advice - move gently with your transformation processes lest you worsen white fears about the future!

For their part, the black people watch and wait in expectation that real change will come sooner rather than later.

They, too, are fearful that sensitivity to the reality of white fears might translate into insensitivity about their expectations speedily to end the pain they have endured for centuries.

If white South Africa is fearful of the future because of what it might lose, black South Africa looks forward to the future because of what it will gain.

In the end, what it expects it will gain is, fully, its human dignity, based on an end to poverty, ignorance and inequality, and based on the creation of a society in which its blackness will no longer be a badge of subservience.

Out of all this comes the advice - move speedily with our transformation processes lest we lose confidence in everything that has been said about, democracy, non-racialism and national reconciliation!

Peter Rule, with Marilyn Aitken and Jenny van Dykhavé written a biography of Mrs Nokukhanya Luthuli, the wife of Chief A.J. Luthuli, entitled *Nokukhanya: Mother of Light*. At the age of 90 years, they quote her expressing this simple but profoundly humanist and African wish:

" My wish before I die, is to see blacks and whites living harmoniously in a united South Africa."

To answer her prayer, we have no choice but to act together to address both the fears and the expectations, without allowing that these fears are used to perpetuate racism, without allowing that the justified expectations are addressed in a manner that will create new crises.

The very act of getting together in pursuit of a common cause would both reduce the fears and remove any confrontational attitude attaching to the expectations.

It would surely confer a universal benefit if those who might despise and fear others because of their race, our history and its legacy, no longer had cause to do so; while those who might carry anger in their hearts against others because of their race, our history and its legacy, also no longer had cause to do so.

Thus shall we have a future of hope for the black and white children of our country, to whom we must bequeath an adulthood as free of hate and fear as they were free of hate and fear when they were born.

In the speech I have already cited, Judge Arthur Chaskalson says that what is demanded of all South Africans is:

" That we commit ourselves completely and wholeheartedly to the transformation that has to take place. This calls for more than pious statements or resolutions at the end of a conference...(It means)



seeking solutions and not recrimination. Pragmatically (as the Jewish people) this is what we have to do; ethically, this is what we are obliged to do, and in good conscience we can do no less."

In 1967, a group of experts convened by UNESCO issued a "Statement on race and racial prejudice". The statement begins with these words:

" All (human beings) are born free and equal both in dignity and in rights. This universally proclaimed democratic principle stands in jeopardy wherever political, economic, social and cultural inequalities affect human group relations. A particularly striking obstacle to the recognition of equal dignity for all is racism. Racism continues to haunt the world."

That world includes our own country.

You have convened here, distinguished South Africans and valued foreign guests, to help our country answer the question - what shall we do to end the nightmare!

This urgent question deserves an urgent answer.

Thank you.

**Issued by: The Presidency, 30 August 2000**

APPENDIX V.

MOEKI, THABO. "PRESIDENT'S  
OF THE NATIONAL  
747 - 754

ADDRESS  
ASSEMBLY

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

## DEBATES

10 FEBRUARY " DEBATES  
OF THE  
CAPE TOWN: HANSARD, 2000

## NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

(HANSARD)

SECOND SESSION – SECOND PARLIAMENT

21 January to 3 November 2000

(VOLS 32, 33, 34 AND 35 – DEBATES;  
VOL 36 – QUESTIONS AND REPLIES;  
VOL 37 – INDEXES)

ISBN 0 621 30877 3 (Vol 32)  
ISBN 0 621 30991 5 (Set)

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The House met at 14:03.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS—see col 754.

### CELLPHONES IN CHAMBER

The SPEAKER: Order! Hon members, please take your seats quickly. Notwithstanding the mirth, cellphones should certainly not be left on in the House.

### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

(Resumption of Debate on Subject for Discussion)

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker . . . We are waiting for the hon the Minister of Defence to sit down. [Laughter.]

AN HON MEMBER: Skiet hom! [Gelag.] [Shoot him! [Laughter.]]

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker, hon members, as this session of Parliament was about to resume, attention was drawn to the fact that our opening on 4 February would mark the tenth anniversary of the opening of Parliament at which, among other things, the then President, Mr F W de Klerk, announced the unbanning of various organisations. Accordingly, last Friday we began by commenting on what we believe are some of the country's major achievements during the past 10 years since the opening of Parliament on 2 February 1990.

I make these remarks because some hon members have contested what we said because they understood that we sought to deny the contribution to our liberation of

organisations that had not been banned prior to 1990. Nothing that was said last Friday suggests this nor would we make an historically incorrect statement of this kind. We have neither the desire nor the intention to rewrite our history. Neither will we ever pursue the objective of belittling any contribution made by anybody to the liberation of our people, including the important contribution made by the legal organisations which occupied various positions along the broad and common front of struggle.

Remarking on this last decade, I also said:

Surely, Madam Speaker, we are entitled to make the claim that as a people, both black and white, we did, in a mere decade, carry out a multifaceted task whose accomplishment speaks highly of the capacity of our people and all humanity to achieve results which can only be described as good and noble.

I went on to say:

I am, therefore, privileged to have this opportunity to extend heartfelt congratulations to all our people, regardless of race, colour and gender, for the extraordinary and sustained effort over the past 10 years which has enabled the overwhelming majority among us to say: "We are proud to be South African!"

I was, therefore, somewhat taken aback that some hon members sought to teach us that those who had participated in this extraordinary and sustained effort, as a result of which most of us are proud to call ourselves South African, included people of all races, colours and gender.

On Monday I received a letter from a fellow South African, Paul A Dunn, who said:

It is with great shame that I write to you today as a white citizen of the Republic of South Africa. I live in Russia temporarily for study reasons and read this morning of the absolutely abominable and offensive

e-mail from a fellow white citizen. Certainly, in your wisdom, you know that not all South Africans, despite their colour, are racists. However, I know that in the Afrikaans segment, from which I also come, there are still those who are racists. Be assured that you have my own individual support in the struggle against racism. In my heart I long for the day when we will not refer to each other as black and white, but as fellow South Africans.

[Applause.] I believe that it is this kind of honest and unequivocal response that points the way forward for all of us, a response which says that we are faced with the problem of racism and that we must work together, both black and white, to end racism in our country.

It may be that some of us will still have to experience what Daniel Lemmer has experienced. Again, on Monday I received two letters from Mr Lemmer. Here is part of what he said:

I was an active member of the right-wing group. I was a founder member of the HNP, the AWB, the CP and the National Front. I worked with good loyal Afrikaner South Africans in all the aforesaid organisations. If I analyse, in retrospect, our motivations, then, in my case, it was born purely out of fear and not racial prejudice or hate. I am an Afrikaans South African, living in Japan and Taiwan for the past seven years. I work for a very large Japanese multinational company, developing their export markets internationally. I have to admit that I used to be one of the sceptical white South Africans when the ANC first won the elections. I used to find great pleasure in listening to my white South African compatriots gossip regarding mismanagement and mistakes of the newly elected ANC Government. Fortunately this has changed. I have just returned from holiday, touring South Africa, and although difficult at first, I eventually had to admit that for the first time in history, South Africa has a responsible

Government that offers so much hope to all its citizens.

[Applause.]

There are so many things that impressed me, things I thought were never possible in the new South Africa. I found no bitterness or any feeling of revenge when mixing with my fellow black South Africans. Perhaps for the first time, I am proud to carry a South African passport, and for this reason I want to become part of the process and effort of the Government in its sometimes difficult task. You can be sure that from now on wherever and whenever I rub shoulders or meet with international businessmen, investors and tourists, I will do everything in my power to depict the positive picture South Africa and the Government deserve.

[Applause.] The Afrikaners Paul Dunn and Daniel Lemmer have committed themselves to fight against racism and, as Mr Lemmer puts it, to depict the positive picture our country deserves and to become part of the process and effort of the Government in its sometimes difficult task.

On Friday we spoke of these difficult tasks. They include the transformation of our country into a truly nonracial society and, therefore, the intensification of the struggle against racism, an issue we dare not trivialise, as the hon Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi put it.

At least 94% of the chartered accountants in our country are white. Similarly, at least 95% of our professional engineers are white. I do not believe that it would be sufficient for us merely to remark on these figures and then do nothing. Among other things, we will have to engage the issue of human resource development in the directions we indicated on Friday, including the implementation of the comprehensive Tirisano programme to which we referred and the radical improvement of the management of our schools.

In this regard I would like to assure the hon Marthinus van Schalkwyk that what drives us as we strive to end both the racial and gender imbalances in our country, among other things through the use of affirmative action, is to offer hope to all our citizens, to use the words of Daniel Lemmer. I trust that we all listened carefully when the hon Mosibudi Mangena warned that those who do not feel our pain should beware of the ignorance they display when they argue that ours is but a phantom pain.

We have, in the past, spelt out what we need to do to ensure that we protect, promote and respect the cultural, linguistic and religious rights of all our people. We have not departed from these positions and will continue to work to do the things we promised to do.

The difficult tasks to which we referred also include the common challenge to ensure that our economy grows, develops and meets the material needs of all our people. To meet this challenge, we will need more Daniel Lemmers and a continuous recognition of the fact that the search for partisan political advantage will not necessarily take us to where we need to get with regard to the economic objectives we have to accomplish.

We have to sustain the fight against poverty, among other things by implementing the various programmes of which we spoke last Friday, incorporating within this the objective of ending the racial and gender imbalances in our society. This too will be done.

Just over six months ago we spoke of the work we have to do to combat and prevent crime, detailing various measures that would be implemented. That work continues and includes the preparation of new gun laws, whose importance was demonstrated only yesterday when an unacceptable criminal assault was made against the High Court in Pretoria. That work included the establishment of new law enforcement units, raising the professional capacity of the Police Service, the improvement of our judicial sys-

tem, focusing on the high crime areas in our country, and so on. This work will also continue with the urgency which our situation demands.

Yet another of these difficult tasks is finding the *modus vivendi* between the democratically elected institutions of government for which many of us across party lines fought and the structures of traditional authority in some of our rural areas. Again, as we indicated last Friday, we will interact with our traditional leaders to arrive at a resolution of this matter in a manner that, among other things, respects the rights of all our citizens, including the traditional leaders, as enshrined in our Constitution.

The construction of a properly functioning, corruption-free, people-oriented and affordable system of governance is critical to the achievement of many of the tasks we confront. Among other difficult things, we will therefore implement the programme, some of whose elements the hon Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi indicated when she addressed the National Assembly yesterday.

Last Friday we said that while we are ready to engage in genuine consultations with regard to the taxi industry, it was a mistake to think that the Government could be intimidated into taking wrong decisions. Statements reported yesterday and attributed to some people within this industry, raising doubts about the possibility of a peaceful and amicable resolution of issues affecting this industry, will not help. If the intention of these statements is to force us to take decisions driven by fear, that intention will not realise its objective. Accordingly, I would like to repeat that it is a mistake to think that the Government can be intimidated into taking wrong decisions. [Applause.]

The difficult tasks of which Daniel Lemmer spoke include the realisation of the objectives of the African renaissance of which we spoke when we participated in the millennium debate towards the end of last year. We

will work with everybody, both within our country and on the rest of our continent, who is genuinely committed to the achievement of the life-and-death objectives of peace, democracy, stability and development on our continent, undeterred by those who are ready to resort to foul means to subvert this effort.

I am convinced that the tasks we have mentioned and others constitute a national agenda that calls for the united effort of all our people. Peace on our continent and the elimination of poverty and unemployment, racism and sexism in our country, the suppression of crime and the fight against Aids, the promotion of the rights of all sections of our population and the restoration of the dignity of each and every South African, must surely be treated as central challenges which we are all committed to address every day, by word and deed.

Surely, all of us must heed the heartfelt plea made by the hon Manie Schoeman that we must continue still to fight to overcome all mistrust among us, to emphasise what unites rather than what divides us, to encourage inclusive processes of change and to see ourselves as a people who share a common destiny. No greater good can be done than to work without any apology to anyone towards the realisation of the vision that Manie Schoeman conveyed to us and to the country. [Applause.]

Let those who will, work together to bring the gift of hope to all of us. I am certain that hon members join me as we wish Bafana

Bafana success in the semifinal match... [Applause] ... they will play tonight as they advance towards reclaiming the African Cup of Nations.

I thank all hon members for their participation in this important debate. [Applause.]

Debate concluded.

The House adjourned at 14:20.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS, TABLINGS AND COMMITTEE REPORTS

### ANNOUNCEMENTS:

#### *National Council of Provinces and National Assembly:*

##### 1. The Chairperson and the Speaker:

- (1) On 10 February 2000 the following Bill, at the request of the Minister of Transport, was introduced in the National Council of Provinces by the Select Committee on Public Services. It was referred to the Joint Tagging Mechanism (JTM) for classification in terms of Joint Rule 160:

*National Land Transport Transition Bill* [B 5—2000] (National Council of Provinces—sec 76(2))—(Select Committee on Public Services) [Explanatory summary of Bill and prior notice of its introduction published in Government Gazette No 20868 of 7 February 2000.]

SPENCER

APPENDIX W.

MBEKI, THABO. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC, 9 FEBRUARY"  
THE JOINT SITTING. CAPE TOWN  
DEBATES OF  
FRIDAY, 9 FEBRUARY 2001  
HANSARD, 2001



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

THIRD SESSION—SECOND PARLIAMENT

## PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

## CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

The Speaker announced that the Presiding Officers had received a message from the President requesting that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened, in terms of Joint Rule 2(1)(a), on Friday, 9 February 2001, at 11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

## ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker, Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP, Deputy President, President Mandela and Mrs Machel, hon members of our National Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, President of the Constitutional Court, Acting Chief Justice and other members of the judiciary, Heads of the Security Services, Governor of the Reserve Bank, hon premiers and MECs, traditional leaders, representatives of local government, Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners, distinguished guests and fellow South Africans, gradually step by step, our country proceeds further away from its painful past. We, its citizens, who are very close to the coalface of change, may

not easily see the steady transformation that informs all aspects of our national life.

The past of which I speak is well known to all of us. It is a past of a racially divided country, of masters and servants, of racially inspired conflict and mistrust. It is a past of endemic and widespread poverty and gross imbalances in levels of development and the distribution of wealth, income and opportunity. It is a past of an economy that was immersed in a crisis that was destined to worsen. It is a past of the denial of freedom to the majority, of gross violation of human rights and repression, of entrenched sexism, a past of high levels of crime, violence and corruption. It is a past of a South Africa isolated from the rest of Africa and the world, a pariah among the nations.

It is away from this painful past that our country is progressing and must progress. Our first responsibility in this regard has been the need for us to recognise the reality that as a people we do indeed share this common legacy. Secondly, we had to make the determination that this was a legacy that we did not desire and were therefore committed to eradicate. I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to all our people, both black and white, who, in the past year and before, made a contribution, however small, towards the new advances of our country further away from its painful past. [Applause.]

In my own contacts with our people, I meet the constant refrain: "What can I do to help build a better South Africa?" These ordinary, but truly heroic, South Africans are not daunted by the difficulties they know we confront. They are not discouraged or overwhelmed by the litany of negative messages about our country to which all of us are exposed daily. They see no benefit for themselves or our country in highlighting the deficiencies of our society and minimising the achievements we have collectively made.

Indeed the difficulties that our country faces serve as an imperative to these fellow South Africans to persist along their chosen path of working even harder to build a new society. It is thanks to their common efforts that we can make bold to say that we have continued to move forward away from our painful past. To build on these constructive efforts, we call on all our people across the colour line to dedicate this year to building unity in action for change.

Such unity in action among all South Africans should include joint efforts to implement the decisions taken at the National Conference on Racism. I wish once more to pledge that the Government will discharge its own responsibilities in this regard to assist our country to move away from its painful past of racism and sexism. Furthermore, we would like to reiterate our thanks to the Human Rights Commission for the holding of this successful conference.

We call on all our people individually and collectively to join in this campaign themselves, to become activists in the historic process to transform ours into a truly non-racial country. In this regard I would like to congratulate Carl Niehaus, Mary Burton, Antjie Krog and others for their initiative to contribute to the socioeconomic upliftment of their black fellow South Africans. [Applause.] There are others in our society who have also taken the lead and therefore also deserve a sincere word of appreciation. These include Afrikaner farmers and professionals and historically white schools that have voluntarily decided to devote time and resources to the development of the disadvantaged sections of our population. [Applause.]

All of us are aware that later this year we will be hosting the critically important United Nations Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. The peoples of the world are approaching this conference with the greatest seriousness, and expect that it will result in

important new initiatives in the global struggle to combat racism. As the host country and given our own experience of racism, we are expected to make a significant contribution to the success of that conference. We will therefore have to take the necessary steps further to develop a national consensus on this matter and to demonstrate to the whole world the practical resolve of all our people to push back the frontiers of racism and xenophobia in our own country.

During the past year, we also took important steps towards the further consolidation of our nonracial democracy. I refer in this instance to the demarcation process, the establishment of the new municipalities and the holding of the municipal elections. Through these processes, we have deracialised and strengthened local government as well as ensured the legitimacy of the new municipal councils, due to the fact that the elections were free and fair.

All this puts the country, as a whole in a strong position to make further advances in increasing the capacity of the people to participate in the process of determining their future. The requirements imposed on the municipal councils to elaborate on and adopt integrated development plans and establish ward committees to facilitate regular communication between the councillors and the people are important instruments towards the realisation of the objective that the people shall govern.

More work remains to be done to ensure the effective functioning of the new municipal councils. This will include the creation of effective management and administrative machineries in every municipality, the proper integration of the formerly different areas and the implementation of development programmes, including those focused on poverty alleviation. There are other outstanding matters such as the proper definition of the role of traditional authorities, the remuneration of the councillors and the

ironing out of problems affecting the cross-border municipalities. All these matters are receiving urgent attention.

Recognising the fact that we still have this outstanding work, nevertheless, we would like to congratulate the Municipal Demarcation Board, the Independent Electoral Commission, the various organs of government, the political parties, the traditional leaders and our people as a whole for combining their efforts to bring about the excellent progress we have made further to entrench our democratic system and enhance the capacity of government to contribute to the realisation of the goal of a better life for all. These important successes demonstrate practically what we can achieve if indeed, as a country and a people, we unite in action for change.

During the past year, we also made new advances in what must continue as a sustained offensive against poverty and underdevelopment. By December 2000, the cumulative total for houses completed or under construction was 1 129 000 while subsidies allocated amounted to 1 300 000. During the year 2000, 397 000 electricity grid connections to homes were made. The cumulative figure for the supply of clean water provided through the Community Supply Programme has increased a hundredfold from 62 000 in 1995 to 6.5 million by November 2000. [Applause.] A total of 412 000 new telephone lines were installed in the financial year 1999 to 2000, and 127 clinics built in the year 2000.

In the period from 1994 to November 2000, 917 220 hectares of land was handed over to new black land owners through the Government's redistribution and restitution processes. [Applause.] A total of 37 396 households benefited from the land redistribution process. Statistics South Africa also reported that, according to its October Household Survey released in July 2000, during the period 1996 to 1999, total employment

increased from 9,3 million to 10,4 million, representing a net gain of 1,1 million jobs.

It is also interesting to note that the Bureau for Market Research at Unisa reports that, between 1995 and 2000, real personal disposable income of Indians increased annually by 2,8 per cent, the figure being 2,7 per cent for Africans, 2,1 per cent for coloureds and 1,1 per cent for whites. Despite all these advances, we are still faced with a daunting backlog of poverty and maldistribution of income and wealth as recently reported by the Unisa Bureau for Market Research. Reflecting the persistence of poverty among Africans as well as disparities even at high income levels, the bureau reports that more than 84% of the low income accrued to Africans. Of income earned by the high income group, 71,9% went to whites and 22 per cent to Africans.

We must also continue to be concerned about the slow progress being made with regard to the important issue of achieving gender equality. Further disaggregation of the economic figures we have quoted would show that the most disadvantaged in our country are black women. The Government itself has failed to achieve the necessary progress on gender equity, even in the area of employment.

The National Gender Audit carried out by the Office on the Status of Women shows that, in September 2000, women constituted only 16% of the complement of senior managers in government, despite the target set by the Department of Public Service and Administration of 30%. On a more positive note, however, the figure for Gauteng Province was 37% in 11 departments, and 28% in six departments in the Northern Cape.

During the past year, the economy also continued to improve in an impressive manner. A strong base has been created for an even better performance this year. The December 2000 Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Reserve Bank reported as follows:

The South African economy gathered considerable momentum in the third quarter of 2000. The strong growth in the second half of 1999... was largely restored in the third quarter. Stronger growth in manufacturing production resumed and real income in the agricultural sector rose vigorously... Growth in the real gross domestic product approached 4% in the third quarter of 2000... considerably firmer than the average annualised growth... in the first half of 2000...

The Bank continued:

The national accounts showed continued growth in real final household spending in the third quarter...

A favourable external environment, continued growth in domestic final spending, rising profitability and the availability of investable funds provided the incentives for the business sector to raise its capital expenditure further in the third quarter...

The surplus of the financial account of the balance of payments exceeded by a considerable margin the absolute value of the deficit on the current account, raising the country's international reserve holdings to their highest level ever.

The Bulletin went on to note other positive developments, such as the "expansion of (electricity... and water) services to the rural areas of the country"; "the (further) development of housing infrastructure"; higher real household income and the reduced personal tax burden"; "the ongoing buoyancy of the telecommunications subsector where the expansion in the cellular network and Internet activity continued, along with the expansion of telephone services to previously underserved areas".

It went on to say that "developments (in real final consumption expenditure by general government)... consistent with government's resolve to rein in government spending as part of a broader strategy that will create an environment conducive to en-



hanced economic growth and job creation"; "public corporations increased their capital spending as part of modernising strategies ahead of the expected increase in private-sector participation in these businesses... General government increased its capital outlays somewhat, mainly in the form of higher spending on roads infrastructure"; "Gross saving by general government, which turned from dissaving to positive saving for the first time in almost a decade in the second quarter of 2000, remained positive in the third quarter"; and, "an acceleration in the growth in real output per worker in the formal nonagricultural sectors from a year-on-year rate of 2.4% in the first quarter of 1999 to 6.5% in the first and second quarters of 2000".

The foreign trade surplus as at December 2000 was a record R9 billion. The consumer inflation rate was 5.3% in the year 2000 compared to 15.3% in 1991. Reflecting the truth of real increased business confidence, Nedcor's register of capital projects of more than R20 million showed an increase from R22 billion in 1999 to R48 billion last year. Furthermore, the current decline in yields on government bonds to record lows, while the share market is approaching its record highs, shows that the financial markets have confidence in the government's fiscal policy, the monetary policy of the Reserve Bank and the ability of South African business and our citizens to deliver a better life for all.

Our country jumped 14 places in the World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report 2000, rising from 47 out of 49 countries surveyed in 1999 to 33 out of 59 in last year's report. The overall situation on our continent also continued to improve, marked by such important events as the elections in Ghana and the smooth handover of power by the defeated former ruling party, and the signing of the ceasefire and peace agreement by Ethiopia and Eritrea. Despite the difficult problems facing these two countries, steady progress is being made towards the resolution of the conflicts in Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

As South Africans, we should be proud to note that the past year has seen our country enhance its role as a reliable partner in the African and global struggle for democracy, peace, development and an equitable process of globalisation. Quite clearly, a better global setting will help us greatly as we pursue the national effort to secure a better life for all our people, which, in turn, will give us better opportunities to discharge our own international responsibilities. A better Africa and a better world are in the genuine interest of South Africa's people.

In further pursuit of the objective of a better life for all and building on what has already been achieved, the Government has decided on a programme of action for the year 2001. I will now outline the principal elements of this programme of action, starting with the economy.

As part of the process of planning for the future, towards the end of last year, we had occasion to draw on the advice of some of the world's top economists and analysts from a wide range of schools of thought. There is general consensus that we have established the necessary macroeconomic balance and stability, away from the very precarious position we were in in 1994 and despite a very volatile international environment.

Furthermore, the international competitiveness of the economy has fundamentally improved. The threat of deindustrialisation and economic collapse as a result of manufacturing sector inefficiency, which we inherited, has been addressed through tariff and industrial reforms. However, the reality remains that our rate of growth is still too low, as are the aggregate savings and investment rates. Similarly, the levels of poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment in some parts of our country are too high.

While continuing to focus on the maintenance of the correct macroeconomic balances, we have therefore decided to pay detailed attention to the critical

microeconomic issues. In particular, we have decided that, this year, the Government itself, in all its spheres, and the public sector as a whole, must make a decisive and integrated contribution towards meeting the economic challenges the country faces.

The objectives we seek to achieve are moving the economy onto a higher-growth path, increasing its competitiveness and efficiency, raising employment levels and reducing poverty and persistent inequalities. To improve our competitiveness, we must lower input costs throughout the economy. Accordingly, we have decided to go over to a managed liberalisation of the energy, transport and telecommunications sectors. With regard to all these sectors, all outstanding policy matters, including the regulatory frameworks, will be addressed, leading to the creation of the necessary climate of certainty for both public and private sector investors.

With regard to the energy sector, among other things, our decision will entail restructuring the electricity supply and distribution industries to introduce greater levels of competition. Independent power producers will be allowed into our energy system and localised energy grids for rural areas will be developed. A Gas Bill will be tabled in Parliament and gas from Mozambique, in the first instance, will provide a new energy source for industry and domestic consumers.

In the transport sector, among other things, new investments will be made and restructuring effected in the rail, road and port infrastructure, including the new port at Ngqura or Coega. Ngqura/Coega will be the first industrial development zone to be gazetted in March. More efficient port operations, including the granting of concessions, as well as competitive tariffs will be introduced. Steps will be taken to increase the number of flights to and from South Africa to assist with the promotion of tourism. A final decision will be taken on the King Shaka Airport in Durban.

With regard to the telecommunications sector, we will go ahead with the public listing of Telkom, which is part of our broad programme of the restructuring of state assets. The outstanding matter of the third cellular licence will be resolved in time. Further investments will be made in this sector. The application of modern communication and information technology in the fields of education, health, commerce and government will be expedited.

As we have said, this year, a greater degree of certainty will be reached with respect to the policy and regulatory regime of the telecommunications sector. Because of the critical importance of this sector, we will also establish two bodies to assist the Government as it works further to ensure that we do not fall further behind the rest of the world as a result of the digital divide.

The first of these will be a Presidential National Commission on Information Society and Development. This will be constituted of representatives of our country's public and private sectors. The second will be a Presidential International Task Force on Information Society and Development. Chief executive officers from major international companies and experts active in the field of information and communication technology will constitute this task force. The members of the first of these bodies will be announced in the near future.

I am also pleased to announce that the information technology companies that will be part of the Presidential Commission have already expressed their determination to work with the Government significantly to increase the numbers of skilled people in this sector. On behalf of the Government and all our people, I would like to thank all of them for their unequivocal commitment to helping our country to get onto, and to stay on, the information superhighway.

I am also pleased and privileged to inform Parliament and the country of the names of the distinguished members of the Interna-

tional Task Force. These are: Mr Larry Ellison of Oracle; Ms Carly Fiorina of Hewlett-Packard; Ms Esther Dyson of Edventure Holdings; Mr Craig McCaw of Teledeco; Professor Manuel Castell of the University of California; Mr Thierry de Beauce of Vivendi Universal; Mr Serge Tchuruk of Alcatel; Mr Rajendra Pawar of NII of India; Mr David Porter of Psion; Dr Jung of Siemens; Dr Henry Chasia of Telehouse Space Ltd. and our own Mr Mark Shuttleworth of Thwate Consulting of South Africa. [Applause.] We expect to receive some additional names in the near future, including from other companies such as Sisco and Sun Microsystems.

We have identified other sectors of our economy that require special attention because of their potential to contribute especially to the objectives of higher growth rates and job creation. These include agriculture, tourism, certain export sectors, cultural industries and the information and communication sector. The specific export sectors we are referring to are agro-processing, automobiles and components, mining technology and minerals beneficiation and clothing and textiles. In addition to lowering input costs and improving competitiveness, these sectors will be stimulated through specific policy and regulatory actions that will be effected this year.

While not detracting from the state's ongoing efforts to maintain and sustain other sectors of the economy, different and additional actions will be taken this year to reinforce the growth of the sectors we have mentioned. We may perhaps mention some specifics relating to tourism to illustrate the kind of attention the Government will give to the identified sectors. The Business Trust has already announced its decision to help create 3 000 new black-owned tourism enterprises. This year, the Government and the Trust will fund 3 000 learnerships in this sector. [Applause.]

Major public sector investments have already been made in the Lubombo SDI, and

money will also be put into the Wild Coast SDI, including the rerouting and maintenance of the N2. Space has been and will be created for the private sector to invest in these and other SDIs, continuing our effort to build public-private sector partnerships.

New initiatives will be undertaken by the National Parks Board in all the areas under its control to improve and increase the tourism infrastructure without damaging the eco-environment, bring in private sector investment, absorb larger numbers of tourists, increase job opportunities and other benefits, especially to the surrounding communities, and preserve the national heritage, such as our rich collection of rock art.

We will take further steps to encourage the opening of transfrontier parks with our neighbours while continuing to focus on such other important issues as waste management, desertification, climate change, persistent organic pollutants and land management. Of course, we will also pay special attention to the preparations for the World Summit on Sustainable Development which we will host next year, and which will bring an estimated 50 000 people to our country.

We must also report that the public-private sector International Marketing Council has already begun its work. We are certain that it will assist greatly to build a positive image for our country based on a more accurate and objective understanding of the advances we are making and the better future we are building for ourselves. We have also taken the necessary decisions with regard to the improvement of the conditions that underpin and constitute the enabling framework for economic efficiency and competitiveness. I refer here to human resource development, technology, the economic infrastructure and access to capital.

Hon. members will agree that welcome progress is being made in the efforts to improve the quality of education, including the provision of infrastructure, consolidating the culture of learning and teaching, and

introducing Adult Basic Education. However, clearly, much more needs to be done to improve our skills base. In this regard, Government has approved a human resource development strategy that will enable us to launch an accelerated skills development programme for those areas that are critical to a more competitive economy.

Immigration laws and procedures will be reviewed urgently to enable us to attract skills into our country. Improvements in mathematics and science education will also be prioritised. We recognise the fact that competitiveness is driven by technological advances and innovation. In recognition of this, investment in research and development is one of the focal points of our integrated plan aimed at attaining a cutting edge in key areas such as biotechnology.

At the same time, we will continue with the consultations aimed at reforming the labour market, as well as investigations into the feasibility of reducing the cost of labour without reducing workers' wages. Investment in the economic infrastructure will be prioritised to support the high-growth areas; the integrated rural development strategy and the urban renewal programme. An additional R6 billion has been set aside for this purpose over the next three years. [Applause.]

The Government remains concerned that access to capital, which is key to economic growth and the development of the small and medium enterprise sector in the economy, remains difficult for the majority. We need to develop the capacity to make such access easier while retaining a well-managed financial sector. Accordingly, the regulation of the financial services sector will be reviewed this year. New partnerships with financial institutions will be explored, and the microfinance sector will be mobilised in support of entrepreneurship and productive activities.

The success of the integrated action plan we have just detailed will be measured by how it

impacts positively on a number of key performance indicators including economic growth rates, employment levels, competitiveness, black economic empowerment and small business development. For us to achieve maximum results with regard to these economic initiatives will require not only the commitment and energetic involvement of the Government, but the building of a strong partnership with both business and labour. I therefore renew our appeal to our social partners to work together with us in a mutually beneficial partnership for change.

On previous occasions, we have reported that we were working on both an integrated rural development strategy as well as an urban renewal programme. In both instances, our central aim is to conduct a sustained campaign against rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment, bringing in the resources of all three spheres of government in a co-ordinated manner. These programmes will, among other things, entail investment in the economic and social infrastructure, human resource development, enterprise development, the enhancement of the development capacity of local government, poverty alleviation and the strengthening of the criminal justice system.

The new structure of local government in urban and rural areas will be the focal institution of government to ensure the coordinated implementation of our programmes, with the Ministry for Provincial and Local Government acting as the national co-ordinating Ministry. Success in this work should have a positive impact on such areas as job creation, crime and violence, health and the general quality of life of millions of our people who lead desperate lives.

Though it took longer than we thought, in fact, to elaborate realistic and integrated government plans, the individual departments and spheres of government have continued with their own programmes focused on these two matters of rural develop-

ment and urban renewal. For example, investments totalling more than R3 billion have been made through the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme over the last three years, with 47% spent in rural areas and 53% in urban areas. The work that will help us to move to a higher phase with regard to rural development has now been concluded. Unfortunately, I cannot say the same for the urban renewal programme, except in the case of two areas. In both instances, the nodal points for the implementation of these programmes have been identified:

With regard to rural development, these are the O R Tambo, North East, Ukhahlamba and East Griqualand Kei District Municipalities in the Eastern Cape... [Applause.]; the Umzinyathi, Umkhanyakude, Ugu and Zululand District Municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal... [Applause.]; the Kgalagadi Cross-Boundary District Municipality in the Northern Cape and North West... [Applause.]; the Central Karoo District Municipality in the Western Cape... [Applause.]; the Sekhukhune Cross-Boundary District Municipality in Mpumalanga and the Northern Province... [Applause.]; the Eastern District Municipality in the Northern Province... [Applause.]; and the Qwaqwa District Municipality in the Free State. [Applause.]

With regard to the urban renewal programme, the areas identified include Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain in the Western Cape... [Applause.]; KwaMashu and Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal... [Applause.]; Mdantsane and Motherwell in the Eastern Cape... [Applause.]; Alexandra Township in Gauteng... [Applause.]; and Galeshewe in the Northern Cape. [Applause.] With regard to these areas, we will only be able to act immediately with regard to Alexandra Township and KwaMashu. Work is going on to bring in the other areas as soon as possible.

Beginning from this centenary year of Alexandra Township, R1.3 billion spread

over seven years will be set aside to embark on an integrated development programme that will deliver housing, roads, water, sanitation, schools, clinics, magistrate's offices and police stations. [Applause.] Again, I would like to emphasise that this does not mean that no work is being done in other areas. What we are addressing here is the elaboration and implementation of the urban renewal programme, bringing together all three spheres of government.

As we have already indicated, the success of these plans will also depend on the extent to which the people can be mobilised so that they become active participants in the processes targeted at the upliftment of their own communities. We therefore repeat the call that we must all unite in action for change.

The social sector also has its own targeted programme of action focused on the social upliftment of, especially, the most disadvantaged in our society. It will, therefore, implement co-ordinated programmes in the nodal rural and urban areas we have identified which, among other things, will address such issues as housing, water, sanitation, health, including HIV/Aids, pension payouts, household food security and nutrition, poverty alleviation, including the provision of certain amounts of free services, home affairs services, education and training, and sport and culture.

Naturally, this does not mean that other areas of the country will be neglected. The sector will also focus on the complete transfer to their occupants of as many municipal houses as possible of the remaining 350 000 properties. [Applause.] Special attention will be paid to a more vigorous extension of the system of sanitation to contain the outbreak of water-borne diseases.

In addition to the continuing campaign against Aids, a more comprehensive approach to the health challenge in our country will be adopted to ensure an effective response to all infectious diseases, including malaria, tuberculosis, sexually transmitted

diseases, cholera, and hepatitis. Similarly, as already indicated in terms of some of the programmes we have already mentioned, we have to respond more decisively to other diseases of poverty, such as those that are caused by vitamin, protein and energy deficiencies.

Work will be completed on a comprehensive social security system to try to extend the safety net to as many people as possible, bearing in mind the resource constraints we face and the need to ensure that we do not impact negatively on economic spending. We must again call on all our people to participate in the implementation of these programmes in the spirit of Masakhane.

The Government will continue to pay the necessary attention to the issue of crime. We are very conscious of the fact that the safety and security of all our citizens is a fundamental right and a critical element in our continuing efforts to improve the quality of life of all our people.

We want to arrive at the situation where all those who commit crime will know that they have nowhere to hide. The priority areas of focus with regard to the crime prevention and combating strategy will remain the high crime areas, organised crime, including urban terrorism, crimes against women and children, corruption, cross-border crime, and social crime prevention.

As we have already indicated, the areas chosen as the lead points in our urban renewal programme will also be particular points of focus for our criminal justice system. The 124 priority police stations that we have identified in the past will also continue to receive the necessary attention and resources to enable them to do their work. In addition to other measures aimed at increasing the numbers of police personnel, the South African Police Service will give all required assistance to the metropolitan councils to enable them to establish their municipal police services where these do not exist.

The National Directorate of Public Prosecutions and our courts will also continue with the measures they have already adopted to reduce and eliminate the unduly large backlog of cases that have not been tried. Similarly, work will continue to find a solution to the problem of overcrowding in our prisons, caused especially by the large numbers of awaiting-trial prisoners.

The criminal justice system will also further intensify its offensive against corruption among its own personnel. This will include the introduction of a new leadership at Correctional Services, an increase in intelligence resources dedicated to the fight against corruption and, where necessary, the expansion of the existing anticorruption units.

Last July, the Minister of Safety and Security placed a moratorium on the use within the Police Service and the release of crime statistics. This was due to serious problems in connection with the integrity and reliability of these statistics which, among other things, made it very difficult for the police to design accurate and optimal operational plans in the fight against crime.

The point needs to be understood that, perhaps more than anybody else, the Ministry and the Police Service constantly need accurate and up-to-date information on the incidence of crime to ensure proper deployment of human and material resources. Accordingly, extensive work has been and is being carried out to ensure the availability of this information. This has included and will include the training of over 3 000 people and the recruitment of about 600 people to specialise in the issue of crime information.

At this moment, it is expected that the moratorium will end at the end of June. The criminal justice system will also intensify its efforts to encourage further community involvement in the fight against crime and corruption. This will include the recruitment of 30 000 reservists, especially in the already identified high-crime areas. Once more, this

emphasises the importance of popular involvement in the common effort to change our country for the better. The challenge of ensuring the effectiveness and efficiency of the structures of government extends beyond the criminal justice system. It affects the entirety of government.

The strengthening of the system of local government is one of the priorities the Government has set itself. We are also focusing on the improvement of the quality of service delivery and efficiency in the use of public resources in all areas of government, among other things, to overcome the problem of underspending which continues to plague us. The gradual introduction of e-government will assist us greatly to overcome these problems.

The sustained implementation of the Government's human resource development programme to improve management and other skills in the public sector as well as to enhance respect and observance of the principle of Batho Pele is also of critical importance to the achievement of our objectives.

We will soon convene a strategy meeting to assess progress and problems with regard to the fight against corruption, in particular, to ensure the implementation of decisions reached in the summit held about two years ago. We will continue to take all necessary steps to limit this unacceptable practice. This will include thorough audits of some of the outgoing municipal councils, after which decisive action will be taken against those found to have abused their positions for corrupt purposes.

As Parliament and the country are aware, a successful Public Service Job Summit was held at the end of last month. I would like to quote some excerpts from the Preamble of the Framework Agreement arrived at, to show the commitment of the Government and the public sector unions to serve the people of South Africa. That preamble says:

The parties to the Public Service Job Summit meet at a time in the history of our country when the challenge of managing a transformation process in the public service is upon each of us. It is a time when the parties face the twin challenge of transforming the public service to improve the reach, depth, efficiency and quality of social service delivery, whilst at the same time improving the conditions of service, quality and sustainability of jobs for employees of the public service.

The parties acknowledge that they share a common commitment to a broader interest of serving the South African nation. Accordingly, the parties record their commitment to respect in words and deeds one another, and to live by the spirit and letter of this agreement which shall govern the objectives, principles and procedures for the management of the transformation process.

The Government applauds these sentiments and commits itself to honour the agreement it has entered into. Furthermore, we salute these freely agreed positions because they contain the important lesson for all of us that we need to unite in action to bring about the changes our country requires.

I am very pleased that we have among us the former Minister of Intelligence, the hon Joe Nhlanhla. [Applause] He is a principled and loyal patriot. The cruel misfortune of ill-health brought about by pressures of work has deprived all of us of his dedicated service. I am certain that you all join me in wishing him the speediest recovery possible so that we can, once again, draw on his considerable talents. [Applause.]

We have entered the 21st century having resolved and declared to ourselves, as Africans, and to the rest of the world that, primarily, none but we ourselves can extricate us and our continent from the curse of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation.

The majority of people present in this

Chamber are South African. Outwardly, we are a people of many colours, races, cultures, languages and ancient origins. Yet we are tied to one another by a million visible and invisible threads. We share a common destiny from which none of us can escape because, together, we are human, we are South African, we are African. [Applause.]

We have worked together for a decade to make of our country what for 300 years it was not. As a country, undoubtedly all of us will have made mistakes as we sought to build what had never been there, and will make yet more mistakes. But we were right and did not make a mistake when we agreed together that we will transform this common troubled motherland and set about the task of transforming it into a country of democracy, peace, equality and prosperity. [Applause.]

Many on our continent and elsewhere in the world were pleased to count this infant South Africa as one of the jewels in the African crown. As these Africans of many races and colours, we will and must work with the rest of our continent and our partners across the globe to give life to a new Millennium African Recovery Programme.

Together, we must turn into reality a new internationalism that does not permit of the coexistence, within human society, of opulence and grinding poverty, of thriving modernity and dehumanising underdevelopment. The burden of our prayer to you today has been that all of us must hold firm to the correct course we have chosen and hold firm to our resolve to walk that road together.

Ahead of us is a new century and a new millennium. We march into the new era of the African Century as Africans who have made the determination that this century will be a hundred years in which we cease to be victims of our circumstances but become victors. [Applause.] By what we do, we will ensure that wars, disease and underdevelopment are no longer seen as being synonymous with Africans. Through our own actions we will ensure that poverty gives way to prosperity.

As we strengthen the bonds of friendship and solidarity with our fellow Africans, we have an obligation to help ensure, in our country and everywhere else on our continent, that no African child should ever again walk in fear of guns, tyrants and abuse ... [Applause.]; that no African child should ever again experience hunger, avoidable disease and ignorance ... [Applause.]; that no African child should ever again feel ashamed to be an African. [Applause.]

Our Government, democratically elected by the people of South Africa, will do its best to live up to these injunctions. We know it as a matter of fact that all men and women of conscience at home and everywhere else on our common planet will, themselves, take no other road but this one, for which many across the oceans describe ours as a land of hope. [Applause.]

The Joint Sitting rose at 11:55.





REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**DEBATES  
OF THE  
JOINT SITTING**  
(HANSARD)

X  
APPENDIX ~~10~~

MDEKI, THABO. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC, 8 FEBRUARY", DEBATES OF FOURTH SESSION—SECOND PARLIAMENT  
THE JOINT SITTING. CAPE TOWN:  
HANSARD, 2002: 2-30.

FRIDAY, 8 FEBRUARY 2002

2

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker and the Chairperson of the NCOP took their places at the Chair.

The Speaker requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**CALLING OF JOINT SITTING**

The Speaker announced that the President had requested that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened in terms of Joint Rule 7(1), on Friday, 8 February 2002, at

11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker, Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP, hon members of our national Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, Chief Justice of South Africa as well as other members of our judiciary, heads of the security services, Governor of the Reserve Bank, honourable Premiers and MECs, traditional leaders, representatives of local government, former President Mandela and Mrs Machel, Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners, distinguished guests, fellow South Africans, decision-makers across the globe have accepted

the reality that the global struggle to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment is fundamental to the wellbeing of human society.

We know as a matter of fact that the struggle to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment in our own country is fundamental to the achievement of our own national goal of building a caring and people-centred society. Of decisive importance to the millions of our people and the future of our country as we meet here today, the central question we will have to answer at the end of the day is whether what we are doing as the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, as well as the fourth estate and civil society, is helping to lift from the shoulders of our people the intolerable burden of poverty and underdevelopment. This fourth opening session of our second democratic Parliament, including the debate that will take place next week, must answer this question in a frank, honest and forthright manner.

What I know and can say without any equivocation is that during the past year our country has, in real terms and within its means, moved further forward towards a society free of poverty and underdevelopment. This I will also say: we are nowhere near liberating millions of our people from these scourges. But I will also say that gradually, step by step, we are progressing towards the achievement of the historic goal of the eradication of a centuries-old legacy of colonialism, racism and apartheid. This I will also say: the overwhelming majority of our people consider themselves as actors in the unfolding and measured drama of the eradication of this legacy.

Our Deputy President, the hon Jacob Zuma, is not with us today because he had to attend a summit on Nepad in France, at the invitation of President Jacques Chirac. At the end of the summit he will proceed directly to Dakar, Senegal, for another summit with Prime Minister Tony Blair. Accordingly, I am honoured to convey an apology for his unavoidable absence today.

We wish to acknowledge the presence of the widow of the late Moses Kotane, a great leader of our people; Rebecca Kotane is with us today. [Applause.] Happy birthday to her—she is celebrating her 90th birthday this year. [Applause.] I am also happy to welcome Mrs Nontsikelelo Biko, the widow of the late Steve Biko. [Applause.] This year marks the 25th anniversary of his assassination.

Scientists say that anatomically, modern humans—people who look like us—evolved in Africa about 150 000 years ago and then slowly spread out to occupy most of the globe. A key question has been when and where these people first become modern in their behaviour. Until now, archaeological evidence has pointed to Europe as the centre for this development about 35 000 years ago. The markers for modern behaviour include the production of art, bone tools and a capacity for symbolism. Lack of evidence of these behaviours suggested that people in Africa lagged behind those in Europe.

Remarkable new finds by South African archaeologists at Blombos Cave in the Southern Cape indicate that the prehistory of Africa and its people now needs rewriting. Blombos Cave has produced evidence that African people were producing exquisite bone tools and delicately made stone spear points more than 70 000 years ago.

But the most spectacular find is a slab of ochre engraved with abstract designs 77 000 years ago. Described by the South African Museum as “the world’s oldest art object”, this invaluable slab of ochre is on display in this case next to the podium, an example of the extraordinary heritage of the evolution of humanity that resides within our country, and which we must preserve.

The designs on the slab were made deliberately and with symbolic intent. The scientists say that it is now to Africa that we look for the origins of the human imagination, human ingenuity and the genesis of art. [Applause.] We thank the South African

Museum for lending us this exhibit for a few hours, as well as the presiding officers for agreeing that it should be brought into the chamber.

I am especially pleased to welcome to our Parliament Prof Chris Henshilwood, who led a team of scientists that found the Blombos engraving. [Applause.] All of us are committed to doing everything we can to support our scientists, who are working selflessly to unravel the mysteries of the evolution of humanity. We also look forward to Parliament’s own Millennium Project, which aims to collect, collate and interpret our diverse heritage so that we may build a common identity and nationhood.

We meet here at the beginning of a year during which our country will host two summit meetings of great significance to Africa and the world. These are the founding summit meeting of the African Union in July and the World Summit for Sustainable Development in August-September.

In addition to launching the AU, the first of these summits will, among other things, take important decisions about the critical issues of peace and stability, good political governance and good economic governance. It will also present the opportunity to consider specific and implementable Nepad development programmes, whose central objective is the elimination of poverty and underdevelopment on our continent.

The Johannesburg World Summit for Sustainable Development, the largest high-level international gathering this year, will also focus on the critical matter of development and the eradication of poverty. This is of fundamental interest to our country, our continent and the rest of the developing world. It will build on what was agreed at the historic UN Millennium Summit of the year 2000 and the Monterey, Mexico conference next month, which will discuss financing for development.

The nations of the world elected to come to our country, because they understand and appreciate what we have done in the last seven and a half years to address within our own borders precisely the same questions that constitute the global agenda. They chose to convene in South Africa, because they are convinced that we have something of value to contribute to the building of a new and more equitable world order that must surely emerge. The recognition by the peoples of the world of the fact that we have established ourselves as a winning nation, as a people determined to succeed, places an obligation on us in fact to succeed.

Today, millions of our people ask themselves the question: How can I lend a hand in the national effort to build a better life for all? During our recent visit to New York to participate in the proceedings of the World Economic Forum, we had the privilege to meet South Africans who live in or have become citizens of the United States. They are Marco Piovesan, who lives in Atlanta, Georgia and Cathy Gorille, who lives in Seattle, Washington.

They and their friends, all born in South Africa, have also been asking themselves the question: How can we, who reside in the United States, lend a hand in the national effort to build a better life for all South Africans? From across the Atlantic, they have decided to make their own contribution to the common national effort by concentrating their resources and expertise in a programme for the reconstruction and development of our country. Correctly and interestingly, they have titled their programme “Vukuzenzele”, which idiomatically might be expressed as “Arise and act.” [Applause.] The call they have made applies to each one of us, as we review a year in which we called for unity in action for change among South Africans. It is an abiding challenge as we set out the programme of Government for the coming period.

On the occasion of our address to the Joint Sitting of our two Houses of Parliament last year, we set out a programme of action focused on taking us further forward on the road towards a better life for all our people. The programme, as further elaborated by Ministers in their addresses to Parliament and their public briefings, was concrete. Where possible, we indicated the timeframes within which particular actions would be undertaken.

And so the time has come to account. A few weeks ago we received an unsolicited report from a team of academics at the University of Stellenbosch, led by Prof Willie Esterhuyse, which comments on our Government's performance during the course of the year 2001. Having studied the programme Government set itself at the beginning of the year, the team undertook a systematic analysis of what had been done to implement this programme. This is what the team has to say:

The President made 43 promises in his speech. By 8 January 2002, 11 months after the speech was made, 65% of these have either been achieved or are credibly in progress; 16% have not been achieved. That gives a ratio of four items of progress versus one item not yet completed.

On a further 19% we do not have sufficient information to make a call. Sixty-five per cent versus 16% is, in our opinion a very good performance.

[Applause.]

Governance is not about pushing buttons and things happening instantaneously. Various obstacles like inertia, vested interests, competing agendas, lack of capacity and the like must be overcome.

From various speeches and press releases it is clear that Ministers are working towards the goals set by the President. Looked at closely, there is coherence and a sense of purpose and integration.

Some of the 16% of items not yet achieved

are those with a very large impact on the economy and society, like the Telkom IPO, clarity on telecommunication issues and an effective campaign against Aids. We have taken a hard line and suggested that these have not been achieved, although Government can certainly argue that they are in progress.

The team then explains why, in its opinion, things do not look and feel better, as they put it, despite the progress that has been achieved. In its view, firstly this is because communication by Government is not always optimum. Secondly, it is because despite a lot of good progress on macro issues that are vitally important, these are far removed from the person in the street. They go on:

We should also submit that, looking back at 2001, the very solid progress recorded has been overshadowed by developments in Zimbabwe and around HIV/Aids.

As Government, and even as members of Parliament, we may not agree with some or other part of these comments, but there is no gainsaying the fact that the analysis provides a fair assessment of Government's work in the past year. As the team says, the national successes are cause for celebration. Overall, we should all be proud that steadily, our country is moving away from the past of racism, poverty, conflict and economic stagnation.

The weaknesses pointed out by the Stellenbosch researchers reflect a variety of limitations in the structures and systems of Government that should be put right. We can proffer a host of cogent reasons for these and other shortcomings, but to the extent that we have the capacity to do something about the problems, we should and do take responsibility as Government.

I would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Prof Esterhuyse and his team for an informative, honest, frank and dispassionate assessment of the work of

Government. [Applause.] Besides putting the resources of the university at the disposal of the nation's current endeavours, there is an important moral to this initiative of the Stellenbosch academics. Without being asked by anybody in Government, in a very practical manner the Stellenbosch team answered the question: How can I lend a hand in the national effort to build a better life for all?

The past year has brought to the fore many patriotic South Africans who have found a practical answer to this question. These include the school principal at Sandi Secondary School near Umtata, Bongsi Peyana, who put in an extra effort to raise a derelict institution towards the highest summits of success in teaching and learning.

They include Ivan Booth, a young South African who, after numerous debates with his peers about the opportunities that democratic South Africa offers to all its people, decided to draft a manuscript for a publication entitled, *South Africa: Reasons to Stay*. Ivan says the book is dedicated —

... to the nation that won its place in history  
the nation with the brightest future  
the nation that fights and wins  
the nation that doesn't know how great it is.

In a postscript to his foreword, this young and proud South African writes:

Several people have mentioned that anyone publishing such a book is effectively pushing themselves into a corner, should they ever wish to leave South Africa. Hell, yes, what a corner!

[Applause.] I trust that the presiding officers will excuse the language!

These heroes who are lending a hand to make South Africa succeed include the children of the Inkonzane Senior Phase School in Soweto who, in partnership with

the *Sunday Times*, volunteered their time and meagre resources to help fellow children in rural Ingwavuma, KwaZulu-Natal affected by Aids and ill health. They include the people of Rockville, Soweto, who during the course of last year strengthened their co-operation with the Police Service and have, as a result, reduced crime in their area by half in 2001.

These and many other South Africans are the true heroes and heroines of our nation—the volunteers whose selfless dedication will ensure that we make progress to make ours truly a nation of hope. We have it within us as a nation to join them and many others to forge a massive movement of volunteers—dedicated workers in all fields of life—to bring to life our people's enduring attributes of perseverance and persistence in the struggle for our own good and the good of humanity.

The assessment of the Stellenbosch team that we referred to earlier is that we are making progress as a nation in addressing the social backlogs that we inherited from the past. Let us examine, from data available in Government, what the trends are in this regard.

In the five calendar years leading to the end of 1998, 3 million South Africans had been provided with access to clean running water through the community water supply project. In only three years since 1999, 4 million more have been connected, bringing the total to 7 million. [Applause.] In the five calendar years to the end of 1998, 2,3 million electricity grid connections had been made. In the three years since 1999, 1,2 million new connections had been made, bringing the total to 3,48 million. [Applause.]

About 444 000 hectares had been redistributed in the land reform programme in the five years to the end of 1998. In the three years since then the number has increased to 600 000 hectares, bringing the total to over 1 million hectares. [Applause.]

The pace has dramatically increased in the case of land restitution, with 48 claims settled at the end of 1998 while by the end of 2001 the total number of settlements had increased to 29 000. [Applause.] While the number of houses built or under construction was 514 000 at the end of 1998, the number currently stands at 1,2 million. [Applause.]

These figures testify to the progress we are making in providing basic services to the majority of South Africans. They add to the qualitative improvements in learning and teaching in our schools and the dramatic improvements in matric results, which show that the transformation process is starting to bear fruit.

The masses of our people, both black and white, both resident at home and abroad are, like the peoples of the world, driven by hope and confidence in our future as a country. They are determined to see our country progress, refusing to demoralise themselves by succumbing to carefully cultivated pessimism and despair. As a Government elected by the overwhelming majority of our people, we have an obligation to respond to and sustain this hope and confidence in a rational, realistic and practical manner.

As it must do, the Government has conducted its own thorough assessment of its performance and the state of the nation. We have also studied carefully the findings and comments made by the academics at the University of Stellenbosch. We have recalled our obligations and have also taken into account what the Stellenbosch academics said, ie that governance is not about pushing buttons and then things happen instantaneously.

The programme we will pursue this year builds on the foundations that have already been laid. It is informed by the broad objectives our country agreed upon in the context of the goal of reconstruction and development, at the centre of which is the eradication of the legacy of poverty and underdevelopment.

This year the Government will work to reduce the level of poverty in our society. This will be expressed in concrete, time-specific programmes. This year the Government will work further to develop our greatest resource, our people, including the working people, the women, the youth and the disabled. Particular attention will be paid to such matters as health, including Aids, education and training and the National Youth Service.

This year the Government will initiate additional programmes to improve the quality of life of all our people, encompassing such issues as safety and security and moral renewal. This year the Government will further intensify its attention on questions of social equity. This will include matters of black economic empowerment, women's emancipation and justice for the disabled.

This year the Government will further increase its focus on the issue of achieving higher rates of economic growth and development. This will include the promotion of domestic and foreign investment, trade promotion, a social accord and the convening of a growth summit.

This year, building on the agreement we have reached with the public sector unions, Government will work further to improve the efficiency of Government. We will pay particular attention to such questions as radically improving professional competence at all levels of Government, to change the quality of service delivery.

This year the Government will take additional steps further to strengthen and entrench our system of democratic governance. This will include the appropriate celebration of the 5th anniversary of our Constitution and the resolution of the various questions relating to cultural, language and religious rights, as well as the issue of the place and role of our traditional system of government.

This year the Government will work to discharge its current international responsibilities. This will include the hosting of the

summit conferences we have referred to and other tasks that relate to specific instances, including the situation in the Middle East, as well as the fight against terrorism.

Finally, this year the Government will work further to strengthen its links with the masses of our people. Accordingly, we will participate in, encourage and promote the involvement of as many of our people as possible in the people's campaign, Vukuzenzele. In this context, we will strive to give real meaning to the strategic challenge facing the Public Service, Batho Pele.

As regards pushing back the frontiers of poverty, this shall be done in partnership with many in our society who are ready to lend a hand in the national effort to build a better life. Let us cite some of the tasks in this regard.

We need massive mobilisation around registration for social grants. Government paid out 3,3 million grants in November 2000, and the number increased to 3,8 million by November 2001, the greatest increase being in child grants. In its programme for the medium term, Government had targeted the registration of 3 million children eligible for a grant by 2005. As a result of better awareness and improved efforts by the Public Service, we are on course to meet this target by 2003.

Government will in the next few weeks approach religious bodies, trade unions, traditional leaders, youth structures, civic associations, women's organisations and others for all of us to lend a hand so that in the next three years, we should register all who are eligible for the child grant and other social allowances.

With each one of us lending a hand we can attain this, and further ensure that we not only improve the integrity of the system against corruption, but also that new registrations are conducted in reasonable time. I would like to add—as the Minister of Finance will elaborate in the Budget

Speech—that we shall this year increase allocations to both old-age pensions and child grants by far more than the rate of inflation. [Applause.]

This call for a national partnership in support of beneficiaries of social grants, and the increases that we have referred to underline the commitment of this Government to improving the conditions of the most vulnerable sectors of our population. The plight of the poor is at the top of our agenda. Again, as part of our work to push back the frontiers of poverty and expand access to a better life, possibilities have been created for further tax cuts, particularly for the lower end of the salary scale, a critical contribution by Government to higher real wages for workers. [Applause.]

Preserving and developing our human resources is a matter that all of us should pay particular attention to, both individually and collectively. Government has implemented the Human Resource Development Programme, conscious of the fact that it is the surest guarantee of sustainable employment and economic growth. Tens of thousands of trainees have benefited from this, ranging from science and mathematics teachers, agricultural inspectors and information and communications technology learnerships, to retrenched mineworkers and so on. This work will be intensified during the course of this year.

Studies that we have conducted and interaction with the Presidential Information and Communications Technology Councils—whose establishment we announced last year—have shown that a critical and pervasive element in economic development in the current age is the optimum utilisation of information and communications technology. In addition to the many programmes we have introduced in this area, including telecentres, we shall as a matter of urgency complete the work towards the establishment of an information and communications technology university. [Applause.] I should

mention in this regard that Microsoft informed me last week that they have decided to donate to the 32 000 South African public schools on a permanent basis, all the software that they need. [Applause.]

The implementation of the National Plan for Higher Education will gain momentum in the coming months, and Government is under no illusion that the process will be easy. We are confident, though, that working in partnership with higher education institutions, we shall fashion a system that will ensure that we meet the challenges of the modern world.

Again, in the spirit of Vukuzenzele, we must arise and act in partnership across the nation and ensure proper teaching and learning in our schools. Government will in the current medium-term expenditure period allocate the necessary resources to ensure that no child studies under a tree. [Applause.] Consultations will be held with provincial administrations to ensure that this programme is put in place as a matter of urgency.

Further, through Community-based Public Works Programmes, it should be possible to allocate resources for massive restoration projects in our schools, clinics, hospitals and other amenities across the country. The Gauteng province informs us that R500 million over three years has already been allocated for this purpose.

As we push back the frontiers of poverty, the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development and Urban Renewal Programmes assume critical importance. Work has started in all the 13 rural nodes identified last year, with integrated programmes ranging from community production centres, multipurpose community centres, social infrastructure projects and others being laid out. In the urban nodes, business plans have been finalised and a number of projects are already being implemented.

Emphasis will be placed, particularly in the rural areas, on ensuring food security and

community-based job creation projects, so as directly to address the state of poverty in which these communities live. Consolidating this integrated work in the nodes already identified will be the focus of Government's work this year. This will then lay the basis for the extension of the nodes to other parts of the country in the near future.

We intend, within the next three years, to complete the land restitution process, which is a critical part of our land reform programme. In each province of the country, intensive water and sanitation programmes are being implemented to improve hygiene, with emphasis on schools and cholera-affected localities in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. Though we have contained the worst impact of this disease in these areas, we operate from the premise that the long-term solution is quality services to all.

Government, working in partnership with all sectors, particularly the SA National Aids Council, Sanac, will intensify its comprehensive programme against Aids, sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis and other communicable diseases. In implementing the agreement we reached with the pharmaceutical companies, we have initiated discussions with some of them to examine new ways of making drugs more affordable and to strengthen our health infrastructure. I must say that they are responding very positively indeed. [Applause.]

The work that is being done by various institutions within or related to Government on the health profile of the nation—ie on the burden of disease, regional and local trends, mortality statistics and so on—is critical in fashioning a comprehensive response in both the public and private sectors. In addition to the many campaigns to change our lifestyles for healthier living, the focus of our programmes in the coming period will be improvement in the quality of services in the public health system.

With regard to Aids in particular, our focus remains a massive prevention campaign

directed at ensuring that the high rates of awareness translate into a change in lifestyles; care for the affected and infected; treatment of all diseases, including those associated with Aids; and research into a vaccine. This programme has been described by the head of UNAIDS, Dr Peter Piot, as the largest and most comprehensive in Africa and one of the largest in the world. [Applause.] He says that the programme has one of the highest levels of government investment and is already showing results.

Proceeding from the accepted premise that there is no cure for Aids, we are convinced that, besides our individual and collective responsibility to take care of our own lives, protection and enhancement of the immune system is a critical intervention in both the prevention and management of Aids. By implication, therefore, poverty reduction and appropriate nutrition constitute an important front in this campaign.

At the same time, continuing work will be done to monitor the efficacy of antiretroviral interventions against mother-to-child transmission in the sites already operational and any new ones that may be decided upon. Our partnership across society should advance these multiple interventions that are required for us to deal with this epidemic. Any focus on one issue, at the expense of the others, may have the effect of undermining what we all seek to achieve.

Last December, the SA Police Service released comprehensive statistics on the incidence of crime in our society and the trends that attach to the rates of various forms of crime. It is our hope that hon members and the whole of our country, including the media, will continue to apply their minds to the issues raised in that briefing, better to appreciate the role that society as a whole needs to play in dealing with this scourge.

Indeed, when impassioned calls were made for the release of statistics, we believe the aim was not to check whether Government was delivering, as was said, but to ensure

that all of us lent a hand in the efforts to combat and prevent crime. The simple fact that most of the crimes of assault and murder happen between Friday and Sunday among people who know one another, many of them under the influence of alcohol or drugs, speaks to the critical importance of community organisation and systems of social censure.

Clearly, many of these crimes, as well as those related to rape, domestic violence and child abuse, cannot be policed with any measure of success by the security agencies acting alone. Credit is due to the thousands of South Africans who have joined community police fora and our Police Service as reservists. Together, if each one of us lends a hand, we can do much better. During the month of February, communities and their organisations have mobilised to enlist more volunteers. Sustained throughout the year, and with each one making a contribution, we can surpass the 30 000 target set by the Police Service.

The police and the Department of Justice will continue their interaction with communities and organisations, to ensure that particular attention is paid to assisting in such areas as clerical work in police stations and the courts, so that we are able massively to reduce the backlog of cases awaiting trial. Legal and other professionals, students and other sections in our communities can play an important role in this regard.

Having set itself the target of stabilising 145 police station areas where over 50% of crimes are committed within five years, our security agencies have managed to attain this in one year. [Applause.] More attention in the coming period will also be paid to improving the intelligence capacity of our security agencies, particularly to build on the successes that have been made in dealing with organised crime.

As we said earlier, these trends in crime incidents as well as other problems within society, including white-collar crime, call

for partnership across society to improve our moral fibre, to strengthen community bonds, and to pull together in the direction of hope and success. Consultations have started with various organised formations to convene a moral regeneration summit as a matter of urgency. Such a summit should address the issue of the responsibility that each and all of us should take for our lives, moving from the understanding that, as all of us were our own liberators in resistance against apartheid, so too should we today act as our own liberators in dealing with its legacy.

Moral regeneration also means inculcating in ourselves and our youth that service to the people, selfless commitment to the common good, is more valuable than selfish pursuit of material rewards. Productive investment is more valuable than aimless gambling in markets for derivatives. Payment for honest work is more fulfilling and sustainable than theft. Children and women are there to be respected, not to become targets of abuse.

As part of the people's campaign, Vukuzenzele, we must intensify our work on the question of social equity. We do this as a continuation of our struggle and in order to fulfil the commitments we made with the rest of humanity at the World Conference against Racism that we had the honour to host last year. In this regard, we must ensure that we accelerate and entrench the forward march of women's emancipation in all spheres of our lives. As in the past, Government must take the lead in promoting and protecting the rights of women. [Applause.] We also need to reflect, as a nation, whether we are making the necessary progress in advancing the constitutional rights of the disabled.

Further, part of our programme to bring about social equity is the successful implementation of the programme for black economic empowerment. Clearly, we need rigorous and visible progress in this area, so as to ensure that not only is the distribution of wealth and economic power in line with the

demographics of our country, but also that our economy and society as a whole can benefit from the wisdom and potential of all South Africans, and that the benefits of such empowerment are shared across society and not just by a few.

Government has accepted the most critical recommendations of the Black Economic Empowerment commission. On the two specific areas of legislation and institutional frameworks, it has been decided as follows: Firstly, that all sectoral legislation will be examined to ensure that the obligation of black economic empowerment is incorporated in it, on the basis of common principles agreed upon. Secondly, once a comprehensive policy statement on this issue has been finalised within the next four months, a Black Economic Empowerment Council will be established, bringing together Government, other experts and practitioners in this critical area. Thirdly, Government will, as an actor in the economic arena, particularly with regard to the procurement of goods and services, re-examine its structures and systems to ensure that they fully meet the objective of black economic empowerment.

I would like to emphasise that the task of this empowerment faces all sectors of our society, including the established business community. As is happening in the tourism industry, progress will depend on active Government leadership and co-operation from various sectors of the business community itself. In this regard I should like to thank Cyril Ramaphosa for the work he did to lead this team, ie the commission that produced this report. [Applause.]

A further challenge in ensuring an inclusive economy pertains to access to microfinance. Many enterprising South Africans set out to establish small businesses, but are unable to do so through the formal banking system, nor to acquire the training that they need. Khula and Ntsika were established to spearhead this, and they have been improving their work in the past few years.

In order to ensure that the wisdom of the nation is tapped effectively and that ideas are processed into practical programmes as urgently as possible, Government will continue with intensive consultations on microlending for the poor for purposes of income generation, working with experts who, by definition, should include communities who have over the years run successful self-help financial schemes.

Combined with this initiative will be a comprehensive review of all institutions mandated to assist the small, medium and micro enterprises, SMME's. Last year, Government announced a series of interventions by the state to help speed up the rate of investment and job creation. This we did having come to the conclusion that the country had achieved macroeconomic stability. We should at the very outset make so bold as to say that that conclusion stands.

The growth in our economy in 2001 is expected to register more than 2% of GDP, a significant achievement given the global slowdown. Interest rates, though still high, are lower than they have been for many years, and the same can be said about inflation. The deficit is much lower and combined with revenue collection, which is above the set targets, this will afford us the opportunity to increase expenditure in real terms, especially on such important areas as social services and economic infrastructure. In other words, barring the exchange rate, all critical economic indicators have improved.

The changing structure of our economy for the better is reflected, among other things, in the increase in manufactured exports and the fact that high rates of growth can be attained without undue pressure on the balance of payments. We as a country are within our right to be concerned about the volatility in the exchange rate and the kind of inexplicable movements that we experienced towards the end of last year. A variety of reasons have been given in this respect, and we all await the outcome of the inquiry

headed by Justice Myburgh, whom we wish to thank, along with other commissioners and their staff, for accepting the request to assist the nation in getting to the root of this problem.

As Government, we are in no doubt that the sudden depreciation of the currency a few months ago is not a reflection of systemic or structural weaknesses in the economy as a whole. We will need to continue working with international financial institutions and developing countries to fashion a global financial architecture that cushions so-called emerging markets from occasional market irrationality. On the whole, we should emphasise that the path of an open economy that we have charted for ourselves is not up for review. As we find our way into the future, we shall not seek solace in the past.

The programme that we announced last year to pay particular attention to a number of sectors of the economy will, during the course of this year, continue to unfold in the areas identified, such as mining, agriculture, telecommunications, tourism and manufacturing. Many concrete steps have been taken to speed up work in these sectors, and the relevant Ministers will detail these in their briefings both to Parliament and to the public. We shall here select a few areas for emphasis.

To start off with, a number of recent projects that have been brought to our attention have convinced us that the future holds much promise in terms of direct investment. Mvelaphanda Energy, working with a consortium of two American companies, has invested more than half a billion rand in the exploration of gas on the West Coast of our country. The consortium is exploring an area covering approximately 8 million acres within the Orange River Basin and has encountered excellent gas reserves that will supply this new form of energy to our country. [Applause.] There is an investment that Mvelaphanda will announce soon of at least R5 billion with regard to the development of this gas reserve.



Furthermore, a joint venture between a black empowerment company, Evertrade, and a Nasdaq-listed company will establish waste bin manufacturing facilities around the country for export, with earnings estimated at about R1,4 billion in the next seven years. Harmony Gold has raised over R1 billion in foreign investments for the purchase of gold mines in the Free State. [Applause.] To these we can add motor manufacturing companies, which last year invested in excess of R2 billion, an Irish clothing and textile enterprise and many others.

Interaction with our business community has reinforced our confidence regarding their commitment to the growth of our economy and the prosperity of our society. In this regard we wish again to pay tribute to a South African patriot and great leader of our people, the late Marinus Daling, who departed from our midst last week. From the interactions we have had with government and business leaders in the European Union, Japan, China, the US and other regions, including at the recent World Economic Forum in New York, it is quite clear that these trends will continue.

Critical in ensuring greater investment is the intensification of the work to build economic infrastructure and lower the cost of inputs. In this regard, progress has been made in finalising the ports policy and starting the process that will see to improvements in their efficiency. The Nqurha Industrial Development Zone has been designated and work on the port has started.

Despite the difficulties experienced during the course of the year, progress has been made in the restructuring of the telecommunications, transport and energy sectors, as well as other areas of economic and social infrastructure, with the primary aim of ensuring efficient and cost-effective service. In this context, the restructuring of state assets remains one of the primary areas of focus in the Government's programme.

One of the urgent tasks we have set ourselves is to finalise the setting up of a safety

agency for our railways. In this context, we wish to express our sympathies with the bereaved families and the injured in the recent train accident in Kwa-Dukuza, KwaZulu-Natal.

We are highly appreciative of the agreement that has been reached in the transport sector, and Spoornet in particular, to determine the kind of restructuring that enjoys the confidence of all the major stakeholders, including the trade unions. Steadily, as these programmes reach their critical mass, their impact on the lives of all South Africans, including in the area of sustainable job creation, will start to be felt.

The partnerships that we referred to earlier contain within them possibilities for massive expansion of community-based public works programmes. We also face the challenge of ensuring that the funds allocated to the National Skills Fund, Umsobomvu, infrastructure and the employment subsidy are spent with the efficiency demanded by the actual needs in society.

Experience over the past few months has raised the question of the impact of the rapid depreciation of our currency on the lives of ordinary South Africans. It is a tribute to the changing structure of the economy that imported inflation has in recent years been kept to a minimum.

We should also congratulate the agricultural sector on the work that they have done to finalise the strategic plan for South African agriculture, which addresses all the complex issues of research, equitable land distribution, assistance to small farmers and so on. Government and the agricultural sector are working together urgently to move towards the implementation of the plan.

In a meeting of the joint working groups of Government with big business, black business, agriculture and labour last December, it was agreed to convene as early as possible a growth and development summit to address the urgent challenges facing us in the

economy and build an enduring partnership in which all of us can lend a hand in building a prosperous South Africa.

A critical element of this engagement—at least a basic outline of which will have to be elaborated before such a summit—is a social accord or compact among all role-players. We need to ensure that each sector lends a hand for higher growth, whose benefits can be shared equitably among all South Africans. This will mean, among other things, achieving congruence in expectations and certainty in such matters as inflation, wage and salary demands, rates of investments, positioning of the country in the global arena, our role in Nepad, job creation and poverty alleviation.

The approach to this critical initiative will be based, among other things, on the experiences already garnered in the Millennium Labour Council and Nedlac. Achieving this compact is desirable if our economy is to develop to its full potential. More, it is necessary if our society has to advance at the rate required by the social challenges that we face.

This spirit of service to society, Batho Pele, is what guides us as we pursue the restructuring of the Public Service. Though slow, progress is being made in negotiations with public sector unions as we try to forge a common understanding of the challenges of change, which should benefit employer and employee, the public servant and the public we are meant serve. Steadily, through practical experience—for instance in urban renewal and rural development, in improving capacity in the Presidency, the clusters of Ministers and directors-general, and in the President's Co-ordinating Council and other institutions—integrated governance is becoming a reality.

During the course of this year, our country will celebrate the fifth anniversary of the adoption of the basic law of the land. This is an occasion on which we pay tribute to those who led the negotiation process and the mass

of our people who, ultimately, are the true midwives of our democracy.

The interactions that we have had with various communities, especially during the imbizo activities, demonstrate that the people's wisdom in both policy development and implementation can only serve to enrich the quality of the services we render, to make people-centred and people-driven development a living reality. One of the injunctions of the Constitution is that we must set up a commission on cultural, religious and language rights, and we have already tabled legislation in Parliament in this regard.

In accordance with the Government's comprehensive Public Service anti-Corruption Strategy, we have introduced measures to ensure that the code of conduct is upheld and that all Public Service managers are subject to conflict-of-interest disclosures. To complement this, legislation to fight corruption will be brought before Parliament during this session.

Among the matters that we will bring to a successful conclusion this year is the definition of the role of traditional leaders in our system of government. The consultations that have taken place across the board have laid the basis for framework legislation.

We will this year also finalise the restructuring of our national orders to reflect the art, symbolism and idiom of South Africa as a whole. Work to build the Freedom Park Monument will start this year, so that South Africans and the rest of humanity can celebrate this important shrine symbolising the rich heritage of our country and the evolution of the earth, life and humanity and the struggle of part of that humanity for liberty. It is therefore appropriate that this monument is launched as we approach the end of the first decade of freedom in two years time. I would like to thank the Freedom Park Board for having appointed the hon Wally Serote to work as a full-time chairperson on the Freedom Park Monument, so as to speed up the process. [Applause.]

What inspires us as we work with other leaders and peoples across the continent and further afield is to shape a new world, defined by the needs of all humanity. We enter 2002 with Africa, through its representative structures, having formally embraced the commitment that this should, in actual practice, be the African Century. Various projects envisaged in Nepad will start to unfold in parts of the continent, as we turn the ideals in this document into practical action.

During the course of last year our commitment to Africa's progress also found expression in the deployment of our sons and daughters in uniform in Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Burundi. We did so, because we remain confident that our sister peoples in these countries will find solutions to their problems.

We are humbled to play host later this month to the inter-Congolese dialogue, which will decide what happens to this critically important country of our continent. In order to ensure that we stay true to our commitment to peace on the continent and other defence functions, we shall continue with the programme to equip our National Defence Force, in line with policies of the country adopted by its elected representatives.

In pursuit of stability in our region, we will work tirelessly to support the people of Zimbabwe in their quest to hold free and fair elections in their country. It is in the interest of the people of Zimbabwe and, indeed, the whole region that the government that emerges from the March elections is legitimate and enjoys the support of the majority. [Applause.]

In order to play our part in ensuring that this happens—and in response to the wishes of Zimbabweans themselves—we will, within a week, send a multisectoral South African observer mission to Zimbabwe, led by Dr Sam Motsuenyane. I am informed that Parliament is also ready to send a parliamentary observer team on the same mission. Clearly,

the mission and the conditions that our teams seek to create are one and one only: let the people of Zimbabwe speak through the ballot box! [Applause.]

Further, we wish to express our solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Lesotho, who are due to hold their national elections in May this year after a long process of negotiations among themselves. This year, we will continue with efforts to attain peace and development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola and the Comoros. We shall also persist with whatever we can contribute to ensure that the destruction of the Palestinian authority is brought to an end and that peace and security for the Palestinian and Israeli child becomes a reality. [Applause.]

Again, we shall, during the course of this year, continue to strengthen our economic and other forms of co-operation with countries of the European Union, Japan and the rest of Asia, China, the USA and the Americas, in pursuit of Africa's development, our own national interests and the interests of humanity as a whole. In this regard, we shall continue to challenge the pessimism that expects Africa to fail in any of its endeavours, and the undeclared doctrine of collective punishment against all Africans that seems to come into effect when one or some among our leaders stumble. [Applause.]

We wish, once more, to reiterate our solidarity with the people of the United States of America for the terrible events of 11 September 2001. If anything, our fervent hope is that this tragedy will continue to reawaken in all of us our bonds as a global human family. Along with other countries, under the aegis of the UN, South Africa will make whatever modest contribution it can in the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

The ingredients for faster progress on all fronts of our work are there. The primary one among these is our collective appreciation that no one, but no one, can do for us

what we should do for ourselves. [Applause.] In this programme we lay out the main challenges that face us in the coming year and beyond. What guides our approach is that each one of us should lend a hand in doing the simple things that will make a difference to the lives of especially the poor.

Together as a people, we have made great strides. The successes we have achieved make the clear statement that acting together, we can and shall continue to push

back the frontiers of poverty and expand access to a better life. [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order! I join members in thanking the hon the President. Members and guests should please remain in their places until the procession has left the Chamber.

The Joint Sitting rose at 12:05.





REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING

(HANSARD)

FIFTH SESSION—SECOND PARLIAMENT

FRIDAY, 14 FEBRUARY 2003

2

APPENDIX 4.

MDEU, THABO. "STATE OF THE NATION  
ADDRESS 14 FEBRUARY" DEBATES OF  
THE JOINT SITTING. CAPE TOWN.  
HANSARD, 2003: 2-34

## PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00. The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

(Announcement)

The Speaker announced that the President had requested that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened in terms of Joint Rule 7(1), to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

[Applause.]

## STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC:  
Thank you very much, Madam Speaker. Acting Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, Deputy Speaker, Deputy President of the Republic, hon leaders of our political parties and hon members of Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the Judiciary, heads of our Security Services, Governor of the Reserve Bank, President Mandela and Mrs Graca Machel, distinguished premiers of our provinces, distinguished speakers of the provincial legislatures, mayors and leaders in our system of local government, our honoured traditional leaders, heads of the state organs supporting our democratic system, directors-general

and other leaders of the Public Service, your excellencies, ambassadors and high commissioners, distinguished guests, friends and comrades, people of South Africa, ten years ago, in 1993, we began the last mile of the long march against the system of white minority domination. In that year, we finalised the interim Constitution that set the stage for the first democratic elections and our transition to democratic majority rule. It is also the year in which we lost that indomitable giant of our struggle, Oliver Tambo, and the people's hero Chris Hani.

To Sis' Limpho Hani and Mme Adelaide Tambo, who need no introduction in this House, and members of their families with us today, we wish to say that the memory of these heroes will continue to inspire all of us as we enter the second decade of freedom. [Applause.]

I am also privileged to recognise eight veterans who are with us here today, the first time in their lives that they have visited this seat of democracy for which they struggled throughout their lives. They are Mrs Marcus Mbetha from the Northern Cape, Mr Johannes Maseko from Mpumalanga, Mr Lesley Monnanyane from the Free State, Mrs Nontsomi Qwati from the Eastern Cape, Mrs Marcus Makinta from the North West, Reverend Hamilton Mbatha from KwaZulu-Natal, Mrs Martha Motswenyane from Limpopo and Mrs Magrita Benjamin from the Western Cape. [Applause.] To them all we say many thanks for everything you did to enable all of us to enjoy the freedoms which many in our country already take for granted.

As we meet at this place at the southern tip of Africa that houses our national legislature, on the Eastern shores of the Atlantic Ocean, the youth of the world is engaged in a sporting contest that will answer the question—who is the cricket champion of the world!

We salute this city, Cape Town, our legislative capital, that successfully hosted the

opening ceremony and first game of the 2003 ICC Cricket World Cup. [Applause.] Today, as before, this great metropolis has provided us with the venue for the commencement of the fifth session of our second democratic Parliament.

On this important day on our national calendar, once more we say welcome to the outstanding sportsmen who have gathered in our country, in Zimbabwe and Kenya, to test one another in a peaceful contest of human skill, ingenuity and endurance. We extend our best wishes to all of them, and say to all of them: Let the best win!

We thank the International Cricket Council for the opportunity it has given our country and continent—the possibility to host the Cricket World Cup.

Once again, we extend our best wishes to our warriors, the Proteas, confident that at the end of the day they will win, because they are the best. [Applause.]

In the next few months South Africa will launch its bid to host the 2010 Soccer World Cup. Government wishes to assure our Soccer World Cup Bid Committee of our fullest support as they go into the bidding process. We are certain of victory this time round, a victory that will be for all Africa.

On this day when we meet at this place at the southern tip of Africa that houses our national legislature, the eyes of the peoples of the world are also focused on another place, this time on the Western shores of the Atlantic Ocean, the great city of New York, which hosts the parliament of the world, the United Nations Organisation.

Today, the inspectors charged with the responsibility to ensure that Iraq rids itself of weapons of mass destruction will report to the United Nations Security Council about whether or not they are succeeding in their task.

Their report may very well decide the question whether the peoples of the world will continue to enjoy a global peace.

This we must say, that for us as Africans to host the Cricket World Cup, like the President's Golf Cup later this year, communicates the message that we were not wrong when we said that this, the 21st century, would be an African Century.

However, for us to realise this objective, we require that, unlike the 20th, the 21st century should be a century of African peace. It should also be a century of world peace.

Hopefully, today's report of the United Nations weapons inspectors to the Security Council will not serve as a signal to some that the time has come to unleash the fury of war.

Today, on the 14th of February, two great world cities, New York and Cape Town, have to grapple with the fundamental question of war and peace. They have to choose sides in the contest between human hope and human despair, between war and peace.

As we speak, a number of our citizens are preparing to travel to Iraq. These are the experts who led our country's programme to destroy our nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction, as well as the missiles for the delivery of these weapons in conditions of war. The work they did has now resulted in the South African example of disarmament being recognised internationally as an example of best international practice. [Applause.]

Recently, we proposed to the Government of Iraq and the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Kofi Annan, that this team should visit Iraq to share with the government, scientists, engineers, technicians and people of Iraq our experience relevant to the mission of the United Nations and Iraq to eradicate weapons of mass destruction under international supervision.

I am pleased to inform the hon members that Iraq has accepted our offer, which we have already discussed with the leadership of the weapons inspectors. We trust that this intervention will help to ensure the necessary proper co-operation between the United Nations inspectors and Iraq, so that the issue of weapons of mass destruction is addressed satisfactorily, without resort to war.

I would also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the government of Iraq for its positive response to our suggestion, as well as the recent decisions it has taken to allow the U2 and other aerial surveillance flights, to encourage its citizens to be interviewed at any location decided by the inspectors without any Iraqi officials present and to adopt legislation prohibiting the production of weapons of mass destruction.

To assist with regard to this last matter, we have given Iraq copies of our own legislation dealing with weapons of mass destruction, the Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction Act of 1993, as well as notices and regulations published in terms of the Act in the period between 1997 and 2002.

We have done all this because we prefer peace to war. We have taken the positions we have, not to oppose or support any country, nor to seek any glory. We have done what we have because, as South Africans and Africans, we know the pain of war and the immeasurable value of peace. During the last century, South Africans lost their lives in the titanic battles of the First and Second World Wars and the Korean War.

Many paid the supreme sacrifice in a protracted contest within our country and a dishonourable confrontation with the peoples of the rest of Africa, especially in Southern Africa, as we struggled to end the system of apartheid. At that time, some among us worked to develop and accumulate exactly the terrible weapons that the Security Council is demanding that Iraq should destroy.

As we meet here for the first time this year, we trust that this democratically elected forum of the people of South Africa will pronounce itself unequivocally in favour of peace, against war. [Applause.]

We urge that our national Parliament should express itself in favour of the peaceful eradication of any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, for Iraq's respect for the decisions of the United Nations Security Council, for respect by all countries of the principle and practice of multilateralism, for the continuing responsibility of the United Nations with regard to issues of international peace and security, and the peaceful resolution of international conflicts.

On this day both Cape Town and New York must respond to all these challenges honestly and frankly. I dare say that this national legislature will choose to give peace a chance.

I am convinced that this representative body of the masses of our people will do what it can to contribute to the international effort to ensure that our country, our continent and the rest of the world avoid an immensely destructive war.

We speak in favour of peace because our people prefer peace to war. They yearn for peace because they know from their experience that without peace there can be no development. Without development we will not be able to realise the goal of a better life for all. Without peace we will fail in the effort in which we are engaged to transform ours into a country of hope, and revert to the past on which we have turned our backs, a past of misery and despair.

With regard both to changing the lives of South Africans for the better and to building relations of human solidarity with the peoples of the world, the tide has turned. Our task is to take this tide at the flood, further to progress towards the achievement of the goals for which so many of our people sacrificed. This is the perspective that will

inform our work as we strive to meet our obligations to our people and the peoples of Africa and the world.

Last year when we spoke from this podium we said our country has a continuing task to push back the frontiers of poverty and expand access to a better life for all. The challenge we all face as South Africans is to put our shoulders to the wheel to accelerate the pace of change.

To address this goal we called on our people to offer their time and skills to the nation as Letsema volunteers for reconstruction and development. We also urged the nation to follow the example set by some of our nationals resident in the United States, who had decided to support the development of the country of their birth. As they engaged this task, they adopted the call: Vukuzenzele!

I would like to take this opportunity to extend a word of thanks and appreciation to the thousands of our people who rolled up their sleeves to lend a hand in the national effort to build a better life for all South Africans.

This includes some of the hon members of Parliament present here today. Their involvement in practical work to improve the conditions of the people—be it in the campaign to register people for social grants, assistance at police stations, izimbizo, or improvement of learning, teaching and discipline in our schools—emphasises the partnership that should exist between the various arms of Government to ensure that life changes for the better especially among the poor. It underlines the importance of the contact we must maintain continuously with the people of our country who elected us.

Of course, our thanks also go to the ordinary citizen Letsema volunteers, some of whom participated in the spectacular opening ceremony of the Cricket World Cup, as they had done when we hosted the launch of the African Union and hosted the World Summit

for Sustainable Development. In addition, these ordinary citizen volunteers had participated in all the initiatives undertaken throughout the year.

As we continue to respond to the challenge to put our shoulders to the wheel to accelerate the pace of change, we reiterate the appeal to all our people to sustain the volunteer Letsema campaign and respond to the call: Vukuzenzele!

Hon members will remember that, in our address to the House last year, we expressed the confidence of Government in the health of our economy. We asserted then that, despite the difficulties that we may experience from time to time and despite the economic downturn across the globe, our economy was robust and had the potential to perform relatively well.

Indeed the country has managed to stay the course of growth, with the growth of the gross domestic product for 2002 estimated at 3,1%. Gross fixed capital formation grew by almost 8% during the year. We have now had 10 consecutive years of positive growth. Manufacturing grew by 5,4% in 2002, the fastest growth since 1995. Our currency has wrested back the losses it suffered during 2001. During 2002 it recorded its first annual gain against the US dollar in 15 years.

In the first three quarters of 2002, household consumption expenditure grew by an average of 3,2% while disposable income increased by over 3,5%. Household debt as a percentage of disposable income is at its lowest level since 1993. In the third quarter of 2002 gross savings as a percentage of GDP increased above 15% for the first time since 1999.

Through tax reform we have, since 1999, cumulatively increased the income of citizens by a total of R38,1 billion. At the same time the introduction of minimum wages for domestic and farm workers should help improve the income of the most vulnerable

workers. This process will continue in a few other sectors in consultation with the relevant role-players.

We also pride ourselves on the contribution that the Government has made directly to the income of citizens. Through two increases in social grants announced in April and October last year, a total of R1,5 billion was made available to the most vulnerable in our society. This will be augmented by further increases this year. Over the last decade, including the period when we had to correct the macroeconomic imbalances, expenditure on social services grew by 4% per year in real terms.

Government has put in place various measures to deal with the emergency arising from high food prices. In addition to medium-term measures that include the setting up of the Food Monitoring Committee, Government made R400 million available for food parcels and agricultural starter packs, as well as other resources for food relief in Southern Africa.

These direct contributions to the income of citizens, especially the poor, serve to complement the "social wage" that has improved with each passing year.

This "social wage" includes the increased number of water and electricity connections, the patent improvements in teaching and learning in our schools, the acceleration of the land restitution and redistribution programme, which includes hundreds of thousands of title deeds in urban areas, primary health care and free housing.

It complements the efforts of Government to contribute to economic growth, to expand and modernise the economic infrastructure and the substantial resources allocated to the development of small, medium and micro enterprises.

Over the past few years we have worked hard to lay the basis for the advances we must make to meet the goal of a better life for all. At the centre of this are the related

objectives of the eradication of poverty and the fundamental transformation of our country into one that is nonracial, nonsexist and prosperous.

We have no doubt that our policies have been and are a correct response to the practical reality we inherited. The changes taking place in our country attest to this. The lives of our people are changing for the better. Gradually we are moving away from the entrenched racial, gender and spatial rigidities of the past. Our economy is demonstrating a resilience and dynamism that is the envy of many across the world. Truly, the tide has turned. [Applause.]

Despite resistance among some, our people are developing a strong sense of a common patriotism. Our country occupies an honoured place among the nations of the world as part of the global forces working for the progressive transformation of our common universe. None of this has happened of its own. It is the outcome of the elaboration and implementation of correct policies since 1994.

Because of all this, let us again affirm that with regard both to changing the lives of South Africans for the better, and to building relations of human solidarity with the peoples of the world, the tide has turned. Our task is to take this tide at the flood, further to progress towards the achievement of the goals for which so many of our people sacrificed.

This is the perspective that will inform our work as we strive to meet our obligations to our people, and the peoples of Africa and the world. In this regard, we must pay the closest attention to issues of implementation and to as practical an approach as possible to the work we all face as South Africans.

Because of the foundations we have laid, we must once more set ourselves necessary realistic tasks for the year. Needless to say, these must be located within the broad perspective we have just indicated. These

tasks encompass such areas as expanded service provision; improvements in the efficiency of the Public Service; increased social and economic investment; black economic empowerment; greater all-round attention to the challenge of human resource development to help reduce unemployment levels; further improvements within the criminal justice system; further work on the important matter of moral renewal; expanding our relations with the rest of the world; accelerating the process of the formulation and implementation of the first Nepad projects; and advancing the African Union agenda, including the important issue of peace and security.

With regard to the foregoing, I would like to emphasise that this programme is informed by the experience we continue to gain in implementing practical projects; by the interaction through iimbizo and other means with the people who, more than any consultants, know what their needs are and how these needs can best be met, and by the continuing research that we are conducting to collate and distil the experience of the first decade of freedom.

I wish to assure the thousands of South Africans who attended these izimbizo with Ministers, premiers, MECs and councillors that we have listened, we have heard, and we have better understood what the people wanted.

For instance, having listened to the people of Bekkersdal during the Presidential imbizo in Gauteng, national Government will work with both the province and local government to introduce public works programmes in this area. We shall find safe and secure land for settlement and upgrade community infrastructure both to improve social services and provide some employment. [Applause.]

As hon members and the country are aware, we have, for some years, implemented GEAR, among other things, to generate the resources for us to address the social needs of our people. As a result of our successes in

this regard, this year will see a further expansion of services to the people.

This will cover a number of areas, including old age and disability pensions, the child support grant which will be extended progressively to cover children up to the age of 14... [Applause]... the school feeding scheme, food and nutrition, education, health, water and electricity. As we are extending unemployment insurance to workers who have previously been excluded, such as domestic, seasonal and agricultural workers, we urge all employers to ensure that their workers are properly registered. [Applause.] Our specific objective with regard to all these interventions is to reach as many of the most vulnerable as possible.

To ensure an integrated approach to this matter of the further expansion of services to the people, this year we will complete our work on a Comprehensive Social Security System as well as the Social Health Insurance Scheme.

Some of the measures we will take in the context of expanded delivery include provision of free health care to people with disabilities... [Applause]... reaching the 50% of those who are eligible for a supply of free basic water who still have no access to this service, providing poor households in areas connected to the grid with up to 50kW of free basic electricity. In non-grid areas, such households will be provided with a subsidy of up to 80% of the market cost to provide access to electricity systems.

We will pay particular attention to a comprehensive response to the health challenges facing our country. This must include responses to the fundamental problem of poverty eradication and better nutrition, lifestyles, observance of legal and social norms with regard to road safety, the social fabric within especially those communities living in poverty, and the culture of observing treatment regimes with regard to such curable diseases as tuberculosis.

We will continue the work to eradicate malaria in our country and the other SADC countries by 2007. We will further intensify the efforts to reduce the incidence of the leading killer-disease, TB. Similarly, we will continue to focus on the treatment of sexually transmitted infections.

Working together with SANAC, we will continue to implement the Government's comprehensive strategy on HIV and Aids, relating to all elements of this strategy. This includes implementation of the decisions of the Constitutional Court.

With regard to the accomplishment of the task of ensuring a better life for all, we must make the observation that the Government is perfectly conscious of the fact that there are many in our society who are unable to benefit directly from whatever our economy is able to offer. Obviously, this includes those on pension and the very young.

But it also includes people who are unskilled and those with low levels of education in general. This reflects the structural fault in our economy and society as a result of which we have a dual economy and society. The one is modern and relatively well developed. The other is characterised by underdevelopment and an entrenched crisis of poverty.

We have to respond to the needs of the fellow South Africans trapped in the latter society in a focused and dedicated manner to extricate them from their condition. The expansion in social provision must reach this sector of our society to relieve the poverty and suffering afflicting these masses of our people.

As we will indicate later, other Government interventions will also focus on this sector in a particular way. Critically, some of these interventions must aim at ensuring that as many as possible of those who fall within this category move out of the trap within which they are caught.

Accordingly, the Government must act to ensure that we reduce the number of people

dependent on social welfare, increasing the numbers that rely for their livelihood on normal participation in the economy. This also is especially relevant to the accomplishment of the goal of enhancing the dignity of every South African.

We must also refer to the important matter of gender equality. Some progress is being made in Government to address this issue, and in the private sector and civil society the campaign on the rights of women has started at least to form part of the national discourse. But society still lags far behind in terms of actual implementation, particularly in mainstreaming gender issues on development and poverty eradication.

Within Government we will continue to insist on the implementation of the National Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality. Concretely, we will soon introduce a system through which gender representation targets and content of programmes become part of the core performance criteria of every government institution and every government manager. [Applause.]

The effective delivery of the expanded services to the people requires that we improve the efficiency of the Public Service. Obviously, without an efficient and effective Public Service, it will be impossible for us to register the advances that we are capable of. Again, this will require that we make a number of determined interventions.

By the middle of this year, the national and provincial governments will complete the process of auditing the Public Service personnel in these spheres of government and determining their personnel needs in terms of the tasks that confront Government. This will enable us to effect the necessary adjustments to ensure that the Public Service has the people with the right skills, at the right places, in the right numbers. [Applause.]

To overcome the problems that we have continued to experience in the distribution of

social grants, with an adverse impact on people in need, we shall speed up the process to set up a National Social Security Agency. [Applause.]

Cognisant of the critical role of local government, the central and provincial governments will work together to extend assistance to this sphere of our system of governance, in particular to improve its managerial, technical and administrative capacity.

The Government will create a Public Service echelon of multiskilled community development workers who will maintain direct contact with the people where these masses live. We are determined to ensure that government goes to the people so that we sharply improve the quality of the outcomes of public expenditures intended to raise the standard of living of our people. [Applause.]

It is wrong that government should oblige the people to come to the government, even in circumstances in which they do not know what services the government offers and have no means to pay for the transport to reach these government offices. [Applause.]

It will be particularly important that we attract the right people into this cadre of community development workers, train them properly, and supervise them effectively. These development workers must truly be inspired by the letter and spirit of batho pele! Among other things, these workers will help to increase the effectiveness of our system of local government, strengthening its awareness of and capacity to respond to the needs of the people at the local level.

To ensure the proper execution of multisector projects, we will appoint dedicated project managers accountable to teams of relevant officials and the Executive, with the authority and responsibility to ensure implementation across departments and spheres of government. At the same time, monitoring capacity at the level of the

Presidency will have to be strengthened. A framework for this approach will be ready in the next four months.

The process to set up a government-wide call centre will be speeded up. In addition, we will start this year to phase in an electronic system, an e-government gateway, in which the directory of government services will be available according to citizens' needs rather than the silos of the state bureaucracy, an electronic version of the Multipurpose Community Centres. [Applause.]

As Parliament and our people know, for two years we have focused on particular rural and urban nodes in the context of the drive to assist the poorest in our country to achieve development and an improved standard of living. To improve our work in this regard, steps will be taken to ensure proper co-ordination, co-operation and operational integration among the three spheres of government.

We will this year also finalise the proposal for the harmonisation of systems, conditions of service and norms between the Public Service in the national and provincial spheres on the one hand, and the municipalities on the other.

This year we will also have to finalise the long-running debate about the role and place of the institution of traditional leadership, bearing in mind that this is one of our constitutional organs of government. The necessary national framework legislation will therefore be tabled, which will enable the provincial legislatures to approve legislation specific to each of our provinces.

In co-operation with the provincial government, a multidisciplinary national team is working in the Eastern Cape to contribute to the solution of the problems facing this province. This work will continue with the necessary speed and intensity. It will also help the Government as a whole to under-

stand what needs to be done to improve our overall system of governance.

In this regard, we will pay particular attention to five departments, these being Finance, Education, Social Development, Health and Public Works. All these must have the necessary capacity to do their work properly. They must function in a manner that will enable us to meet our national goals.

The work being done in the Eastern Cape will also assist us greatly further to intensify our offensive against the cancer of corruption within the Public Service. This work will be intensified in all three spheres of government, building on the experience accumulated within departments and through the efforts of such institutions as the Public Protector, the Auditor General and the Public Service Commission.

Further improvement in the quality of the lives of our people also requires that we take new measures to increase the volume and quality of our investment in the social infrastructure. This includes such areas as housing and municipal infrastructure, hospitals and clinics, schools, roads, water, electricity and Government facilities. In all these areas, we must improve our performance relative to the previous year.

Accordingly, additional resources will be set aside to meet this obligation. We will ensure that these resources are actually used, consistent with what we have said about the need to ensure that we have the necessary mechanisms to implement our policies and decisions.

In this regard, we must commend the provinces for significantly improved efficiency in the area of capital investment. For the period of nine months of the current fiscal year, expenditure in this area has increased by 48% compared to the same period during the previous fiscal year. At the same time, it seems clear that not all the allocated funds

will be spent by the end of the financial year. It is precisely this shortcoming that we must address this year.

With regard to this social investment, we will pay particular but not exclusive attention to the nodal points already identified in the context of our Urban Renewal and Rural Development Programmes. It is in these areas that we find the largest concentration of the marginalised sections of our population, which require dedicated interventions to extricate them from conditions of underdevelopment and entrenched poverty. This dictates that we focus on them with regard to our social spending as well as social and economic infrastructure investment.

To address this investment in social infrastructure, the Government has decided that we should launch an expanded public works programme. This will ensure that we draw significant numbers of the unemployed into productive work, and that these workers gain skills while they work, and thus take an important step to get out of the pool of those who are marginalised.

We will also further expand the network of the Multipurpose Community Centres.

The Government will also make various interventions in the economy in general further to encourage its growth and development. In this regard, we must mention that it is planned that the Growth and Development Summit that we mentioned last year is now scheduled for the beginning of May.

Among others, the summit should address issues of higher rates of investment, job creation, economic restructuring and improved efficiency and productivity, and greater social equity. All the social partners will have to indicate what they will contribute to the common effort to tackle these various challenges.

For its part, the Government has been working on its own contribution, some of which is indicated in this state of the nation

address. We will complete our submission in the near future and make it available to the participants at the Growth and Development Summit. We urge our social partners to finalise their own inputs so that the next stage of the preparations for the summit can commence as soon as possible.

In addition to what we have said, the Government's economic programme will focus on: continued implementation of our existing microeconomic reform programme; investment in the economic infrastructure and other measures; small and medium business development; micro-credit for productive purposes; black economic empowerment; and job creation.

The hon members will remember that three years ago we announced a microeconomic reform programme, which took advantage of the achievements we had made in stabilising our macroeconomic environment.

This included focused action in specific growth areas such as agriculture, mining, tourism, cultural industries, information technology, clothing and textiles, vehicle manufacturing and chemicals. We will now add to this list the aerospace sector, as well as call centres and back office business processing.

In addition, specific programmes will be put in place this year to improve assistance to, and expand the pool of exporters. These include changes to the Export Marketing Assistance Scheme and upgrading our representation in strategic markets abroad. The successes in the automobile and components sector also point to the work that needs to be done to use a simplified tariff book as an instrument of industrial policy. Greater focus will also be paid to the service sector, including the expansion of the ICT youth internship programme.

More than R100 billion has been set aside for capital expenditure in the MTEF period, including, at the national level, R55 billion

for infrastructure. Planned investment by the major state corporations for 2003 is at least R32 billion.

This investment will include key economic infrastructure projects such as the construction in the coming period of the John Ross Highway to Richards Bay, a dam on the Olifants River in the Limpopo Province to provide water for platinum mining and agriculture, the construction of Ngqura (Coega) port and concessioning of the Durban Container Terminal.

The improvement of infrastructure at the KwaZulu-Natal coast includes the relocation of Durban International Airport to La Mercy and the establishment of the Dube Trade Port. Within eight months details in this regard should be finalised for the private sector to be invited to take part in the project. Massive investments will be dedicated to upgrading and acquiring railway rolling stock as well as the Taxi Recapitalisation Programme, which, after extensive consultations, should start this year.

Further work will also be done to improve the infrastructure at our major border posts to facilitate movement of people and goods. Necessarily, this must be accompanied by the appropriate staffing of these transit points to eliminate inefficiencies that derive from under-trained personnel.

Further to reduce the cost of doing business in our country, with regard to liquid fuels, the Government has decided to replace the in-bond landed cost pricing mechanism with what is referred to as the basic fuel price formula.

This new approach, which we believe will save fuel users more than R1-billion a year, will be phased in, starting in April this year. [Applause.] We wish to assure the industry that this process will be handled in a manner that does not adversely affect the sustainability of the industry and elements of black economic empowerment already agreed upon.

With regard to the restructuring of state assets, hon members know that we will soon proceed with the listing of Telkom. Work will also go ahead towards the introduction of a second national telecommunications operator. We have already mentioned the initiatives affecting the transport sector. Further work will be done relating to electricity.

The Government will also continue to work on public-private partnerships to increase its capacity to respond to the needs of our people. Fifty of these are already operational in such areas as health, education, transport, housing, information technology, tourism, and government accommodation.

The development and support for small and medium business and the co-operative sector remains a priority for Government. Accordingly, more financial and other resources will be committed to the development of this sector of our economy. This will also see increased support for business chambers and business development organisations, and the expansion of the business mentorship programme.

Women-owned businesses will receive additional support through the South African Women Entrepreneurs Network (SAWEN), which was launched last year. [Applause.] Similarly, we will continue to pay attention to the important area of agricultural development.

We will table legislation amending the Small Business Act, among other things, to establish a nationwide advocacy body to act as the voice of this sector and to ensure that support for SMMEs is available at the local level throughout the country.

With regard to the rural areas, this year we will complete the processing of the Communal Land Bill, not only to ensure certainty in the ownership of assets by families in rural areas, including women, but also to encourage small-scale and co-operative agricultural production and thus improved food security. As the Bill indicates, this will be



start implementing the projects that will give practical meaning to the beginnings of Africa's renewal.

We take this opportunity to congratulate the people of the Kingdom of Lesotho, who last year conducted a peaceful, free and fair election. We will also continue to work with the people of Zimbabwe as they seek solutions to the problems afflicting their country. We hope that, sooner rather than later, these solutions will be found through dialogue among the leaders of this neighbouring country. In the Kingdom of Swaziland, we hope that efforts at constitutional reform will soon bear fruit.

Conditions for peace and development are steadily taking shape in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Sudan and Angola, and South Africa will always be ready to assist where we can to ensure that the peace, prosperity and national reconciliation that these countries deserve are achieved. We remain firm in our hope that the long-delayed issue of Western Sahara will be resolved without further delay.

The international community also has an urgent responsibility to help resolve the issue of the establishment of an independent state of Palestine, side by side and at peace with the State of Israel.

In a number of African countries, South Africa's sons and daughters serving in our National Defence Force are working to contribute to peace as a critical condition for development. We are proud of their efforts, and dip our banners in honour of those who have fallen on duty.

We will continue this year to strengthen our relations with the countries of the South, and improve our multifaceted relations with the developed world. This will include continued trade negotiations with Mercosur, China, India and the United States.

Our role in international relations is enhanced by our responsibility to take forward decisions of the Non-aligned Movement and

the African Union, which we chair, and to assist the United Nations in realising the commitments of the World Conference Against Racism and the World Summit on Sustainable Development which we hosted.

In carrying out these international responsibilities we proceed from the premise that our success in social change and nation-building is conditional on the progress humanity makes in building a caring world. Inversely, building a new and prosperous nation is itself our own humble contribution to the well-being of humanity as a whole.

In the implementation of our programmes we need to pay particular attention to culture, music and the arts as manifestations of our self-image as a nation. This year we will strengthen the partnerships aimed at identifying and nurturing South African talent, at affording the creativity of our artists free reign, and at giving appropriate promotion of our talents.

As a contribution to building the self-image that attaches to a proud nation, we shall continue this work with the project to build the first phase of the Freedom Park Monument, following on the introduction of new National Orders last year and others that will be launched this year.

We are confident that the best of our architects, designers and other creative workers, together with others from the rest of Africa and other parts of the world, will avail their talent for the construction of a Freedom Park that we hope will stand out as an important tribute to the dignity of Africans and all human beings.

The self-image that we speak of includes the values that should define us both as a nation and as its individual components. It should also find expression in the people's contract for moral regeneration, as we all strive to become a caring society of up-standing citizens.

The South African people's contract for a better tomorrow is starting to express itself

in the campaign of citizens, across the diverse identities that define us, to build pride in our country and promote its attributes abroad. The efforts of the International Marketing Council, Proudly South African and the many individual initiatives in this regard require our support.

It is in this spirit that we should engage in a national dialogue on how we take forward the report and recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which we hope will be presented to Government in the next few months. This will afford us the opportunity to understand a critical part of our past and join hands in forging a people's contract for a better tomorrow.

As we enter the last year of the first decade of freedom, we will heed the lessons of these first ten years and build on what has been achieved. Through dispassionate research and systematic planning, and with renewed courage, we must together approach the

second decade of freedom, from 2004 to 2014, as one in which the tide of progress will sweep away the accumulated legacy of poverty and underdevelopment. It is in this spirit that we shall prepare for a fitting celebration of our ten years of freedom next year.

I wish our national, provincial and local legislatures success as they discharge their responsibilities to our country and people during this final year of our first decade of liberation.

The tide has turned. The people's contract for a better tomorrow is taking shape. I trust that all of us will identify with this historic process. Given the great possibility we have to move forward, we dare not falter. I thank you very much. [Applause.]

The Speaker adjourned the Joint Sitting at 12:05.

## INDEX TO PROCEEDINGS

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Abbreviations: AhC = Ad hoc Committee; AhJC = Ad hoc Joint Committee;  
JBC = Joint Budget Committee; JC = Joint Committee; JMC = Joint Monitoring Committee;  
JPC = Joint Programming Committee; JR = Joint Rule; JSC = Joint Standing Committee; JSc = Joint  
Subcommittee; JTM = Joint Tagging Mechanism;  
NA = National Assembly; NCOP = National Council of Provinces; PC = Portfolio Committee;  
RC = Rules Committee; SC = Select Committee; StC = Standing Committee

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

# DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING (HANSARD)

SIXTH SESSION—SECOND PARLIAMENT

FRIDAY, 6 FEBRUARY 2004

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APPENDIX Z

WEEK, THURSDAY. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, 6 FEBRUARY", DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING. CAPE TOWN: HANSARD, 2004: 2-2

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker took the Chair and requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

### CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

The Speaker announced that the Presiding Officers had received a message from the President requesting that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened in terms of section 84(2)(d) of the Constitution, read with Joint Rule 7(1), on Friday, 6 February

2004, at 11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

### ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker, Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, Deputy Speaker and Deputy Chairperson of the national Houses of Parliament, Deputy President of the Republic, honourable leaders of our political parties and hon members of Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the judiciary, heads of our Security Services, Governor of the Reserve Bank, distinguished Premiers of our provinces, mayors and leaders in our system of local government, our honoured traditional leaders,



heads of the state organs supporting our democratic system, directors-general and other leaders of the Public Service, President Mandela and Mrs Graca Machel, President F W de Klerk and Mrs Elita de Klerk, Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners, distinguished guests, friends and comrades, people of South Africa, I am honoured to welcome to this Chamber representatives of two families whose loved ones were killed 30 years ago in Gaborone, Botswana and Lusaka, Zambia, while opening what proved to be parcel bombs sent by agents of the apartheid system. These were Onkgopotse Tiro, a leader of the SA Students Organisation, SASO, and Adolphus Mvemve, then Chief Representative of the ANC in Zambia. [Applause.] I am very pleased that they were able to join us today.

Nelson Mandela delivered our first state of the nation address before the first democratically elected Parliament on 24 May 1994. In that address he quoted from a poem by Ingrid Jonker. In that poem Ingrid Jonker says:

... the child is present at all assemblies  
and law-givings  
the child peers through the windows of  
houses and into the hearts  
of mothers  
this child who only wanted to play in the  
sun at Nyanga is everywhere  
the child, grown to a man treks through all  
Africa  
the child grown into a giant journeys  
through the whole world  
Without a pass

Nelson Mandela then went on to say:

And in this glorious vision, she instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child. It is these things that we must achieve to give meaning to our presence in this Chamber and to give purpose to our occupancy of the seat of Government.

And so we must, constrained by and yet

regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

The Government I have the honour to lead and I dare say the masses who elected us to serve in this role, are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society. Accordingly, the purpose that will drive this Government shall be the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

He said:

The acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes we elaborate, the Government institutions we create, the legislation we adopt, must be whether they serve these objectives.

Today we begin the last session of our second democratic Parliament. We begin this session two and a half months before we celebrate our first decade of liberation and democracy. We also meet in these Houses of Parliament not long before we hold our third general elections.

It is, therefore, natural that our national legislature should spend some time reflecting on what we have achieved or not achieved during the last 10 years. Inevitably, all of us will also make speeches aimed at improving our fortunes in the forthcoming elections.

But perhaps the correct starting point for the Government would be to recall what was said as we began our journey into our democratic future. It was for this reason that I quoted what President Mandela said at the start of the first session of the first democratic Parliament.

To repeat what he said:

The Government I have the honour to lead and, I dare say, the masses who elected us to serve in this role are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society. Accordingly, the purpose that will

drive this Government shall be the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment and the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

The acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes we elaborate, the Government institutions we create, the legislation we adopt, must be whether they serve these objectives.

Sometimes it is difficult fully to understand the fact that we are barely 10 years away from a time in the lives of our people when our collective future was very uncertain. Some among us will hardly remember that even as we met in this House to listen to President Mandela deliver the state of the nation address, fellow South Africans were continuing to die as a result of political violence.

For instance, the South African Yearbook of 1995 reported:

Although political violence declined during and after the April 1994 election, extensive criminal and political violence continued to persist in the country, especially in KwaZulu-Natal and on the East Rand of the Gauteng province.

Daily fatalities from political violence still numbered six in May and just under four in June.

Others among us will have forgotten that as we sat here listening to that first state of the nation address, the commitment made by President Mandela to ensure "the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment" was, to many, little more than a promise they appreciated but could not fully comprehend.

The question had still to be answered as to where the resources would be found to finance the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment of which President Mandela spoke. In the decade up to the middle of 1993, the average annual GDP growth rate was less than 1%. During the first half of 1995, the annual growth rate stood at 1%.

For the fiscal year 1994-95 the Budget deficit stood at 6,6%. Consumer price inflation in the 12 months up to April 1995 was 11%.

By the end of that year, the interest rate stood at 13%. On 14 February 1995 the then Governor of the Reserve Bank, Chris Stals, said:

A more restrictive monetary policy is needed to make sure that the current economic upswing will not be of the boom-bust nature of earlier times, but will be more durable.

On 29 June of the same year, Mr Stals sounded an ominous note when he said:

Underlying inflationary pressures are undoubtedly increasing again in the South African economy. If left unchecked, this trend would eventually force the abortion of the welcome improvement over the past year in real economic growth, and will frustrate the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

On 28 August 1995, Chris Stals said:

Basically, the South African economy is not competitive enough to enable it to maintain an economic growth rate at a level high enough for its own needs. More drastic economic restructuring will be needed to lift the growth potential of the economy to the desired and more acceptable level.

In the same speech he expressed the uncertainties of the day when he said:

Economic growth will, in the final situation, be dependent not only on an improvement in the economic structure of the country, but even more so on political and social stability. In the final situation, all business decisions are influenced by the overall environment in which they are taken.

On 12 October 1995 he said that the country was still faced with some political uncertainties which impacted on our economic prospects. He said:

we have worked very hard to ensure that we make the necessary progress with the challenges of the regeneration of our continent. At the same time, we still have to contribute as much as we can to the common African effort to strengthen such institutions as SADC, the African Union and Nepad, and help ensure that they discharge their responsibilities effectively. We must do this work driven by the conviction that we will not allow anything to stand in our way towards the building of a peaceful, democratic and prosperous Africa.

In this regard, I would like to pay tribute to the officers, the men and women of the SA National Defence Force, who are doing sterling work to help advance the cause of democracy and peace in various parts of our continent. [Applause.] The new equipment they are receiving will give them increased capacity to meet this and other obligations. [Applause.]

Other regions of the world, including the most developed countries, are hard at work to change their neighbourhoods for the better. We can only ignore or minimise this task with regard to ourselves at our own peril, driven by a lingering sense that we are not an integral part of the African continent. This we will not do.

All major current international developments emphasise the importance of constructing a new world order that is more equitable and responsive to the needs of the poor of the world, who constitute the overwhelming majority of humanity.

The Iraq affair; the continuing and painful conflict involving Israel and Palestine; the WTO failure at Cancun; the seeming paralysis around issues relating to the democratisation of the UN and other multilateral institutions; the dissonance between the process of globalisation and a multilateral system of governance; the issue of global terrorism—all these matters underline the importance of moving forward significantly towards the building of the new world order

that has been spoken of for a long time already. We must stand ready to play our part in addressing this urgent challenge, in our own interest.

During our second decade of liberation we will ensure that Freedom Park is built and completed, together with other legacy projects that celebrate our humanity, our commitment to the all-round emancipation of all human beings and to human dignity.

A decade ago, Nelson Mandela said:

The acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes we elaborate, the Government institutions we create and the legislation we adopt must be whether . . . they help to create a people-centred society, the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, and the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

As we progress to the celebration of our first decade of liberation and democracy, I trust that the national, provincial and local legislatures will give themselves the opportunity to answer the question whether they have passed this acid test.

What I will say is that during this first decade we have made great progress towards the achievement of the goals we enunciated as we took the first steps as a newborn child. We also laid a strong foundation to score even greater advances during the exciting and challenging second decade ahead of us, as a people united to build a better South Africa and a better world.

When he contemplated the advent of the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, the Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, wrote in *The Men*:

The era's beginning: are these ruined shacks, these poor schools, these people still in rags and tatters, this cloddish insecurity of my poor families, is all this the day? The century's beginning, the golden door?

We have it within our power to build our own golden door into our second decade of liberation. We have demonstrated that we have the will to answer the question in the affirmative, and say: Yes, this is the day!

I thank you very much. [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order! Order, hon members. I thank you, hon President. Members and guests should please remain seated at their places after we have adjourned the Joint Sitting until the procession . . .

HON MEMBERS: Sound! Sound!

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Is there no sound? We do have sound now!

We thank the hon President . . . [Interjections.] . . . We repeat our thanks to the hon President and remind members that they and guests should please remain seated at their places after we have adjourned the Joint Sitting until the procession has left the Chamber.

The SPEAKER: Hon members, the National Assembly will debate the President's address on Monday, 9 February, at which time, having consulted the Independent Electoral Commission, the President will propose the dates for the 2004 general election.

The Joint Sitting rose at 11.55.

At this stage . . . the country still has to face:

- \* the first fully democratic election for local authorities scheduled to take place in early November this year;
- \* a more clear definition of the political, economic and financial relationships between the central government and regional governments; and
- \* the drafting of a final Constitution to replace the current interim Constitution before the next general election can take place.

Since time immemorial, the overwhelming majority of our people had known nothing but despair. They knew this as an incontestable matter of fact that tomorrow would not be better than yesterday. It was also fixed and given that the following day would be worse. But then, April 27, 1994 came and things changed radically and irrevocably for South Africans.

For the black, especially the African majority, suddenly a new dawn broke. After these issues had cast their votes, they still had nothing in their stomachs and in their pockets. They walked away from the polling booths to return to their miserable shacks and their children, made listless by hunger and the brutish thugs who prowled the unlit streets of the shantytowns, ready to march on their victims with no sense of mercy.

They walked the long distances to return to their homesteads of rural squalor; to the wrings of the drudgery of women with buckets full of dirty river water on their heads; to the daily diet of mealie-pap; to the dark, still and menacing nights broken only by the weak, flickering light of the paraffin lamp; and to the dying embers of an exhausted day.

Yet they had a spring in their step, because they knew that a new dawn had proclaimed the coming of a bright day. Though their hands carried the emptiness to which generations of deprivation had accustomed them, their hearts and minds were fired up by a newfound sense of hope and the attendant feeling of dread lest that hope turned out to be but a mere mirage, the false creation of a wish that was intensely felt.

The experience of many decades had taught us to understand that the black poor of our country valued a just peace as deeply as they valued their lives. It had taught us that their sense of pride in themselves as human beings made it impossible for them to join in a mass slaughter of other human beings, even to satisfy the base instincts of vengeance and retaliating to settle scores.

Over many decades we had seen that these masses would always refuse to turn racist, simply because they were subjected to cruel, racist rule. When a hero in their midst, Chris Hani, was murdered in cold blood, they refused to fulfil the prophecy of the poet that the blood-dimmed tide would be loosed, to drown the ceremony of innocence.

They stood in the voting lines side by side with those who had been their oppressors, and never uttered a single word of anger, nor jostled the white person next to them because they felt that their time to become the new masters had come. [Applause.] Black and white stood together, acting voluntarily together for the first time in our history, together to give birth to a new social order that would serve the interests of all our people.

When the leadership of these black masses said to them that, despite the fact that their children, their brothers and sisters, their mothers and fathers had been slaughtered in Boipatong and elsewhere on the many killing fields in our country, they as leaders were obliged to pursue the peaceful advance to a

that the dialogue chamber should bring to the nation the gift of a just peace.

They thought and acted as they did, because they knew better than those who had been certified as learned that it was only a just peace that would end their despair and bring into their lives the sense of hope that would make it possible for them to bear the pain of hunger, until the day came when they would no longer go hungry.

It was for these reasons that they had fought, ready to sacrifice their lives, for the just peace and the sense of hope they saw as a necessary condition for their survival as human beings. Those among us who are fond of threatening violence to promote their causes should learn to know this, that the masses of our people are ready and willing to sacrifice, once again, to defend the peace and keep alive the sense of hope that enables them to behave in mysteriously miraculous ways. [Applause.]

I must presume that many of us read the moving article by Rian Malan published last Sunday. He says:

On this day, 10 years ago, I was hiding gold coins under the floorboards and trying to get my hands on a gun before the balloon went up. As a white South African, I was fully expecting war as right-wing boers and Bantustan chiefs conspired to annihilate Nelson Mandela's people and the ANC leader squabbled with President F W de Klerk over who deserved more credit for their shared Nobel Peace Prize.

In my view, peace would never come. There was too much history, too much pain and anger . . .

Ten days before the predicted apocalypse, there came a miraculous reprieve. A reverent quiet settled upon the nation, and the election passed off entirely peacefully . . .

I set out to discredit the outcome. "The peace is illusory", I sneered, "Anarchy is still coming. Look at crime! Rape! Guns

factories! Incompetence and corruption everywhere!" When our new rulers dismissed such criticism as racist, I said, "Fine: if that's the price one pays for speaking the truth, I will consider myself honoured and continue. Hospitals don't work anymore! Surly nurses! Drunken teachers! A civil service where the phones just ring!"

He ends his personal testimony with these words:

It is infinitely worse to receive than to give, especially if one is arrogant and the gift is something big, like mercy or forgiveness. The gift of 1994 was so huge that I choked on it and couldn't say thank you. But I am not too proud to say it now.

[Applause.]

I have borrowed these honest words from Rian Malan to tell the painful story that strangely, but not surprisingly, because of 27 April 1994, our Freedom Day, despair had changed its domicile. Now, because freedom for all our people had become the defining feature of our reality, those who had rejoiced in the supremacy of their race opened their doors to despair.

Those who had had despair imposed upon them, rejoiced in the triumph of the angel of hope that brought a new life of a shared neighbourhood to all our people, no longer fractured by high, fortified walls of hatred, fear and mistrust.

But this too, the transference of the burden of despair, became part of the reality that the new order had to address. It became part of what had to be done to achieve what President Mandela foretold when he spoke from this podium about the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, and the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

Almost 10 years after its liberation from white minority rule, our country still faces

unemployed. Many of our people continue to live in poverty. Violence against the person in all its forms continues to plague especially those sections of our population that are poor and live in socially depressed communities.

The burden of disease impacting on our people, including AIDS, continues to be a matter of serious concern, as do issues that relate to the fact that many of our people, including the youth, lack the education and skills that our economy and society need.

There are still many of our people who live in shacks and others who have no access to clean water, proper sanitation and electricity. Imbalances and inequalities that impact on fellow citizens on the basis of race, gender and geographic dispersal continue to persist.

In the 1994 state of the nation address to which we have referred, President Mandela said:

We have learnt the lesson that our blemishes speak of what all humanity should not do.

The point we have sought to make in the last few minutes in referring to the challenges we continue to face, is that the blemishes of which Madiba spoke continue to disfigure our society. We have not as yet eradicated the cruel legacy we inherited that he characterised as the blemishes that all humanity should avoid.

However, despite this reality, the answer we have given and will continue to give to the question whether we have made progress with regard to the fundamental tasks of which Nelson Mandela spoke on 24 May 1994, is a resounding—yes!

Together with all other objective observers of social development, we have always known that our country's blemishes produced by more than three centuries of colonialism and apartheid could not be removed in one decade. Nevertheless, we have no hesitation in saying that we have

made great advances to ensure the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, and the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom of which Nelson Mandela spoke almost 10 years ago.

The statistics and concrete information with which the hon members, the distinguished guests and our country are familiar, tell the real story of what we have done and had to do to create the people-centred society that has been central to the work of both our first and second democratic Governments.

The real story is that before 1994:

- \* Estimates of the housing backlog ranged from 1,4 million to 3 million units and people living in shacks were between 5 million and 7,7 million;
- \* 60% of the population had no access to electricity;
- \* 16 million people had no access to clean water;
- \* 22 million people did not have access to adequate sanitation;
- \* there were 17 fragmented departments of education with a disproportionate allocation of resources to white schools;
- \* there was 70% secondary school enrolment.

A decade later:

- \* About 1,9 million housing subsidies have been provided and 1,6 million houses built for the poor of our country;
- \* more than 70% of households have been electrified;
- \* 9 million additional people now have access to clean water;
- \* 63% of households now have access to sanitation.
- \* there has been a successful formation of an integrated education system, even

though there is a clear need for more resource allocation and capacity building in poor areas;

- \* nutrition and early childhood interventions have been established to improve better results for children from poor backgrounds;
- \* by 2002 secondary school enrolment had reached 85%.

Again, the real story of our country tells us that 10 years ago:

- \* South Africa was in its 21st year of double-digit inflation;
- \* the country had had three years of negative growth—the economy and the wealth of the country were shrinking;
- \* South Africa had experienced more than a decade of declining growth per capita—the average income of South Africans had been falling since the 1980s and the overall wealth of the country declined by nearly one third;
- \* from 1985 to the middle of 1994, total net capital outflow from the country amounted to almost R50 billion.
- \* Government had run up a budget deficit equal to 9,5% of the GDP, including the debt of the so-called independent homelands;
- \* the net open forward position of the SA Reserve Bank was \$25 billion in deficit;
- \* public sector debt was equal to 64% of the GDP.

It is this unhealthy economic situation that led Chris Stals to make the observations to which we have referred.

A decade later:

- \* Inflation is down to 4% if you use the CPIX or less than 1% if you use the CPI index. [Applause.]

\* the country is experiencing the longest period of consistent positive growth since the GDP was properly recorded in the 1940s. [Applause.]

\* the net open forward position of the SA Reserve Bank rose to \$4,7 billion in surplus by the end of last year. [Applause.]; and

\* public sector debt has come down to less than 50% of GDP. [Applause.]

Since 2001 we have engaged our people in the various provinces in the process of imbizo, the 7th and latest being KwaZulu-Natal. By these means we have sought to deepen the interaction between the national Government and the masses of our people. The national ministers, provincial and local governments have also carried out their own imbizo campaigns for the same reason.

We have just presented some of the statistics that tell part of the story of our progress during our first decade of freedom towards the creation of a people-centred society. The imbizo process has given us an excellent opportunity to hear directly from the people what these figures mean to them.

It has been truly inspiring to hear directly from the people as they expressed their concerns, communicated their aspirations and made suggestions of what needs to be done to take us further forward to meet the needs of the people.

These masses, essentially, but not exclusively, the poor of our country, invariably speak well of the improvements to the quality of their lives that have occurred during the past ten years. They talk about the increased access to better housing, water, electricity, roads, land, school meals and social grants.

But these masses are equally insistent about the need for all of us to act together to address the outstanding challenges. Regularly they raise the issue of the need for jobs and the need to provide appropriate training,

especially for the youth, to ensure that on completing their school years, they are able to find employment. Like others of our rural communities, rural KwaZulu-Natal called on the Government to help with the provision of tractors and seed to assist the people to till the soil.

The people have not hesitated to make frank and critical assessments, especially of the quality of service delivery in their localities, as well as the performance of the municipal councillors. They also boldly raise other questions such as crime, health matters and instances of perceived or actual corruption and malpractice.

On Thursday last week we were at Msinga in KwaZulu-Natal. One of the participants at the imbizo complained that though people had cellular phones in this rural and mountainous area, they could not use them. He explained that this was because the cellular phone companies had not erected the necessary masts.

The staff of the President's Office immediately contacted Vodacom and informed them of the complaint made at the imbizo. I am very pleased to say that two days ago one of the local leaders at Msinga called to say that the service providers had come to the area within hours to attend to the complaint. [Applause.] In less than a week, the people of Msinga had been given the possibility to communicate among themselves and with the rest of the country and the world by telephone. [Applause.]

We held our last imbizo in KwaZulu-Natal at Gamalakhe near Harding, in the Ugu District Municipality. At this imbizo a local resident drew our attention to instances of corruption in our prisons. He then gave us details of his experience of this corruption.

We have passed on these details to Judge Thabane Jali, who heads the judicial commission investigating malpractices in our correctional system, and who, I understand, is also present in the Chamber. Again I am

pleased to say that within days of receiving this information, Judge Jali has already instructed people assisting him in KwaZulu-Natal to meet the complainant and follow up on his allegations. [Applause.]

I mention these two instances because they demonstrate both the positive response by the public and private sectors to the call we have made for all our people to work together in the spirit of *letsema* to tackle the common problems facing our country and people, and the fact that the Government takes the imbizo process very seriously and tries at all times to respond to the issues raised by the people, within the context of the availability of resources.

Again, I mention this because some in our country, for reasons best known to themselves, seem very keen to criticise the Government's response to the imbizo on false grounds. [Interjections.] This happened recently when ill-informed allegations were made about commitments we made to the people of Bekkersdal in Gauteng.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank both Vodacom and Judge Jali and express the hope that others will follow the excellent example they have set for all of us. [Applause.]

But perhaps more striking than everything we have said so far about the imbizo process has been the palpable sense of confidence among the people in a better future for their country and themselves. This goes together with the complete absence of any sense of distance or alienation from the Government they elected.

These masses attend the imbizo confident of their right to communicate directly with their Government and certain that the process presents them with a genuine opportunity to have their concerns addressed. I have listened to our people boldly expressing their views even in areas that not so long ago were paralysed by the fear that to speak one's mind was to invite death.

This has said to me that we have moved forward most significantly towards the realisation of the objective presented by Mr Mandela when he committed us to the continuous extension of the frontiers of freedom.

Most of us present here will remember that not so long ago, the Government and the state were to the masses of our people public enemy no 1. Then, some thought that to advance the demand that the people shall govern was mere rhetoric of politicians hungry for power. Institutions that were the cause of our despair have today become repositories of hope.

When we presented the state of the nation address to our second democratic Parliament on 25 June 1999, we spoke of "the enormity of the challenge we face to succeed in creating the caring society we have spoken of."

We said:

For this reason this is not a task that can be carried out by the Government alone. The challenge of the reconstruction and development of our society into one which guarantees human dignity, faces the entirety of our people.

It is a national task that calls for the mobilisation of the whole nation into united people's action, into a partnership with Government for progressive change and a better life for all, for a common effort to build a winning nation.

I further said:

The Government therefore commits itself to work in a close partnership with all our people, inspired by the call "Faranani!" to ensure that we draw on the energy and genius of the nation to give birth to something that will surely be new, good and beautiful.

The masses of our people, individuals and institutions, among whom today we cited Judge Jali and Vodacom, are responding

magnificently to the call we repeat today and will repeat in future—Faranani!

In a few months' time we will return to these Chambers to inaugurate our third democratic Parliament. Whoever will be President then... [Laughter.]... will deliver yet another state of the nation address. [Applause.] That will provide an opportunity to address the more detailed issues on the Government's programme as well as matters that will be covered in the Budget speech and the Medium-Term Revenue and Expenditure perspectives that will support the Government's actions as our country begins its second decade of democracy.

Today we present the longer-term perspective for the continued transformation of our country that will and must be based on our country's achievements during its first decade of liberation. In this regard we would like to restate this matter unequivocally, that the policies we required to translate what President Mandela said in May 1994 are firmly in place.

Accordingly, we do not foresee that there will be any need for new and major policy initiatives. The task we will all face during the decade ahead will be to ensure the vigorous implementation of these policies to create the winning people-centred society of which Nelson Mandela spoke.

If I may say this, creating that winning nation must include greatly improved organisation, management and performance by all the national teams, Bafana Bafana, the Springboks, the Proteas and our athletics teams. [Applause.]

The work we will do must move our country forward decisively towards the eradication of poverty and underdevelopment in our country. We must achieve further and visible advances with regard to the improvement of the quality of life of all our people, affecting many critical areas of social existence, including health, safety and security, moral



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**DEBATES**  
OF THE  
**JOINT SITTING**  
(HANSARD)

APPENDIX AA

MOEKI, THABO. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF  
THE REPUBLIC, 11 FEBRUARY" DEBATES OF  
THE JOINT SITTING. HANSARD: CAPE TOWN, 2005: 2-34.

SECOND SESSION—THIRD PARLIAMENT

FRIDAY, 11 FEBRUARY 2005

2

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker and the Chairperson of the NCOP took their places at the Chair.

The Speaker requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**CALLING OF JOINT SITTING**

The Speaker announced that the President had requested that a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces be convened in terms of Joint Rule 7(1), on Friday, 11 February 2005, at

11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly; Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces; Deputy President of the Republic; hon leaders of our political parties and hon members of Parliament; our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the judiciary; heads of our Security Services; Governor of the Reserve Bank; President Mandela and Mrs Graca Machel; President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and Madam Aristide; President of the Pan-African Parliament, the hon Gertrude Mongella; Ministers and



Deputy Ministers; premiers and leaders of Salga; mayor of Cape Town and other leaders in our system of local government; our honoured traditional leaders; heads of the state organs supporting our democratic system; directors-general, heads of our state corporations and other leaders of the Public Service; your Excellencies, ambassadors and high commissioners; distinguished guests, friends and comrades; people of South Africa: as we open this second session of our Third Democratic Parliament, which will straddle the end of the First and the beginning of the Second Decade of Democracy, I am privileged to say that as a people we have every reason to be proud of our historic achievements during our First Decade of Democracy.

Central to these achievements is our success in advancing our country away from its divided past, towards the realisation of the vision contained in the Freedom Charter — whose 50th anniversary we celebrate this year — that: “South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.”

Of significant interest in this regard is the fact that this year we also commemorate the 50th anniversary of one of the most infamous forced removals in our country — the destruction of Sophiatown in Johannesburg, and its transformation into a white group area named Triomf, the triumph of white supremacy.

This horrible act of violence against a people made the unequivocal and practical statement that the government of the day was determined to communicate the understanding that South Africa did not belong to all who live in it.

But as hon members know, our constitution-makers incorporated in the 1996 Constitution the alternative vision adopted at the Congress of the People during the same year of the destruction of Sophiatown, as reflected in the Freedom Charter. Our Constitution therefore states that: “We, the people

of South Africa, believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.”

As a consequence of the victories we have registered during our first ten years of freedom, we have laid a firm foundation for the new advances we must and will make during the next decade.

This foundation must help us to move even further forward towards the consolidation of national reconciliation, national cohesion and unity, and a shared new patriotism born of the strengthening of the manifest reality of a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it, united in their diversity.

It must help us to take the detailed practical steps to achieve better results today and tomorrow than we did yesterday.

This means that during each one of the years that make up our Second Decade of Liberation, including this one, we must achieve new and decisive advances towards:

- the further entrenchment of democracy in our country;
- transforming our country into a genuinely nonracial society;
- transforming our country into a genuinely nonsexist society;
- eradicating poverty and underdevelopment, within the context of a thriving and growing First Economy and the successful transformation of the Second Economy;
- opening the vistas towards the spiritual and material fulfilment of each and every South African;
- securing the safety and security of all our people;
- building a strong and efficient democratic state that truly serves the interests of the people; and
- contributing to the victory of the African Renaissance and the achievement of the goal of a better life for the peoples of Africa and the rest of the world.

These objectives constitute the central architecture of our policies and programmes, intended to ensure that South Africa truly belongs to all who live in it, black and white.

Madam Speaker, we are privileged to have among us, as on previous occasions, our distinguished Chief Justice, Judge Arthur Chaskalson. I regret to say that this is the last time he will be with us in these Houses of Parliament as our Chief Justice.

Early last year, the Chief Justice reminded me that February 14, 2005, three days from today, will mark the tenth anniversary of the inauguration of our Constitutional Court. He felt then that ten years was a long time for one person to hold office as the head of our apex court, as he has done.

He therefore thought it right and proper that he should take advantage of the beginning of the Second Decade of the Constitutional Court to retire from the Bench. We agreed that we should meet again at the beginning of this year to consider this matter, which we have now done.

Chief Justice Chaskalson has convinced me that his own determination to continue to contribute to the birth of our nation, rather than personal considerations, dictates that he should relinquish his high post. I have listened carefully to his moving argument and was similarly moved to agree to his request.

We have therefore agreed that he will be discharged from active service in our judiciary on May 31st this year. Consequently I will take the necessary steps to consult the Judicial Service Commission and the leaders of the political parties represented in our national Parliament to determine who will be our next Chief Justice from June 1 this year.

I am privileged to have the opportunity on this important occasion on our national calendar to convey our thanks to, and salute a great son of our people, Chief Justice Arthur Chaskalson. [Applause.] I trust that

later this year, Parliament will give all of us an opportunity to bid this giant among the architects of our democracy the fitting farewell that the constraints of time today prohibit.

On behalf of the nation, I am honoured to convey our humble thanks to you, Chief Justice, for everything you have done as a South African, a lawyer and a judge, to shepherd us towards the construction of a South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it. [Applause.]

Madam Speaker, also among us, both as hon members and guests, are the volunteers who trudged the expanse of our country more than five decades ago, to gather the views of South Africans with regard to the kind of alternative society they wished to see, which culminated in the Congress of the People held 50 years ago that adopted the Freedom Charter.

It is a tribute to their foresight, courage and humanism that the product of their labours, the Freedom Charter, finds its reflection in the basic law of our land, our Constitution.

One of those volunteers is with us today. We are happy today to express the gratitude of the nation to Madoda Nsibandé, and others. [Applause.]

Also among us is John Nkadimeng, a volunteer himself and founder-leader of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, which was formed 50 years ago. [Applause.] We also have with us Chris Dlamini, representing the corps of worker-leaders who brought together various unions to establish Cosatu 20 years ago . . . [Applause.] . . . the bearer of the baton of progressive trade unionism in our country.

Through their efforts, which we acknowledge in this Chamber today, John Nkadimeng, Chris Dlamini and their colleagues ensured that we can today say with pride that South Africa belongs also to all the working people of our country. [Applause.]

Allow me, Madam Speaker, also to acknowledge the late Gavin Relly, Zac de Beer and Tony Bloom who led the delegation that braved the threats and scorn of the then apartheid regime, to meet Oliver Tambo and other leaders of the liberation movement in Lusaka in 1985. [Applause.]

I would also like to pay tribute to the late Kobie Coetsee who, 20 years ago, initiated the first contact between the apartheid regime and Nelson Mandela ... [Applause.] ... which led among other things to the release of Nelson Mandela 15 years ago today. [Applause.]

We further acknowledge the family of the artist Thami Mnyele, one of those who 20 years ago was killed in his sleep by soldiers of the SADF who carried out an act of aggression in Gaborone, Botswana, targeting those of our people it had driven into exile. [Applause.]

Also among us in this Chamber today is Helena Dolny, representing the family of Joe Slovo, who passed away 10 years ago. [Applause.] As all of us know, in addition to everything else he did as an architect of our democracy, Joe Slovo started the programme that would make the homeless feel that South Africa belongs to them as well. [Applause.]

We are honoured that these esteemed South Africans have taken the time to be with us today, to give us the privilege to salute them and their loved ones.

Like Angel Jones and Marina Smithers of the Homecoming Revolution, we know very well that today our country and continent provide the best and most promising locations for the solution of many of the problems that trouble the whole of humanity. All of us face the task to respond to this historic challenge.

Madam Speaker, in May last year, in the aftermath of our democratic elections, we set out the programme of action of government to achieve higher rates of economic growth

and development, improve the quality of life of all our people, and consolidate our social cohesion.

We did this confident that the progress we had made in the First Decade of Freedom provided the platform for us to move forward faster, with better quality of outputs and better outcomes in building a society that cares.

With regard to the economy, a recent report of the Rand Merchant Bank prepared by the economist Rudolf Gouws says, and I quote:

Real domestic output growth accelerated through last year to reach an annualised 5,6 per cent in the third quarter — a rate last seen in 1996 — with contributions coming from all sectors of the economy. In terms of economic growth, South Africa has long been underperforming its emerging-market peer group, but the newfound higher growth path is bringing the country more in line with other successful emerging-market nations.

The current economic upswing, which began in September 1999, is not only the longest upward phase of the business cycle in the post-WWII period, but should also be sustainable into the future. One of the reasons is that the economy is in the process of changing from one driven predominantly by consumption (government as well as households), to one driven to a greater degree by fixed investment.

As a consequence of the stronger growth, the employment picture in South Africa has gradually begun to improve. While South Africa certainly still has a major unemployment problem, there are encouraging signs.

Gouws comments on what he calls “government’s good track record of implementing prudent fiscal policies” and continues:

But the improvements in overall government finances were not brought about primarily to please the financial markets and the rating agencies, but rather to

ensure that government is able to deliver services to the population in a sustainable way. Concurrent with the turnaround in public finances were important institutional changes and improvements in the ability of government to deliver.

He concludes by saying that:

Faster growth, coupled with efforts to improve the environment for doing business and addressing the plight of the poor more effectively, means improved chances for a sustainable improvement in the general welfare of all South Africans.

We agree with the observations made by Rudolf Gouws. Indeed, because of the factors he mentioned, we have, for instance, with 90% coverage of most social grants, almost met the objective we set for ourselves in 2002, of ensuring that all who are eligible for these grants receive them within three years.

Last December we passed the 10 million mark in terms of South Africans who have gained access to potable water since 1994. Free basic water of 6 kilolitres per household per month is now being provided to about three quarters of households in the areas of our country that have the infrastructure to supply potable water. [Applause.]

Since 1994 close to 2 million housing subsidies have been allocated to the poor. Education remains our largest single budgetary item, with primary school enrolment rates remaining steady at about 95,5% since 1995 and secondary school enrolments currently at 85%.

The gross annual value of the social wage was about R88 billion in 2003 with the poor being the largest beneficiaries. The democratic state will not walk away from its obligation to come to the aid of the poor, bearing in mind available resources.

In this context, we must also refer to the latest report of the Unisa Bureau of Market Research on “National Personal Income of

South Africans by Population Group, Income Group, Life Stage and Lifeplane”. Among other things, this report says, and I quote:

In 2001 4,1 million out of 11,2 million households in South Africa lived on an income of R9 600 and less per year. This decreased to 3,6 million households in 2004, even after taking the negative effect of price increases on spending power into account. On the other hand, the number of households receiving a real income of R153 601 and more per annum rose from 721 000 in 1998 to more than 1,2 million in 2004.

The additional social expenditures we have mentioned demonstrate what Rudolf Gouws was referring to when he said that: “The improvements in overall government finances were (brought about) to ensure that government is able to deliver services to the population in a sustainable way.”

On the other hand, reflecting on one element of the programme we announced last May — the issue of school infrastructure — the editor of *City Press* said correctly that:

... the backlog of classrooms still runs into several thousand nationwide ... [We] believe that addressing the crisis in education is perhaps the most urgent priority ... The March deadline will not be met ... [Government] must work out a plan that will ensure the speedy delivery of classrooms to all.

Overall, our own detailed assessment of the implementation of our programme of action reveals that of the 307 concrete actions contained in the government’s programme, some of which were announced in the last state of the nation address: 51% of those with specific timeframes have been undertaken or are being undertaken within the deadlines we set; 21% have been or are being undertaken, though there were slight delays in terms of the timeframes that we had set ourselves; 28% have not been fully carried out, and the reasons behind the



delays are such that new deadlines will have to be set for their accomplishment.

In other words, 72% of these programmes are being carried out within the broad framework of the timeframes we had set ourselves. Eighty-six percent of the concrete actions that did not have specific timeframes are progressing as envisaged, while 14% show some delays that call for urgent attention by government.

I wish to thank our colleagues in Cabinet, the provincial executives and municipal executive councils, the Public Service as well as the leadership of our social partners who have put shoulders to the wheel to ensure that we carry out that which is expected of us jointly and severally to meet our common national objectives.

We also highly appreciate the oversight role as well as the direct contribution in the crucible of actual implementation of our public representatives in all the three spheres of government. We are confident that hon members will persist in this service to the people, so as to improve our work all round.

What then is the programme of government for the year, and how shall we build on the work done in the past decade in general and the past nine months in particular?

As hon members will know, the details of the actions in each of last year's programmatic areas have been published on the government's website. I shall therefore only identify the major issues in terms of our past work, and then outline some of the things that need to be done in the coming year.

With regard to interventions to grow the First Economy, the broad objectives we set ourselves remain the same. We will continue our consultations with our social partners to ensure that our economy continues to steam ahead, as Rudolf Gouws predicted.

Our programme for the coming year is premised on the broad objectives to increase investment in the economy, lower the cost of

doing business, improve economic inclusion and provide the skills required by the economy, all of which should help to address the matter of unemployment. Therefore, the details outlined in May last year, to the extent that the tasks are ongoing, remain an integral part of the programme.

On infrastructure, we have, since May 2004, developed strategies and investment plans upward of R180 billion in relation to transport logistics, electricity and water resources. We would like to cite only two instances in this regard.

Transnet has already approved business plans for new investments in the Durban and Cape Town harbours, as well as the construction of a new pipeline between Durban and Johannesburg. As it brings three previously decommissioned power stations into operation, Eskom will add R5,86 billion to the GDP by 2007, with new jobs created peaking during the same year at 36 000.

We have also taken steps the better to manage administered prices, through the actions of independent regulators as well as through more rigorous monitoring, which will see an administered price index produced by the official statisticians from the first quarter of this year.

Discussions continue with the steel and chemical industries in particular to reach agreement on the issue of import parity pricing. Government has decided to avoid using legislation or regulations even in the face of these obvious market failures.

We believe that there is growing consensus among economic role-players with regard to what we are seeking to do. This is to ensure that, working with especially the producers of inputs that are strategic for economic growth, we find a resolution to this matter in a manner that addresses the interests of both these producers and the downstream industries.

Bold steps have been taken further to liberalise the telecommunications industry. We

believe that the unacceptable situation in which some of our fixed-line rates are 10 times those of the developed (OECD) countries will soon become a thing of the past. [Applause.] We also hope that the delays in setting up the second national operator, arising from legal processes which are beyond government's control, will be resolved in due course, and as soon as possible.

Further work has been done to improve the work of defining and implementing sectoral charters, as agreed at the Growth and Development Summit in 2003.

In this regard, I especially and warmly welcome the decision of the South African banks to implement the provisions of the Financial Sector Charter, as a result of which they have made a public three-year commitment to provide at least R85 billion to finance low-cost housing, infrastructure, black small business enterprises and new black farmers. [Applause.]

Elements of the Codes of Good Practice for Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment have been released for public comment, and once this process is finalised, it will then be possible to appoint the Black Economic Empowerment Council. Related to these efforts is the progress made in setting up the Small Enterprise Development Agency, to improve our government's performance in the critical area of the development of small and medium enterprises.

With the commitments from the private sector, as demonstrated by the banks, it is clear that together, as South Africans, we are set to make a determined effort to speed up broad-based black economic empowerment and small business development.

In this regard, I would also like to mention and welcome the announcement made by the CEO of Anglo American South Africa, Lazarus Zim, in the last few days, indicating the large resources his company will spend to empower a great number of black enterprises. [Applause.]

To ensure properly focused development planning, Cabinet is working to align the National Spatial Development Perspective with the provincial growth and development strategies and the municipal integrated development plans.

To increase the numbers of skilled workers, we have met the target set by the Growth and Development Summit and trained more than 80 000 learners. We have also released the draft immigration regulations for public comment.

It is however clear that more work will have to be done to raise the skills levels of our people. Accordingly, the government has approved a new National Skills Development Strategy for the period 2005-2010. An amount of R21,9 billion over five years will be allocated to fund this strategy, which will include improved co-operation between the Setas on one hand, and the further training and education colleges and the institutions of higher education on the other.

At the same time, we have taken note of the reasons for the delay in implementing some of the announced programmes. These include the complexities of the tasks to be carried out, the rigour required in planning and implementing these actions across all spheres of government, the magnitude of the resources demanded, and the subjective capacity of the implementing agents where at least financial resources were made available.

In this regard, government will ensure that the outstanding tasks are attended to within the next three months. These are:

- finalising the government-wide review of performance practices in state-owned enterprises;
- finalising discussions, especially in the context of the Financial Sector Charter, on investing 5% of investible capital of financial institutions in productive activity;
- completing the strategy on better utilisation of the Isibaya Fund of the Public Investment Commission;

- investing R220 million from the Rail Commuter Corporation for commuter transport and safety;
- improving the effectiveness of the skills development structures in government for the implementation of the Human Resources Development Strategy;
- completing the register of all graduates; and
- using the review of the Sector Education and Training Authorities to bring about the necessary changes in the supervision and governance of these authorities.

In consultation with our social partners, a number of constraints limiting our capacity to embark on a higher growth path will receive our urgent attention.

Based on the review of the regulatory framework as it applies to small, medium and micro enterprises, before the end of the year, government will complete the system of exemptions for these businesses with regard to taxes, levies, as well as central bargaining and other labour arrangements, enabling these to be factored into the medium-term expenditure cycle.

The system of tax and levy payments and business registration will be reviewed, with the aim of introducing a simpler and streamlined system for all businesses by April 2006. [Applause.]

The capital investment programme of government will be speeded up, focusing on housing, rural and urban infrastructure, public transport and the national logistics system, water and electricity. In part to facilitate this, urgent steps will be taken to strengthen the public-private partnership mechanism in government by December 2005. At all times these partnerships should involve local communities.

New steps are also being considered together with international investors to improve foreign capital inflows.

In order further to improve the capacity of government to service the needs of investors, specialist capacity in the Department of Trade and Industry will be beefed up.

Within the next nine months, we will make a special effort to finalise sector development strategies and programmes, with regard to:

- chemicals, business outsourcing and tourism, which will receive additional immediate support;
- ICT and telecommunications, agro-processing, community and social services; as well as
- wood and paper, appliances, the retail and construction industries.

Madam Speaker, as we have asserted, success in the growth of our economy should be measured not merely in terms of the returns that accrue to investors or the job opportunities to those with skills. Rather, it should also manifest in the extent to which the marginalised in the wilderness of the Second Economy are included and are at least afforded sustainable livelihoods. South Africa belongs to them too, and none of us can in good conscience claim to be at ease before this becomes and is seen to become a reality. [Applause.]

During the past nine months, we started to put the Expanded Public Works Programme into operation. To date, we have spent over R1,5 billion, created over 76 000 job opportunities and begun to afford thousands of those enrolled with the skills that will stand them in good stead as they leave the programme.

A critical element in assisting those in the Second Economy is the provision of information, particularly regarding how they can access economic opportunities. In this regard, the targeted communication campaign on economic opportunities occupies a central place. We hope to partner the media, particularly the public broadcaster, to bring this information to many more people.

To assist in this regard, some 500 community development workers have been enrolled as learners in Gauteng, the Northern Cape, the Northwest, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. Management structures have also been put in place to ensure the optimal utilisation of the municipal infrastructure grant.

To take the interventions in the Second Economy forward, the following additional programmes will be introduced or further strengthened by April 2005, as part of the Expanded Public Works Programme and focused on providing training, work experience and temporary income, especially to women and youth. These are:

- the Early Childhood Development programme, based on community participation, having ensured a common approach among all three spheres of government — and the necessary additional funding will be provided;
- increasing the numbers of community health workers, having harmonised training standards and increased resources allocated to the programme; and
- the more extensive use of labour-intensive methods of construction targeting housing, schools, clinics, sports facilities, community centres and the services infrastructure.

Further, business plans for the agricultural credit scheme have been approved. We will ensure that it becomes operational within the next three months, with the capital of R1 billion already allocated. This scheme forms part of the broader small and micro-credit initiative, to enable those formerly excluded the opportunity to access credit for productive purposes. [Applause.]

In addition, R100 million has been transferred to the provinces for the implementation of the farmer support programme. The Apex Fund, the launch of which was delayed and which deals with micro-credit, will also become operational in this period. The Bill

on co-operatives has been submitted to Parliament for finalisation.

Emphasis in all these Second Economy programmes will be put on those areas already identified for urban renewal and rural development.

Better to understand the dynamics in the Second Economy and ensure effective targeted interventions, a socioeconomic survey of these communities will be conducted during the course of 2005. These surveys will then be carried out at three-year intervals.

Hon members, with regard to the social sector, government has continued to allocate more resources and put in more effort to provide services to society at large and a safety net for the indigent. Project Consolidate of the Department of Provincial and Local Government will further increase the capacity of municipalities to improve our performance in these areas.

In addition, campaigns to reduce noncommunicable and communicable diseases as well as non-natural causes of death will continue, through the promotion of healthy lifestyles and increased focus on TB, Aids, malaria, cholera and other waterborne diseases, and generally increasing the standard of living of the poorest among us.

Broad trends in mortality confirm the need for us to continue to pay particular attention to the health of the nation. With regard to Aids in particular, the government's comprehensive plan, which is among the best in the world, combining awareness, treatment and home-based care, is being implemented with greater vigour.

As hon members would know, a new housing strategy has been adopted and increased resources will be allocated to meet the objectives we have set ourselves.

We are also confident, given the evidence of progress thus far, that the various interventions in the area of education and training,

including the merger of institutions of higher learning, improved teaching and learning, especially in mathematics and natural sciences, and provision of additional support to schools in poor areas, will produce positive results, as planned. In this regard, we are pleased to indicate that, in addition to allocations already announced for the salaries of educators, more resources will be allocated for this purpose in the new financial year. [Applause.]

Our social sector programme for the coming year will include the intensification of the programmes we identified last year, to meet our long-term objectives such as the provision of clean running water to all households by 2008, decent and safe sanitation by 2010 and electricity for all by 2012.

We do acknowledge that there have been delays in carrying out some of the programmes. Further effort will be put into clearing the logjams. With regard to the provision of safe classrooms, for instance, we had committed ourselves in 2002 to ensure that within three years, no child studied under a tree.

But as the editor of *City Press* suggested, our schools infrastructure programme will not be realised even within the set timeframe. The same applies to the commitment we made last year that all schools would have potable water and sanitation by the end of this financial year.

We will later come back to the challenges of capacity in government, as illustrated by the failure to meet these challenges. Suffice it to indicate that during the course of this year, we will:

- update the schools register of needs and iron out the rough creases among the implementing agents within and across the spheres of government to ensure that we meet the objective of safe classrooms and healthy environments in our schools in as short a time as possible;

- allocate additional resources over the next three years to cover outstanding claims in the land restitution programme;
- complete discussions with Eskom, the provincial governments and local municipalities to ensure that free basic electricity is provided to all with the minimum delay;
- improve the capacity of municipalities to ensure that the target of providing sanitation to 300 000 households per year is met as from 2007;
- continue the battle to ensure that all citizens have access to affordable medicines; and
- intensify the programme to refurbish hospitals and provide more professionals, especially in the rural areas.

We shall also, during the course of this year, launch the National Social Security Agency and implement systematic plans against corruption, including with regard to definitions of disability and allocations of the foster care grant.

In relation to a broader understanding of our society — the macro social state of our nation — research has been completed and discussion has taken place in Cabinet covering such issues as social structure and social mobility; demographics and dynamics with regard to such categories as race, language, religion, gender, age and disability; social organisation in terms of the family and civic participation; as well as matters pertaining to identity and social values. Government will in the next three months examine the implications of this research on policy and, if necessary, relevant decisions will be taken to enhance our work in strengthening social cohesion.

Hon members, as we indicated last May, we have set out to ensure that during the Second Decade of Freedom we improve the machinery of government so that wherever we are, each one of us is inspired to act as servants of the people.

As we have already indicated, we have started to recruit community development

workers. We want to ensure that community development workers are deployed in each local municipality by March 2006.

The institution of izimbizo is growing, with a larger number of events involving all spheres of government, better follow-up and greater depth in terms of house-to-house visits. We have launched the Batho Pele Gateway to afford citizens a platform to access information and, later, services by electronic means.

Over 65 multipurpose community centres have been launched, and by the second half of this year, each district and metropolitan council will have its own centre. [Applause.] Plans have been approved for the construction of hundreds more such centres, so that by the end of the decade, each municipality would have a one-stop government hub.

In order to ensure effective leadership of the Public Service, we have completed a review of skills and levels of competence within the senior management service. Plans will be put in place to fill the gaps where they exist.

At local government level, more than 80% of ward committees have been set up. Work is continuing to ensure their proper functioning. Through Project Consolidate, 136 municipalities at risk are being assisted to put their houses in order. Because of our appreciation of the centrality of local government to service delivery, we have ensured the doubling of the municipal budget over the past eight years. We will continue to increase the resources available to local government.

To improve integration among all spheres of government in both policy development and implementation, the Inter-Governmental Relations Bill has been finalised, and is awaiting processing by the two Houses of our national Parliament. This will be complemented by the alignment of spatial and development strategies and planning cycles among all three spheres of government.

Certainly it is a reflection of weaknesses in the governance system that the plans to build

school infrastructure are unfolding at a much slower pace than envisaged. The public sector as a whole cannot claim to be such, if the benefits of free basic electricity are accruing mainly to those who are relatively well off. That only 56% of the municipal infrastructure grant had been allocated to municipalities by December is a reflection of lack of all-round capacity, particularly in technical areas with regard to water, sanitation and public works projects.

And of course the laborious decision-making process is not helping either.

We can refer to the provision of services across all the spheres or weaknesses in the implementation of the urban renewal and rural development programmes, and the conclusion will be the same. We need massively to improve the management, organisational, technical and other capacities of government so that it meets its objectives.

In this regard, the following programme will be implemented during the course of the coming year.

By May, the Forum of SA Directors-General will submit to Cabinet a thorough review of the functioning of the government system as a whole, and make proposals particularly on the capacity of the implementing agents, skills and competence within the Public Service, alignment of planning and implementation, and issues pertaining to the mobilisation of the Public Service to speed up social transformation.

By the end of the year, an improved Batho Pele campaign, including unannounced site visits, name badges, and enhanced internal communication within the Public Service, will be visibly asserted. [Applause.] In this regard, we need to have an ongoing national programme to entrench the ethos of Letsema and Vuk'uzenzele among all our people and ensure that these values permeate the work of government, business, labour and communities.

In this context, we must also make a determined effort to educate our population that our country does not have the resources immediately to meet, simultaneously, all the admittedly urgent needs of our people, especially the poor. All of us must understand the stark reality that even illegal violent demonstrations will not produce these resources ... [Applause.] ... and will be met with the full force of the law. At the same time, we have to deal with those within the Public Service who, because of their negligence and tardiness, deny many of our people services due to them, in instances where resources have been made available to deliver these services. [Applause.]

The programme to improve services through Gateway and the multipurpose community centres will be intensified.

By June this year, the plan to improve monitoring and evaluation across government, including the electronic information management system, will have been completed for phased implementation.

We shall also intensify the programme to expand employment in the Public Service, particularly among the police, education and health professionals, as well as sections providing economic services across all spheres.

During the course of this year we will speed up the implementation of the comprehensive plan to improve the capacity of the national statistics system, including Statistics SA.

By June this year, we will complete the review of gender balances as well as representation of people with disability within the Public Service ... [Applause.] ... against the targets that government had set itself. We do hope that, as part of their own contribution to the transformation of South African society, and in the context of the obligation to meet the requirements of our laws, the private sector will do the same.

Collectively, we need to fight the tendency to act according to particular stereotypes, de-

scribed so succinctly by Steven Friedman, an analyst at the Centre for Policy Studies:

In business and the professions too deeply pervasive prejudices decide who has ability and who not. ... [It] is dressed up as support for 'merit' and it infests the thinking of many who believe, genuinely, that they are not prejudiced. ... And the effect in lost performance, loss of self-esteem and anger from the thwarted is much the same. It may well cost us far more lost growth and achievement than all the other factors we often cite.

Within three months, a Summit on Corruption will be convened to review experiences across all sectors of society and agree on a programme to strengthen the campaign, including the structures set up to deal with this challenge.

Two weeks ago, on 28 January, we celebrated the day on which, ten years ago, the South African Police Service Act was promulgated. Government took the decision to declare this our National Police Day, not only to mark the formal establishment of a new Police Service of a democratic South Africa, but also to pay tribute to the men and women who have put their lives on the line in defence of the safety and security of the citizens. [Applause.]

Let me take this opportunity once more to congratulate the management and our Police Service as a whole, and reassure them that their efforts are appreciated by all law-abiding South Africans and that we shall continue to work with them to protect the security and dignity of all who live in South Africa. [Applause.]

The progress that we are making in dealing with crime is manifest in the ongoing reduction in the rates especially of the most serious crimes.

The trend in the past financial year which has seen the rate of such crimes as murder decline by 8%, theft of motor vehicles and motor cycles by 5,4%, common robbery by

5,9%, cash-in-transit heists by 48,7% and bank robberies by 57,5% should continue and in fact improve in subsequent years.

Yes there are crimes such as aggravated robbery and child abuse, which show an increase. Yes, the level of crime, especially violent incidents, remains unacceptable. But we are confident of meeting our target to reduce the rate of contact crimes by 7% to 10% per year.

As planned, the security agencies have set up task teams to identify, apprehend and convict the gang leaders of organised crime and other perpetrators of serious crimes. Of those involved in organised crime, 67 out of 96 identified have been arrested. The same deserved fate has befallen 40 out of 42 identified for commercial crimes involving cases above R5 million and other projects valued at R50 million. Sixty-one of the 62 involved in violent crime, including cash-in-transit and other robberies, as well as serial murder and serial rape have been arrested. [Applause.] In brief, 168 of the top 200 identified have been apprehended. [Applause.]

In terms of the methodology of the Police Service, to identify a broader group of top criminals using criteria related to repeat offending, the net of our intense focus will be cast wider so as to include individuals and gangs whose arrest is sure to improve the safety of communities in all regions of the country.

As hon members would know, an additional allocation of R2,3 billion was announced last October to improve the salaries of members of the Police Service. I am pleased to indicate that more resources will be added to what has already been allocated. Further, to improve our capacity to fight crime, an additional 8 000 members and 3 000 support staff have been recruited into the service since May 2004.

At the same time, in the period since our last address to this Joint Sitting, we have com-

pleted the terms of reference for the comprehensive review of the criminal justice system, launched the Service Charter for Victims of Crime and started training those who will provide the services that will derive from the Charter. We have also launched three community courts and started eight pilots in six provinces; and we have started phasing in units of the Police Service for improved border control.

In the coming year, we shall continue with all these and other programmes, to:

- speed up the setting up of community courts beyond the pilot projects so as to have at least two such courts per province;
- give life to the victims' charter through reorientation of the implementing personnel, information to citizens and, where applicable, legislation to regulate this service;
- expand the number of police areas for focused multidisciplinary interventions from 63 to 169;
- strengthen partnerships with business and communities, including the expansion of the coverage of close-circuit television in more metropolitan centres;
- further improve law enforcement and security at ports of entry;
- improve monitoring of case loads to reduce case cycle time, and improve performance of justice officers through the revitalisation of the Justice College;
- rapidly reduce the number of children in police and prison custody with emphasis on KwaZulu-Natal, the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces;
- complete, by April 2007, four additional correctional facilities while introducing a new ethos in the treatment of offenders in order to reduce recidivism;
- operationalise more sexual offences courts, taking into account that the conviction rate in these courts, at 62%, is much higher than in ordinary courts, at 42%, and improve the capacity of all dedicated

courts, including those dealing with car hijacking; and

- review the Foreign Military Assistance Act in order to discourage, for their own good and the good of the country, those who seek to profit from conflict and human suffering such as in Iraq. [Applause.]

We shall do all this, Madam Speaker, conscious of the responsibility that we have not only to our citizens, but also to the rest of humanity in pursuing the goal of a better world.

In the first instance, our greatest challenge in this regard is to consolidate the African agenda, and we can draw inspiration from the many positive developments on the continent since we addressed the Joint Sitting of Parliament last May.

In our regional community, SADC, the people of Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia have held yet new democratic elections. In Mozambique and Namibia they also ensured the passing of the baton of leadership in an exemplary manner. Progress is being made to strengthen SADC, and we are honoured that South Africa currently chairs the SADC Organ on Politics, Defence and Security. We are pleased with the progress being made towards the formation of the SADC Peacekeeping Brigade, which will form part of the AU Standby Force.

Today South Africa enjoys the singular honour of being the permanent venue for the Pan-African Parliament, and we form part of the AU Peace and Security Council. [Applause.] We thank the President of the Pan-African Parliament, the hon Gertrude Mongella, for her presence in the House today. [Applause.]

During the coming year, we shall continue to strengthen our contribution to the efforts of humanity to build a world in which we can feel a sense of belonging enjoying an improving quality of life.

In addition to the ongoing tasks already identified in the programme presented in May —

- we will ensure more deliberate application to the task of revamping SADC management structures, and speeding up the integration of our economies on the sub-continent, including the implementation of infrastructure projects already identified with regard to transport and energy;
- we will finalise our preparations for South Africa's peer review assessment, working with partners in civil society. We will also play our part in ensuring a successful launch of the continent-wide civil society council, the AU ECOSOCC, during the course of this month.

We also wish to pay tribute to our National Defence Force for the consistent role they are playing as part of the midwives of peace, stability and prosperity in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi and Darfur in the Sudan. With regard to the DRC and Burundi in particular, they have contributed to the fact that we can speak with some measure of confidence that our brothers and sisters in these countries will, this year, at last exercise their right to choose governments based on the will of the people. [Applause.]

It is our fervent wish — and we shall continue to contribute to the achievement of this objective — that the leaders and people of Côte d'Ivoire find one another to implement all the necessary steps to end the crisis in their country, creating the possibility for the holding of democratic presidential elections in October this year in a unified country.

The current unconstitutional charade in Togo, following the death of President Eyadéma, which Ecowas and the AU are confronting firmly, adds to instability in West Africa. This must communicate the message to the people of Côte d'Ivoire and the rest of our continent that everything must be done to solve the Ivorian crisis, given the impor-

ance of this country, which has the third largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa.

We shall continue to work with the government and people of Zimbabwe, as part of the SADC collective, to ensure that the elections they are to hold in less than two months are free and fair.

We shall also continue our engagement with the Kingdom of Swaziland to help where we can in the efforts to construct a constitutional dispensation that enjoys the confidence of all.

We have begun to do our work as the convenor of the Sudan Post-Conflict Reconstruction Committee of the AU, and will focus on this task to contribute to the successful implementation of the vitally important Sudan peace settlement signed last month in Nairobi.

We have also taken the first steps to engage the new government of Somalia, at the request of its President, to assist in the challenging process of the reconstitution of what had become a failed state.

We shall continue playing our role to ensure the success of the AU and its programme, the New Partnership for Africa's Development, Nepad. Our Finance Minister and other African leaders serve on the Africa Commission established by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, who will chair both the G8 and European Union this year, and whose objective is to ensure the effective implementation of the G8 Africa Action Plan adopted by the G8 governments to support Nepad.

We will continue to work with the UK and other members of the G8 to ensure that the July summit meeting of this group produces the practical results with regard to the Nepad and G8 Africa Action Plan objectives already agreed between Africa and the G8.

Madam Speaker, South Africa has had the privilege, in the past eight months, to host President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti

and his family, fulfilling our responsibility to Africa and the African diaspora. We are indeed very happy that President and Mrs Aristide are with us in this House today. [Applause.] To contribute to efforts aimed at ensuring that the people of Haiti know peace and prosperity, we are working with the African Union, the Caribbean Community and the United Nations to normalise the situation in that country so that democratic elections can be held later this year, as scheduled. In the next two months, we will take part in a Caribbean Diaspora Conference, which we hope will lead to a global conference in the near future.

Last year we hosted the Afro-Asian solidarity organisation, AASROC, and the ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement. Beyond the formal interactions that take place at this level, there could not have been a better expression of human solidarity than the enthusiastic response of South Africans, to the devastation caused by the seaquake and ensuing tsunami in Asia and the north-eastern shelf of Africa. We again express our solidarity with the affected nations, and the families of South Africans who lost their loved ones, and pledge to contribute what we can to ease their plight.

We shall also take part in the Asia-Africa Summit in Bandung, Indonesia in April 2005, both to strengthen ties across the Indian Ocean, and to mark the 50th anniversary of the famous Bandung Conference, which made a decisive contribution to the strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity in the anti-colonial struggle, and led directly to the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement.

In the next two months, we shall host the Ministerial Trilateral Commission meeting of India, Brazil and South Africa, to review these strategic relations focused on building South-South co-operation. In the same vein, we will continue to strengthen our bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China.

Some three months ago, the national liberation movement and the world at large lost one of its eminent leaders, President Yasser Arafat. We wish once more to pay tribute to this outstanding son of the Palestinian people, and to wish the new Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, the peoples of Palestine and Israel lasting peace in states that co-exist in conditions of security for all, co-operation and human solidarity. [Applause.]

I would also like to take advantage of this occasion warmly to congratulate and salute Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas for the bold steps they have taken during the last few days to communicate a firm message of hope to their respective peoples. [Applause.] I would like to assure them that in this regard, they have the unequivocal support of our government and the overwhelming majority of our people.

We also salute the invaluable contribution made by President Mubarak of Egypt and King Abdullah of Jordan to this happy development. Similarly, we are pleased to acknowledge and welcome the resolve publicly communicated by President George W Bush and the new US Secretary of State, Dr Condoleezza Rice, to do everything possible to implement the Road Map for the speedy resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict within the context of a two-state solution.

We also wish the people of Iraq success in their march towards lasting peace in the context of a fully restored sovereignty and a united, democratic Iraq, strengthened by the diversity of its population.

We will also continue to work with the Government of Iran and the rest of the world community to find a lasting solution to the dispute that has arisen over issues related to the uses of nuclear technology.

We shall also continue to work with the Secretary-General of the United Nations as well as other states for global consensus in

the restructuring of this body so that it plays its due role as the ultimate and inclusive authority on global governance and development.

This will be given further impetus when later this year, South Africa hosts the annual Conference on Progressive Governance, bringing together distinguished world leaders who have the interests of the poor and the marginalised at heart.

We shall intensify our efforts to build a global movement of solidarity, and in this regard, we shall build on the groundswell of global appreciation and solidarity that characterised the celebration of our First Decade of Freedom.

It is also in this context that we shall intensify our efforts, working with the rest of Africa and FIFA, to prepare for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, confident that the trust placed in us by leaders of the "beautiful game" shall be validated in every way.

I am pleased to welcome to our country the world's leading women golfers who begin the Women's World Cup of Golf tournament in George today ... [Applause.] ... and wish our team success in its effort to emerge as the world champion. [Applause.] Our best wishes also go to the Proteas cricket team to vanquish their English opponents in the current limited-overs matches.

Hon members, we are not being arrogant or complacent when we say that our country, as a united nation, has never in its entire history enjoyed such a confluence of encouraging possibilities. On behalf of our government, we commend our programme to the country, confident that its implementation will help to place us on the high road towards ensuring that we become a winning nation and that we play our role towards the renewal of Africa and the creation of a better world.

Acting together, we do have the capacity to realise these objectives. And sparing neither effort nor strength, we can and shall build a

South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity!

I thank you, Madam Speaker.

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order! Hon members, I wish to thank the hon

President. After I have adjourned the Joint Sitting, members and guests should please remain standing at their places until the procession has left the Chamber.

The Joint Sitting rose at 12:10.





REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

**DEBATES  
OF THE  
JOINT SITTING**  
(HANSARD)

THIRD SESSION—THIRD PARLIAMENT

FRIDAY, 3 FEBRUARY 2006

2

APPENDIX BB

MDUKI, THABO. " ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC  
FEBRUARY " DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING. CAPE TOWN;  
HANSARD, 2006: 2-30.

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces took the Chair.

The Speaker of the National Assembly requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**CALLING OF JOINT SITTING**

The Speaker of the National Assembly announced that the President had called a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces in terms

of Joint Rule 7(1), on Friday, 3 February 2002, at 11:00, to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament.

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Madam Speaker of the National Assembly, Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces, Deputy Speaker and Deputy Chairperson of the National Assembly and the NCOP, Deputy President of the Republic, hon leaders of our political parties and hon members of Parliament, Ministers and Deputy Ministers, our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the judiciary, heads of our Security Services, Governor of the Reserve Bank, the hon F W de Klerk and Mrs De Klerk, Mrs Graça Machel, Mr Jacob Zuma, distinguished Premiers and Speakers

of our provinces, mayors and leaders in our system of local government, our honoured traditional leaders, heads of the state organs supporting our democratic system, directors-general and other leaders of the Public Service, Your Excellencies Ambassadors and High Commissioners, distinguished guests, friends and comrades, people of South Africa, first of all I would like to acknowledge and welcome on this occasion some distinguished personalities who are sitting in the gallery of this hallowed Chamber. I am referring here to the esteemed Graça Machel, whom I mention in particular because this year we will commemorate the death of the first president of independent Mozambique, Samora Machel, who died in a mysterious plane crash at Mbuzini in Mpumalanga 20 years ago this year. [Applause.]

I am referring also to the Reverend Fathers, Revs Mgojo and Xundu, and Yasmin Sooka, who served the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in various capacities, and some of those who petitioned the commission to promote the noble cause of peace, truth and reconciliation in our country. [Applause.]

I refer also to Ella Gandhi, granddaughter of the irreplaceable Mahatma Gandhi, who, one hundred years ago, here in South Africa, launched Satyagraha, the unique nonviolent struggle that liberated India and inspired millions of freedom fighters everywhere else in the world. [Applause.]

We take this opportunity to remember the martyrs who were brutally murdered—assassinated—in Matola, in Mozambique, and welcome their relatives who are with us today ... [Applause.] ... and remember the leader of our people Joe Gqabi who was killed in Zimbabwe. [Applause.]

Present among us also are Inkosi Zondi and Oscar Zondi, patriots from KwaZulu-Natal who are working to ensure that the nation honours the Bambata Rebellion of a century ago in a fitting manner. [Applause.]

We are also honoured to have in our midst Sophie de Bruyn and others present in the House who were part of the heroic women who marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria 50 years ago on 9 August 1956 ... [Applause.] ... thus placing the women of our country in the frontline of our struggle for national liberation.

The representatives of the youth that rose up in revolt 30 years ago, in the Soweto Uprising, sit everywhere in this House ... [Applause.] ... including on the benches of the ruling party, and have therefore had no need to have special representatives sitting in the gallery of the House. [Laughter.]

I am honoured to acknowledge the presence in the gallery of an outstanding human being and friend of our country and people, the leading Indian Bollywood actor Anil Kapoor. [Applause.]

All of us are deeply moved that Anil Kapoor, a citizen of the beloved land of Mahatma Gandhi, has agreed to serve as one of South Africa's global brand ambassadors committed to mobilise the peoples of the world to support our efforts to make a success of our liberation. [Applause.]

On behalf of our government and all our people, I extend our heartfelt welcome to all these distinguished guests and thank them for honouring our nation today by their presence on this important national occasion.

Speaking at the very first annual regular opening of our democratic Parliament, on 24 May 1994, almost a month after the historic April 27 elections in which, for the first time ever, the people of our country freely decided together who should govern our country, the hon Nelson Mandela issued an historic challenge that, and I quote:

... we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our

historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

Perhaps what the nation has done and not done during the years of the democratic epoch, that have accumulated since Nelson Mandela delivered the first State of the Nation Address on 24 May 1994, have created the possibility for us to reiterate the call he made on that day to all of us as South Africans, nearly 12 years ago, together "to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny".

On that day in May 1994, the hon Nelson Mandela evoked the haunting memory of an extraordinary South African, Ingrid Jonker, who committed suicide just over 40 years ago, in the same sea waters that isolated his former involuntary temporary home, Robben Island, from our mainland, as she was isolated from and by her kith and kin. Of her he said:

In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted with death, she asserted the beauty of life. In the dark days when all seemed hopeless in our country, when many refused to hear her resonant voice, she took her own life.

To her and others like her, we owe a debt to life itself. To her and others like her, we owe a commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the wretched and the despised.

Nelson Mandela said that, in the aftermath of the massacre at the anti-pass demonstrations in Sharpeville, Langa and Nyanga, she wrote:

Die kind is nie dood nie  
die kind lig sy vuiste teen sy moeder  
wat Afrika skreeu ...

die kind wat net wou speel in die son by  
Nyanga is orals  
die kind wat 'n man geword het trek deur  
die ganse Afrika  
die kind wat 'n reus geword het reis deur  
die hele wêreld

Sonder 'n pas!

The child is not dead  
the child lifts his fists against his mother  
who shouts Africa ...

this child who only wanted to play in the  
sun at Nyanga is everywhere  
the child grown to a man treks on through  
all Africa

the child grown to a giant journeys  
through the whole world

Without a pass!

Nelson Mandela continued:

And in this glorious vision (Ingrid Jonker) instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child. It is these things that we must achieve to give meaning to our presence in this Chamber and give purpose to our occupancy of the seat of government.

And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

Confronted by this historic challenge, I dare say that no one in our country can, like Shakespeare's Macbeth, grieve that in the period since that distinguished son of our people, Nelson Mandela, delivered our first State of the Nation Address, all we can truthfully say, with Macbeth, about our country's fate is:

To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,  
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day  
To the last syllable of recorded time,  
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools  
The way to dusty death ...

Indeed I believe that for many of us our country's evolution away from its apartheid past seems to have moved at such a hectic pace that even some of the seminal moments marking the birth of our democracy, which is less than two decades old, present them-



selves in the subconscious mind as being mere chapters in an aging historical record of a distant past.

Nothing that has happened during the age of democracy could justify the conclusion, similar to the one that Macbeth arrived at, that any of our yesterdays has only served to guide fools to avoidable catastrophe.

On the contrary, the age of democracy has given itself moral legitimacy by ensuring that Ingrid Jonker lives on, a heroine to all our people. The child, she knew, had not died, despite the apartheid bullet through its head, and is now grown to a giant and treks on through all Africa and the whole world, without a pass! [Applause.]

This year we will have occasion to remind ourselves of, and celebrate, two of the seminal moments to which I have referred. One of these is the 15th anniversary of the holding of the first meeting of Codesa on 20 December 1991, and the adoption of the vitally important Declaration of Intent the following day. The other is the 10th anniversary of the adoption of our Constitution on 8 May 1996.

Among other things, the Codesa Declaration of Intent said:

We . . . declare our solemn commitment to bring about an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed; a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination.

The importance of this particular moment in our history, both for our country and the peoples of the world, was underlined by the presence at Codesa of international observers from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth.

In a joint statement, these representatives of important international organisations said:

Codesa must herald the dawn of a new era of peace and justice. The broad objectives expressed in the Declaration of Intent are a most constructive and auspicious beginning for Codesa and give promise of attainment of a true democracy for South Africa . . . We hope that all the representatives of the South African people will join in the rebuilding of their country.

Periods of a decade and a decade and a half are but fleeting moments in the life of any nation. In our case we have lived through these years conscious of the enormous effort it would require of all of us to unshackle our country from the heavy chains that tie it to its past.

We have known that it would take considerable time before we could say we have eradicated the legacy of the past. We have expected that the circumstances handed down to us by our history would indeed condemn us to a "petty pace" of progress towards the achievement of the goal of a better life for all.

And yet today, as I stand here to speak to the hon members of our national, provincial and local legislatures, an important component part of our national political leadership, other echelons of that leadership, and our international guests, I feel emboldened to appropriate for our people the promise contained in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, when God said:

For you shall go out with joy,  
and be led out in peace;  
the mountains and the hills  
shall break forth into singing before you,  
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

[Applause.]

Instead of the thorn shall come up the cypress tree  
And instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree . . .

Kuba niya kuphuma ninovuyo,  
Nithundeze we ninoxolo.  
Iintaba neenduli ziya kugqabhuka  
Zimemelele phambi kwenu,  
Imithi yasendle ibethe izandla.

Esikhundleni somqaqoba kuya kuphuma imisedare,  
Esikhundleni serhawu kuya kunyuka imitile . . .

What has been achieved since Nelson Mandela delivered his first State of the Nation Address, and what we can do, given the larger resources that have since been generated, has surely given hope to the masses of our people, that it is possible for all Africa to hear the mountains and the hills singing before them.

When he addressed the United Nations General Assembly 14 years ago on 18 February 1992, a mere two months after our nation established Codesa, the then chairperson of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid said:

During the next few months, the Special Committee will need to closely monitor developments, in order to identify all factors threatening to derail the process in South Africa and to issue early warnings accordingly. We will thus pay particular attention to the underlying causes of violence. The level and the nature of violence continue to be extremely disturbing. More than 2 600 persons lost their lives in 1991 as a result of politically related violence.

Reading this today, wondering what could have gone wrong that so many people had to lose their lives needlessly, it becomes difficult to avoid the conclusion that "yesterday was another country!"

And yet during the very same year that we adopted our Constitution, Amnesty International could still report that:

At least 500 people were killed in continuing political violence in KwaZulu-Natal; some appeared to have been extrajudicially executed. Reports of torture and

ill-treatment in police custody continued. Four people were killed by right-wing opponents of the government. Further evidence emerged, through court proceedings and Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings, of official involvement in human rights violations under the former government.

Fifteen years ago the international community was expressing deep concern about factors threatening to derail the process in our country towards ending white minority rule, including the violence then claiming too many lives, and found it necessary to appeal to all our people to act together to end apartheid and rebuild the country.

The peoples of the world could have reiterated their concern about political violence in our country even five years later, as we took a giant step forward by adopting our Constitution.

Happily, in time, we managed to break free of the uncertainty about a bright future for our country, dramatically represented by the large numbers of people killed throughout the years from 1990 to 1996, when we were engaged in negotiations to establish our democratic order.

This year opened with the inspiring news that our people were highly optimistic about their future and the future of our country, ranking eighth in the world on the optimism index. Gallup International, which issued this report, said we had three times more optimists than pessimists, and that the optimism figure had even doubled since 2002. [Applause.]

This compared sharply with the situation in 1993, when our country was still in the grip of the crisis that had been of so much concern to the international community and us. That year, our country had more pessimists than optimists, signifying the prevalence of a mood of despair generated in part by the cold-blooded assassination that year of one of our outstanding leaders, Chris Hani.

The results obtained by Gallup International have been confirmed by a recent domestic poll conducted by Markinor. According to this poll, 65% of our people believe that our country is going in the right direction, 84% think that our country holds out a happy future for all racial groups . . . [Applause.] . . . and 71% believe that government is performing well. [Applause.]

With regard to the economy, late last month the Grant Thornton International Business Owners Survey reported that 84% of South Africa's business owners are optimistic about the year ahead, making them the third most optimistic internationally. [Applause.] Again last month, the First National Bank and the Bureau for Economic Research reported that the consumer confidence index was at its highest in 25 years. [Applause.]

What all these figures signify is that our people are firmly convinced that our country has entered its Age of Hope. They are convinced that we have created the conditions to achieve more rapid progress towards the realisation of their dreams. They are certain that we are indeed a winning nation. [Applause.]

Through our national effort they can see the relevance to our situation of God's blessings communicated in the Book of the Prophet Isaiah:

For you shall go out with joy,  
and be led out in peace;  
the mountains and the hills  
shall break forth into singing before you,  
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

[Applause.]

The inspiring perspective about our future shared by the majority of our people derives from what our country has achieved first to overcome the obstacles to freedom we faced before 1994, the advances we have made since then to consolidate our democracy while promoting nonracism and nonsexism, the progress we have made to alleviate the

poverty afflicting millions of our people, and the strides we have made to expand and modernise our economy.

We owe these outstanding achievements to the sterling efforts made by all our people in all walks of life. To that extent I would like to take the opportunity of this State of the Nation Address to salute and thank all our people for responding to the call made by Nelson Mandela in 1994 from this podium, when he said:

We must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

[Applause.]

Millions did indeed seize the time and, in action, defined ours as a shared destiny of peace, democracy, nonracism, nonsexism, shared prosperity and a better life for all. It is because of what these millions did that our people know from their own experience that today is better than yesterday, and are confident that tomorrow will be better than today. [Applause.]

While we must indeed celebrate the high levels of optimism that inspire our people, who are convinced that our country has entered its Age of Hope, we must also focus on and pay particular attention to the implications of those high levels of optimism with regard to what we must do together to achieve the objective of a better life for all our people. We have to respond to the hopes of the people by doing everything possible to meet their expectations.

And here I include among those who have to respond to the high expectations of our people not just the government, but also the private sector, the labour unions and the rest of civil society, and patriotic individuals.

In the period ahead of us, we have to sustain the multifaceted national effort that enabled us to realise the advances that have inspired

so much confidence among our people for a better tomorrow. On behalf of our government I would therefore like to use this important landmark in our national life to repeat the appeal made by Nelson Mandela 12 years ago, that together "we must . . . seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny".

And I dare say that essentially all of us are very familiar with what the people expect, which would confirm that they were not wrong to conclude that our country has entered its Age of Hope.

The Markinor survey to which we have referred indicates some of the concerns of our people. Whereas, as we have indicated, 71% believe that the government is generally performing well, only 56% think the government is responding well to our economic challenges, with the figure dropping to 54% with regard to the cluster of Justice functions.

We must also note that the government's approval rating with regard to the economy moves in tandem with the levels of income. Significantly, 72% approve of the government's efforts in various areas of social delivery. In contrast, only 45% believe that the sphere of local government is performing well.

The hon members will also be pleased to know that a survey conducted by the Government Communication and Information System shows that 90% of our population is proud of our country, our flag and national anthem, while 60% consider Freedom Day, 27 April, as the most important national day.

The outcomes of these surveys communicate the unequivocal message that our people expect that:

- we should move faster to address the challenges of poverty, underdevelopment and marginalisation confronting those caught within the Second Economy, to ensure that the poor in our country share in our growing prosperity;

- we should make the necessary interventions with regard to the First Economy to accelerate progress towards the achievement of higher levels of economic growth and development of at least 6% a year;
- we must sustain and improve the effectiveness of our social development programmes targeted at providing a cushion of support to those most exposed to the threat of abject poverty;
- we must act more aggressively with regard to our criminal justice system to improve the safety and security of our people, especially by improving the functioning of our courts and increasing our conviction rates to strengthen the message that crime does not pay;
- we must ensure that the machinery of government, especially the local government sphere, discharges its responsibilities effectively and efficiently, honouring the precepts of Batho Pele; and
- we must harness the Proudly South African spirit that is abroad among the people to build the strongest possible partnership between all sections of our population to accelerate our advance towards the realisation of the important goal of a better life for all.

Our government is committed to respond with all necessary seriousness and determination to all these challenges, and play its role to give new content to our Age of Hope. I am honoured to have this opportunity to announce some of the elements of the programme of our government to honour that commitment.

The hon members and the country at large are aware that, under the leadership of Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, the three spheres of government have been working together for some months now to elaborate the specific interventions that will ensure that Asgisa, the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of

South Africa, succeeds in its purposes, which include the reduction of the unemployment levels.

In this regard I would like to thank the members of the private sector, the trade union movement, women, youth and civil society who have participated in this process, making valuable input into an important initiative that must be owned and implemented by our people as a whole.

I must also take advantage of this occasion to explain that Asgisa is not intended to cover all elements of a comprehensive development plan. Rather it consists of a limited set of interventions that are intended to serve as catalysts to accelerated and shared growth and development.

Otherwise we will continue to engage the nation and all social partners to address other elements of a comprehensive development plan to improve our current programmes, and deal with other issues, such as the comprehensive industrial policy, keeping in mind the objective to halve poverty and unemployment by 2014.

Our government is convinced that favourable conditions exist for us to achieve the accelerated and shared growth to which we are committed. For instance, on 3 January this year, the newspaper *Business Day* commented that:

In South Africa, this promises to be the dawn of a golden age of growth ... We have now had more than five years of sustained growth — an upswing longer than the boom of the 1960s and indeed longer than anything in the postwar period ... We are reaping the benefits of years of sound financial and monetary policy as well as of structural reform in the economy.

... we are set fairer than we have been in decades to raise the growth rate on a sustainable basis. The trouble is, not all of it is within our control, as much depends on the vagaries of world markets and the global economy ...

But, make no mistake ... [T]his economy and this market start to look very different to anything we are used to. And it is certainly a different good, not a different bad.

[Applause.]

We fully agree with these observations, and would add that that "different good" has included significant job creation, a trend that we seek to enhance through Asgisa and our other development programmes.

To implement Asgisa, state-owned enterprises and the public sector as a whole, working in some instances through public-private partnerships, will make large investments in various sectors: to meet the demand for electricity; to provide an efficient and competitive logistics infrastructure; to expand and modernise the telecommunications infrastructure; and to satisfy the demand for water.

The public sector will also accelerate infrastructure investment in the underdeveloped urban and rural areas of our country through the Municipal Infrastructure Grant, the Expanded Public Works Programme and other infrastructure funds to improve service delivery in the areas of the Second Economy, including the provision of roads and rail; water; energy; housing, schools and clinics; business premises and business support centres; sports facilities; and multipurpose government service centres, including police stations and courts.

An amount of R372 billion will be provided for both these sets of programmes over the next three years.

As hon members would expect, we will continue to pay particular attention to the Expanded Public Works Programme as an important bridge between the two economies and a significant part of our poverty alleviation programme. Among other things, resources for the public works programmes will be pooled to ensure maximum impact

both in terms of products delivered, and employment and skills-training opportunities.

Better supervision of infrastructure projects undertaken by government will be introduced to ensure that capital budgets are spent without roll-overs and that labour-intensive methods are prioritised, and the necessary training of workers is carried out to provide them with skills.

Asgisa has also identified particular sectors of our economy for accelerated growth, building on the work already done within the context of our existing Microeconomic Reform Programme. These include: business process outsourcing; tourism; chemicals; biofuels; metals and metallurgy; wood, pulp and paper; agriculture; the creative industries; and clothing and textiles.

In this regard, work is proceeding apace to address such challenges as the cost of telecommunications, and import parity pricing with regard to steel and chemicals. We have already reached agreement with the People's Republic of China to protect our clothing and textile sector. [Applause.] The second national telecommunications operator should become operational later this year. [Applause.]

For Asgisa to succeed, it is clear that the machinery of state, and especially local government, should function effectively and efficiently. During the past year, our government has undertaken a detailed assessment to determine what we need to do to improve the capacity of our system of local government.

As we announced last year, we have been engaged in assessing the capacity of government to discharge its responsibility to help accelerate the process of social transformation. Proceeding from the particular to the general, the audit of a number of national departments has been completed.

These include housing, health, education and trade and industry. Across all these,

issues of skills, vacancies, delegation of responsibilities to managers of delivery agencies and relationships between national and provincial departments have emerged as being among the most critical areas requiring attention. Assessments of the other departments will be carried out.

The government will make the necessary interventions to address the issues raised by these assessments, bearing in mind the critical role that government must play as one of our country's most important developmental agencies. We cannot allow that government departments become an obstacle to the achievement of the goal of a better life for all because of insufficient attention to the critical issue of effective and speedy delivery of services. [Applause.]

In this context, we will continue the work towards the creation of one Public Service covering all spheres of government, fully conscious of the complexity of this matter and the need to secure the agreement of all relevant stakeholders. We will also continue to pay the necessary attention to the important issues of the inclusion of women and people with disabilities at decision-making levels of the Public Service. [Applause.]

Everything we have said so far concerning Asgisa points to the inescapable conclusion that, to meet our objectives, we will have to pay particular attention to the issue of scarce skills that will negatively affect the capacity of both the public and the private sectors to meet the goals set by Asgisa.

In this regard, I would therefore like to assure hon members and the country as a whole that, together with our social partners, we have agreed to a vigorous and wide-ranging skills development and acquisition programme to meet any shortfalls we may experience.

Among other things, we have already agreed to establish within a few weeks a multistakeholder working group, Jipsa, the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition, through

which government, business, labour and civil society will act jointly to respond to the skills challenge in as practical a manner as possible.

I would like to extend the sincere thanks of our Deputy President and government as a whole for the response of the Freedom Front Plus and other formations and individuals, who have responded to our appeal for South Africans with the necessary skills to make themselves available to provide the required expertise in project management and other areas. [Applause.] The first group of the 90 already identified and assessed will be deployed in their new posts in May. [Applause.]

We will, of course, also make other interventions in the area of education and training. These include eliminating fees for the poorest quintile of primary schools, targeting 529 schools to double the Mathematics and Science graduate output to 50 000 by 2008, and re-equipping and financing the Further Education and Training colleges. [Applause.]

Last year, we completed the task of registering unemployed graduates, with over 60 000 in the database. We wish to express our appreciation to the many companies that last December pledged to employ some of these graduates. An intensive campaign to link up these graduates with these and other companies will be undertaken this year.

During this year, when we celebrate the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the University of Fort Hare, we will continue to engage the leadership of our tertiary institutions, focused on working with them to meet the nation's expectations with regard to teaching and research. For its part, the government is determined to increase the resource allocation for research, development and innovation, and to increase the pool of young researchers.

Asgisa identified other constraints to growth and development, apart from the issue of

skills, the cost of doing business and the unnecessarily high cost of intermediate inputs. Work is proceeding to address all these constraints, including the limited domestic market and monetary and financial issues.

Asgisa has once more confirmed the need for us to expand our micro, small and medium enterprise sector, paying particular attention in this regard to broad-based black economic empowerment, and the development of women and the youth.

We will therefore take the necessary measures to ensure the effectiveness of such existing programmes as the Apex (Micro-credit) Fund, Mafisa (for agricultural development), Seda, the Small Enterprise Development Agency, Khula, the Msobomvu Youth Fund, the IDC Small Business Initiative, and others to make sure that all of these programmes function effectively. We will also intensify our engagement of the Financial Services Charter signatories to help generate the necessary resources for the development of the SMME sector.

Our experience with regard to the development of this sector indicates that we must pay particular attention to issues of access to capital, entrepreneurial training, assistance with marketing, and the development of co-operatives. Further, to contribute to the growth of this sector, the government will reform its procurement programme to access some of its goods and services from small and medium businesses, ensuring that it pays for what it purchases promptly. [Applause.]

We will also speed up the consultative process to determine the measures we must take to improve the regulatory climate to facilitate the expansion of this sector. This intervention will form part of the overall programme to introduce a regulatory impact assessment system to enable the government regularly to assess the impact of its policies on economic activity in the country.

The years of freedom have been very good for business. I believe that this should have

convinced the investor community by now that, in its own interests and as part of the national effort, it has to invest in the expansion of that freedom ... [Applause.] ... especially by actively and consciously contributing towards the achievement of the goal of halving poverty and unemployment by 2014.

Asgisa, which builds on the results of the Growth and Development Summit, GDS, offers this investor community an excellent opportunity to respond to this challenge in a deliberate and consistent manner, in its own interest.

Similarly, and also as part of the national effort, the trade union movement and civil society as a whole face the challenge to translate into action the commitment they made with the other social partners at the Growth and Development Summit "to a common vision for promoting rising levels of growth, investment, job creation, and people-centred development".

Asgisa provides a golden opportunity for the social partners to undertake the "collaborative action" they visualised at the Growth and Development Summit focused on "Promoting and mobilising investment and creating decent work for all".

The impressive growth rates achieved by our economy in the current period have been driven in good measure by high consumer demand, significantly financed through credit. This has increased our imports more than our exports, and despite high commodity prices, the resultant balance of payments deficit has been financed by inflows of foreign capital.

Through Asgisa we will increase the significance of the supply-side drivers of our growth. A corollary of this is, of course, that we must ensure the international competitiveness of the goods and services we produce.

This speaks directly to the common objective agreed by the social partners at the

Growth and Development Summit, to "promote rising levels of growth, investment, job creation, and people-centred development".

I have already mentioned the fact that to meet our developmental objectives, which must respond to the high expectations of our people, we will pay special attention to the critical task of strengthening local government.

Our government considers this to be especially important at this stage of our evolution. After the 1 March local government elections all three spheres of government will therefore continue working together to ensure that each and every district and metro municipality is properly positioned to discharge its responsibility to the people.

In particular, this will mean that each of these municipalities has a realistic integrated development plan, a credible local economic development programme, and the material and human resources, as well as the management and operational systems to implement these IDPs and LEDs.

Integration of planning and implementation across the government spheres is therefore one of the prime areas of focus in our programme for the next term of local government. In this regard we will be guided by the Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act.

We must in practice respect the system of co-operative governance, and within this context ensure that we empower local government to discharge its developmental and service delivery obligations, drawing on the lessons provided by Project Consolidate.

As many of us are aware by now, Project Consolidate has identified serious capacity constraints in many of our municipalities, arising from a shortage of properly qualified managers, and professional and technical personnel. We have taken the necessary decisions to attend to this urgent matter.

To improve the ability, particularly of local government, to meet the needs of the people, by March this year we shall have deployed 3 000 community development workers.

Even as we implement the programmes focused on accelerated and shared growth, with its important element of job creation, we cannot forget that the social wage plays a vital role in our continuing efforts to address the challenges of poverty.

For instance, 7 million children now receive the child support grant. A total of 10 million of our citizens receive social grants. Real social expenditure per person increased by 60% between 1983 and 2003. Detailed evidence from a study conducted by Haroon Bhorat, Prakash Naidoo and Carlene van der Westhuizen indicates that there has been a consistent shift in expenditure in favour of poorer households.

To improve delivery in this area, we will continue to implement our comprehensive antifraud strategy. Already many of those who have been stealing social grants have been brought to book. [Applause.] This work will improve with the launch of the National Social Security Agency.

In the area of health, over 1 300 clinics have benefited from the upgrading programme and more have received additional equipment; and the programme to revitalise hospitals is proceeding apace. The extension of community service to a range of health professionals has ensured that at any one time over 2 000 such professionals are available in public health institutions.

Our future plans in this area include the further expansion of the health infrastructure, the refurbishment of existing clinics and hospitals, and the reopening of nursing colleges to increase the numbers of these important professionals. [Applause.]

To improve service delivery in our hospitals, by September this year we will ensure that hospital managers are delegated authority and held accountable for the functioning of

hospitals, with policy issues regarding training, job grading and accountability managed by the provincial health departments, which themselves will need restructuring properly to play their role.

The Operational Plan for Comprehensive Prevention, Treatment and Care of HIV and Aids has resulted in the upgrading of hundreds of facilities. To date, over 100 000 patients are receiving antiretroviral treatment and, combined with patients in the private sector, South Africa has one of the largest such treatment programmes in the world. [Applause.]

During the course of this year, in addition to accelerating the expansion of our housing stock to address the needs of the homeless, we will take concrete steps to ensure that housing development contributes to eliminating the duality of living spaces inherited from apartheid.

Already, the Ministry of Housing and the SA Local Government Association have reached an agreement on the sale of land for housing development. Through this agreement, municipalities will allocate land close to economic centres for housing development for middle- and lower-income people. [Applause.]

In addition, as part of our effort to help the poor to access housing finance, the National Housing Finance Corporation will be transformed into a Housing Corporation that will provide finance to the poor and middle-income groups. [Applause.]

In this context, we expect our Minister of Housing and the leadership of the financial institutions to reach final agreement without further delay on the modalities for utilising the R42 billion set aside by the financial institutions for housing development for poor and middle-income groups, thus contributing to the National Effort.

This is central to the attainment of a society free of shack settlements, in which all our people enjoy decent housing. In this context,

I should also mention that government has decided that we must completely eradicate, in the established settlements, the "bucket toilets" by the end of 2007. [Applause.]

Land reform and land restitution are critical to the transformation of our society. Accordingly, the state will play a more central role in the land reform programme, ensuring that the restitution programme is accelerated, further contributing to the empowerment of the poor, especially in the rural areas.

The Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs will, during 2006: review the willing-buyer, willing-seller policy ... [Applause.] ... review land acquisition models and possible manipulation of land prices; and regulate conditions under which foreigners buy land. [Applause.] This will be done in line with international norms and practices.

The Minister and the department will also ensure that the land redistribution programme is aligned to the Provincial Growth and Development Strategies as well as the Integrated Development Plans of municipalities, as well as attend to the proper use of the funds that have been made available for the productive utilisation of the land.

When we talk about the land question, we must not forget that this year we will commemorate the centenary of the Bambata Uprising in the present-day KwaZulu-Natal, which was occasioned by the imposition of a poll tax to drive the people off the land, forcing them to join the ranks of the proletariat. In praise of Bambata it was said:

Ingqungqulu eshaya amaphiko  
Kwadilika izixhobo eHlenyane.  
Izulu eliphose umbane phansi eHlenyane,  
Kwacandeka imisululu.  
Kwadilika izindonga.  
Usibamba nkunzana  
Ekade beyesaba  
Ngoba ebambe abamhlophe  
Umlhane ubelethe amagwala!

[Applause.]

In this year of the 30th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising, we shall ensure that the focus on youth development is intensified in all spheres of government. Among other things, during the next financial year we will set up 100 new youth advisory centres, enrol at least 10 000 young people in the National Youth Service Programme and enrol 5 000 volunteers to act as mentors to vulnerable children. [Applause.]

We will also expand the reach of our business support system to young people and intensify the Youth Co-operatives Programme. We will closely monitor the impact of our programmes on youth skills training and business empowerment as part of our national effort.

The Asgisa process has also helped us greatly by exposing us to the concerns of women with regard to their economic prospects. Among other things, the women have pointed to the need for us to focus on issues of access to finance, development of co-operatives, fast-tracking women artisans and providing "set-asides" for women in government and public enterprise procurement programmes. [Applause.]

I believe that the very fact that this year we will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Women's March underlines the need for us to ensure that these issues receive the necessary attention in the implementation of our development programmes.

The government will continue to focus on the critical challenge of further improving our criminal justice system. Among other things, we will focus on integrated law enforcement operations in priority areas, reducing the number of illegal firearms and ensuring better processing of applications for firearm licences, reducing drug trafficking and substance abuse, and implementing social crime prevention measures.

We will further improve caseload management in our courts, build four additional correctional facilities, reduce the number of



children in custody, and implement the recommendations of the Jali Commission.

Other important matters include the post-TRC management of cases pertaining to conflicts of the past, processing of legislation on matters pertaining to the rationalisation of our courts, consideration of the recommendations of the Khampepe Commission on the Directorate of Special Operations, and strengthening our intelligence structures to support law enforcement agencies and ensure the security of the state and its citizens.

Perhaps, needless to say, the government will remain focused on the challenge to fight corruption in the public sector and in society at large. We will continue to intensify our offensive on this front, fully aware of the fact that much that happens in our society encourages the entrenchment of a value system based on personal acquisition of wealth by all means and at all costs.

Five months from now, the Fifa Soccer World Cup tournament, hosted by Germany, will come to its triumphant end with the passage of the host's baton to our country. From then on, until 2010, the whole world will watch us carefully to judge whether we will be a worthy host of this prestigious tournament.

I am afraid that our performance in the current African Cup of Nations in Egypt did nothing to advertise our strengths as a winning nation. [Interjections.] However, starting today, the nation must bend every effort to ensure that we meet all the expectations of Fifa and the world of soccer, so that we host the best Soccer World Cup ever.

Simultaneously, as we work together to restore the sport of soccer in our country to full health, and prepare a winning national team, we must ensure that we work full steam ahead to get everything else ready for a successful Soccer World Cup.

This will encompass the stadia, broadcast facilities, including high-definition televi-

sion, the necessary transport and hospitality infrastructure, safety and security, popular support for soccer and the World Cup, and selfless dedication by the local organisers of the tournament.

The 2010 Soccer World Cup will make an important contribution to our effort to accelerate our progress towards the achievement of the goal of a better life for our people. Similarly, as an African Soccer World Cup, it will give additional impetus to our struggle to achieve Africa's renaissance.

In return for these irreplaceable benefits, we owe it to Fifa and the rest of the soccer world to prepare properly for 2010. I trust that the domestic world of soccer will respond to this challenge with all necessary seriousness, commitment and patriotism.

During 2006 we will continue to engage the African challenges, focusing on peace and democracy in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire and Sudan, the strengthening of the African Union and the acceleration of the process of the implementation of the Nepad programmes. In this context we have to ensure that we conduct a successful self-assessment process as we prepare our national report for the African Peer Review Mechanism.

As the current chair of the G77 plus China, we will do everything possible to advance the interests of the South, including in the context of the continuing WTO negotiations, and the urgent challenge to reform the United Nations, including the Security Council.

We remain actively engaged to help find solutions to the various matters relating to the Israel-Palestine and Iranian issues. We are committed to the pursuit of negotiated agreements in this regard, consistent with our long-held views in favour of the formation of a State of Palestine, security for Israel, nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes.

Two anniversaries that we will commemorate this year will serve to emphasise the bonds that tie us to the rest of the world. These are the centenary of Satyagraha, the nonviolent struggle started by Mahatma Gandhi in our country in 1906 and continued in India, and the 20th anniversary of the violent death of President Samora Machel in our country in 1986 in a plane crash that still requires a satisfactory explanation. [Applause.]

Next week we will host a meeting of the Progressive Governance Group, which will bring to our country important leaders from all corners of the globe. Their presence in our country will communicate the message that we cannot and will not walk away from our internationalist responsibility to add our voice to the global effort to create a better world of peace, democracy, a just world order and prosperity for all nations.

Clearly the masses of our people are convinced that our country has entered its Age of Hope. They believe that the country they love, their only homeland, will not disappoint their expectation of an accelerated advance towards the day when they will be liberated from the suffocating tentacles of the legacy of colonialism and apartheid.

They are confident that what our country has done to move us away from our apartheid past has created the conditions for them to appropriate God's blessing to the Prophet Isaiah:

For you shall go out with joy,  
and be led out in peace;  
the mountains and the hills  
shall break forth into singing before you,  
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands.

[Applause.]

It is up to all of us, through our National Effort, to build a winning nation, to do all the things that will ensure that the mountains and the hills of our country break forth into singing before all our people, and all the trees of the field clap their hands to applaud the people's season of joy.

I thank you very much. [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order, hon members. I thank the hon President.

The Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces adjourned the Joint Sitting at 12:06.

APPENDIX CC

MBEKI, THABO. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC, 9 FEBRUARY" DEBATES OF THE JOINT  
SITTING! CAPE TOWN: HANSARD, 2007: 2-30. OF THE  
**DEBATES**  
**JOINT SITTING**  
(HANSARD)



REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

FOURTH SESSION—THIRD PARLIAMENT

1

FRIDAY, 9 FEBRUARY 2007

2

**PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING**

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces took the Chair.

The Speaker of the National Assembly requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

**CALLING OF JOINT SITTING**

The Speaker of the National Assembly announced that the President had called a Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces in terms

of section 84(2)(d) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1966, read with Joint Rule 7(1)(a), to enable him to deliver his Annual Address to Parliament

**ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE  
REPUBLIC**

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC:  
Madam Speaker of the National Assembly;  
Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces; Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces; Deputy President of the Republic; hon leaders of our political parties and hon Members of Parliament; Ministers and Deputy Ministers; our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the judiciary; heads of our security services; Governor of the Reserve Bank; former President F W de Klerk and Madam Elita de Klerk; distinguished Premiers and Speakers

of our provinces; mayors and leaders in our system of local government; our honoured traditional leaders; heads of the state organs supporting our constitutional democracy; Directors-General and other leaders of the Public Service; Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners; distinguished guests, friends and comrades; and people of South Africa: When she died, we knew that Mama Adelaide Tambo had recently been discharged from hospital. But because we also knew that she had the tenacity of spirit and the strength of will to soldier on among the living, we had intended to welcome her and other members of her family as our guests on this august occasion. But that was not to be.

Tomorrow we will pay her our last respects as we inter her remains. Thus she will only be with us in spirit when, in October this year, we celebrate the 90th anniversary of the birth of her husband, the father of her children, her companion, her comrade and an eminent son of our people, Oliver Reginald Tambo. Once more, we convey our condolences to the Tambo family.

However, I am indeed very pleased to acknowledge in our midst this morning the hon Albertina Luthuli, daughter of our first Nobel Peace Laureate, Inkosi Albert Luthuli, whose tragic death 40 years ago we commemorate this year, remembering the tragic day when it was reported that he had been crushed by a speeding train in the cane-fields of KwaDukuza. His death was as shocking and mysterious as his life was a lodestar pointing us to the freedom that we enjoy today.

I feel immensely proud that democratic South Africa has had the sense and sensitivity to acknowledge what Albert Luthuli and Oliver Tambo mean to our nation by naming two of our National Orders after them—the Order of Luthuli, and the Order of the Companions of O R Tambo. I also know of the great pride felt by those who have been admitted into the ranks of these eminent National Orders.

I am also pleased to welcome to the House the activists of the 1956 Women's March and the 1976 Soweto Uprising, who are sitting in the President's Bay, as well as the eminent patriots from all our provinces, proposed by our provincial Speakers to join the group of important guests who have joined us today.

The government of the people of South Africa, on whose behalf I speak here today, as I have been privileged to do in previous years, was formed in 2004, after the general elections of that year.

At its annual January *lekgotla* or *bosberaad* last month, the national Cabinet that stands at the pinnacle of our system of governance over which we are privileged to preside, reflected on the fact that its meeting marked the mid-term of the life of the government born of our last, 2004, elections.

Having understood this, it was natural that we should put the question to ourselves: What progress have we made in the quest to achieve the objectives to which we honestly told the nation we were committed, as a result of which our people gave us the overwhelming authority to govern our country from 2004 until the next elections in 2009?

With your indulgence, I would like to step further back, and recall what we said in 2004, as representatives of our people, in the presence of our friends from the rest of the world, when we convened at our seat of government, the Union Buildings in Tshwane, on Freedom Day, the 10th anniversary of our liberation, and participated in the inauguration of the President of the Republic, whom our Parliament had chosen, respecting the will of the people democratically demonstrated during the 2004 elections.

On that occasion we said in part:

For too long our country contained within it and represented much that is ugly and repulsive in human society.

It was a place in which to be born black was to inherit a lifelong curse. It was a place in which to be born white was to carry a permanent burden of fear and hidden rage.

It was a place in which squalor, the stench of poverty, the open sewers, the decaying rot, the milling crowds of wretchedness, the unending images of a landscape strewn with carelessly abandoned refuse, assumed an aspect that seemed necessary to enhance the beauty of another world of tidy streets and wooded lanes, and flowers' blossoms offsetting the green and singing grass, and birds and houses fit for kings and queens, and lyrical music, and love.

It was a place in which to live in some places was to invite others to prey on you or to condemn oneself to prey on others, guaranteed neighbours who could not but fall victim to alcohol and drug stupors that would dull the pain of living, who knew that their lives would not be normal without murder in their midst, and rape and brutal personal wars without a cause.

It was a place in which to live in other neighbourhoods was to enjoy safety and security because to be safe was to be protected by high walls, electrified fences, guard dogs, police patrols and military regiments ready to defend those who were our masters with guns and tanks and aircraft that would rain death on those who would disturb the peace of the masters.

We have gathered here today, on Freedom Day, because in time our people, together with the billions of human beings across the globe, who are our comrades-in-arms and whom our distinguished guests represent, decided to say: An end to all that!

We are greatly encouraged that our general elections of a fortnight ago confirmed the determination of all our people, regardless of race, colour and ethnicity, to work together to build a South Africa defined by a common dream.

None of the great social problems we have to solve is capable of resolution outside the context of the creation of jobs and the alleviation and eradication of poverty. This relates to everything, from the improvement of the health of our people to reducing the levels of crime, raising the levels of literacy and numeracy, and opening the doors of learning and culture to all.

We pledge to all the heroes and heroines who sacrificed for our freedom, as well as to you, our friends from the rest of the world, that we will never betray the trust you bestowed on us when you helped to give us the possibility to transform South Africa into a democratic, peaceful, nonracial, nonsexist and prosperous country, committed to the noble vision of human solidarity.

The work to create that South Africa has begun. That work will continue during our Second Decade of Freedom.

Fifty years before, as they prepared to convene the Congress of the People, which adopted the Freedom Charter, the patriots of the day had said: "Let us speak together, all of us together—African and European, Indian and Coloured... all the people of South Africa. Let us speak together of freedom. And of the happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free."

We must today renew our pledge to speak together of freedom, to act in partnership to realise the happiness for all that should come with liberty, to work together to build a South Africa defined by a common dream, to say, together, in action: Enough of everything that made our country to contain within it and represent much that is ugly and repulsive in human society!

We must continue to respond to the perspective we spoke of as the present government began its term of office, fully conscious that "none of the great social problems we have to solve is capable of resolution outside the context of the creation of jobs and the



alleviation and eradication of poverty", and that "the struggle to eradicate poverty has been and will continue to be a central part of the national effort to build the new South Africa".

Responding to the imperative to move forward as quickly as possible to build a South Africa defined by a common dream, our government committed itself, working with all South Africans, to implement detailed programmes intended to:

- raise the rate of investment in the First Economy;
- reduce the cost of doing business in our country;
- promote the growth of the small and medium business sector;
- speed up this process of skills development;
- improve our export performance, focusing on services and manufactured goods;
- increase spending on scientific research and development;
- implement detailed programmes to respond to the challenges of the Second Economy;
- implement programmes to ensure broad-based black economic empowerment;
- continue with programmes to build a social security net to meet the objectives of poverty alleviation;
- expand access to such services as water, electricity and sanitation;
- improve the health profile of the nation as a whole;
- intensify the housing programme;
- implement additional measures to open wider the doors of learning and of culture;
- improve the safety and security of all citizens and communities;

- ensure that the public sector discharges its responsibility as a critical player in the growth, reconstruction and development of our country;
- accelerate the process of renewal of the African continent; and
- increasingly contribute to the resolution of major questions facing the peoples of the world.

Madam Speaker and Chairperson, I am happy to report that with regard to each of these commitments, government remains hard at work to ensure that the nation's objectives are met.

At an average of over 4,5%, the rate of growth of our economy over the past two and half years has been at its highest since we attained our democracy in 1994. Investment in the economy, by both the public and private sectors, has been increasing at about 11%, with overall public sector infrastructure spending increasing by an annual average of 15,8%. Today, fixed investment as a percentage of the gross domestic product—at about 18,4%—is at its highest since 1991.

The number of employed people has been increasing at about half a million a year in the past three years.

We have seen steady progress in the advancement of black people in the economy. From owning just over 3% of the market capitalisation of the Johannesburg Securities Exchange (JSE) in 2004, this has increased to close on 5%; and the proportion of blacks in top management has grown from 24% of the total to 27%. Yet we must remain concerned that these figures are still woefully low.

The advances in the economy have thrown up major challenges for all of us. The massive and sustained increase in consumer demand reflects a healthy growth in the levels of prosperity across the population; and the major infrastructure projects that we

are embarking on demand massive inputs of supplies and machinery.

But our international trade balance shows that we have not succeeded in building the capacity to produce the consumer and capital goods that our country needs. While household debt has increased broadly at the same rate as growth in income, the fact that South Africans are saving less means that we have to depend on savings from other nations. The continuing occasional volatility of our currency has also not boded well for our export industries.

Over the past three years, the economy has created some one and a half million jobs. It is encouraging that in the year March 2005 to March 2006, 300 000 of the jobs created were in the formal sector outside of agriculture, representing a growth rate of about 4%.

A small part of these are the permanent job opportunities created through the Expanded Public Works Programme. But there is no question that this programme can and must be ratcheted upwards quite significantly. There is also no question that we can do much better to create self-employment through small and micro-enterprises. And given that a large majority of the unemployed are among the youth, we can do much better in terms of such interventions as the National Youth Service and the development of young entrepreneurs.

It is a matter of pride that, in line with our commitment to build a caring society, we have since 2004 improved service provision and other aspects of the social wage. While beneficiaries of social grants numbered about 8 million in 2004, today 11 million poor South Africans have access to these grants. It is encouraging that the rates of increase in uptake have, in the recent period, been within manageable ranges, as the programmes reach maturity. This will ensure sustainability, and employment of more government resources to provide economic services to create more jobs and business opportunities.

The housing programme has seen close to 300 000 new subsidies allocated in the past two years. However, as we sought to improve quality and develop plans for those who are being missed by the public and private sector programmes currently under way, the pace of roll-out has been much slower than we expected. We must act to change this situation.

As hon members are aware, we have over the past few years developed and started implementing various programmes aimed at improving passenger transport. These include the taxi recapitalisation programme and provincial initiatives such as the Moloto Rail Corridor in Mpumalanga, around which feasibility work has started, the Klipfontein Corridor in Cape Town and the Gautrain project with its linkages to the rest of the public transport system.

These and many other initiatives form part of a comprehensive passenger transport strategy, combining both road and rail. We will attend to the urgent implementation of these programmes to improve the quality of life of especially the working people.

Access to electricity, water and sanitation has improved. By 2005, South Africa had already achieved the Millennium Development Goal in respect of basic water supply, with improvement of access from 59% in 1994 to 83% in 2006. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), South Africa is one of the few countries that spend less on military budgets than on water and sanitation. [Applause.] In the words of the UNDP Human Development Report of 2006, and I quote—

... South Africa has demonstrated how the human right to water can serve as a mechanism for empowerment and a guide to policy ... Rights-based water reform has enabled it to expand access and overcome the legacy of racial inequality inherited from apartheid, partly through rights-based entitlements.

We should indeed celebrate this great

achievement. But it is a fact that 8 million people are still without potable water. Many more are without electricity and sanitation. We are proud that within one year, we have been able to reduce the backlog in the eradication of the bucket system in established settlements by almost half. We are on course to put an end to this dehumanising system in these areas by the end of this year.

We will continue to confront these challenges so as to erase in our country that which is ugly and repulsive, so that together we can speak of freedom and the happiness that comes with liberty.

An examination of education and skills acquisition shows improvement of quite a high base by 2004, though at a slow pace. This applies to literacy levels, gross school enrolment and tertiary participation rates. The fluctuating matric pass rates do indicate that much more needs to be done to stabilise the system and ensure steady improvement. At the same time, the number of matric students who pass mathematics at the higher grade is only slightly better than in 1995. We also continue to show weaknesses in implementing the adult basic education programme.

While the land restitution programme has resulted in more settlements in the recent period, we still need to put in extra effort in dealing with remaining cases, many of which are much more complex. On the other hand, very little progress has been made in terms of land redistribution. We will undertake a careful review of the inhibiting factors so that this programme is urgently speeded up.

All these economic and social programmes form part of our strategies to reduce and eradicate the poverty that continues to afflict many of our people. The work done during the course of last year by women, through the South African Women in Dialogue, Sawid, working with various government departments, including a visit to countries such as Tunisia and Chile, where great

progress has been made in dealing with poverty, does point to some defects in our systems in this regard. From the experience of this delegation it is clear that we must, among other things—

- define clearly the poverty matrix of our country;
- develop a proper database of households living in poverty;
- identify and implement specific interventions relevant to these households;
- monitor progress in those households as the programmes take effect in graduating them out of poverty;
- in this context, address all indigence, especially the high numbers of women so affected;
- co-ordinate and align all anti-poverty programmes to maximise impact and avoid wastage and duplication; and
- accelerate the training of family social workers at professional and auxiliary levels to ensure that identified households are properly supported and monitored.

This will ensure the systematic linkage of beneficiaries of social assistance to municipal services and work opportunities, continuously focused on the task to ensure that as many of our people as possible graduate out of dependence on social grants and enter the labour market. In the meantime, we will continue to explore new initiatives which will progressively improve the social wage.

A critical leg of these social interventions should be the intensification of joint efforts among all South Africans to improve social cohesion.

In this year of the 60th anniversary of the Doctors' Pact of leaders of African and Indian communities, A B Xuma, G M Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo, the 30th anniversary of the murder of Steve Biko and the 20th anniversary of the visit to Dakar by

Afrikaner intellectuals to meet the ANC, the issue of our variety of identities and the overarching sense of belonging to South Africa needs to be better canvassed across society, in a manner that strengthens our unity as a nation. Further, on this, the 30th anniversary of the banning of *The World* and *The Weekend World* newspapers, we are duty-bound to ask the question: Have we all fully internalised our responsibility in building social cohesion and promoting a common sense of belonging, reinforcing the glue that holds our nation together?

In other words, measures required to improve social cohesion cannot be undertaken by government alone. We must, together as South Africans, speak of freedom from want and from moral decay, and work to attain the happiness that comes with it.

Madam Speaker and Chairperson, I am certain that we shall all agree that working together to achieve the happiness that comes with freedom applies equally to the challenge of dealing with crime. In the 1994 RDP White Paper we said, and I quote:

Promoting peace and security will involve all people. It will build on and expand the national drive for peace and combat the endemic violence faced by communities ... with special attention to the various forms of violence to which women are subjected.

Peace and political stability are also central to the government's efforts to create an enabling environment to encourage investment. Decisive action will be taken to eradicate lawlessness, drug trafficking, gun running, crime and especially the abuse of women and children.

Certainly, we cannot erase that which is ugly and repulsive and claim the happiness that comes with freedom if communities live in fear, closeted behind walls and barbed wire, ever anxious in their houses, on the streets and on our roads, unable freely to enjoy our

public spaces. Obviously, we must continue and further intensify the struggle against crime.

While we have already surpassed the targeted figure of 152 000 police officers employed in the SA Police Service, and while we have improved the training programme, we recognise the fact that the impact of this is not yet high enough for everybody to feel a better sense of safety and security. While we have reduced the incidence of most contact crimes, the annual reduction rate with regard to such categories as robbery, assault and murder is still below the 7% to 10% that we had targeted, and the abuse of women and children continues at an unacceptable level.

The increase in the incidence of particular crimes during the security workers' strike should have brought home to all of us the fact that the security industry cannot be handled simply as a private affair of the private sector. Quite clearly, the regulatory system that we have in place is inadequate. This applies to issues such as wage levels, personnel vetting systems, enforcement of guidelines on cash-delivery vehicles, and so on.

This is a matter that we shall review during the course of this year, so that, in addition to improving the work of the police, we can, together with the private security industry, create an environment in which the security expectations of the public, in which huge resources are expended, are actually met.

We will also continue to put more effort into improving the functioning of our courts, to increase the rate of reduction in case backlogs. And we will ensure that decisions to expand the Correctional Services infrastructure, improve the management of border control as well as the immigration and documentation services, among others, are implemented.

Many of the weaknesses in improving services to the population derive in part from

inadequate capacity and systems to monitor implementation. As such, in the period leading up to 2009, the issue of the organisation and capacity of the state will remain high on our agenda.

What has emerged, among others, as a critical area for strategic intervention is the content of training that public servants receive in various institutions and the role of the SA Management Development Institute, Samdi, which in actual fact should be the major service provider, including in the mass induction of public servants.

Compliance levels within departments, in relation to Public Service and finance management legislation, have been somewhat mixed. Obviously, this cannot be allowed to continue, even if we take into account the correct observation that auditing requirements at national and provincial levels have become more stringent. In this regard, the application of the performance agreement system, particularly for senior management, is crucial.

Programmes to improve the capacity of our local government system continue apace. Immediately after the March 2006 local government elections, induction programmes were conducted, taking into account that 62% of the mayors are new. In this regard I want to welcome the Chair of Salga and Mayor of the Johannesburg Metropole.

What is of concern, though, is that in many of these municipalities, many vacancies remain or have emerged in senior management and the professions. For instance, in September last year, 27% of our municipalities did not have municipal managers; in the North West province, the vacancy rate at senior management level was over 50%; and in Mpumalanga only 1% of senior managers had concluded key performance agreements.

We continue to respond to these challenges and will undertake all necessary tasks, informed by our Five-year Local Government Strategic Agenda, which includes hands-on

assistance to municipalities by national and provincial structures, the deployment of skilled personnel, including professional volunteers from the public, and strengthening the ward committees, 80% of which have been established across the country.

The programme to align planning instruments across the spheres of government, that is, the National Spatial Development Perspective, the Provincial Growth and Development Strategies and the Integrated Development Plans, is continuing, with pilot projects for complete alignment being run in 13 of our districts and metros. These pilot projects should be completed by the end of this year.

It is a matter of proud record that over half of the districts and metros have held their growth and development summits, and the rest intend to complete this process by the end of February. This will lay the basis for co-operation among all social partners in speeding up local economic development.

Hon members, I would like to take advantage of this occasion to express my gratitude to Deputy President Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka for the inspiring leadership she has given to the implementation of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative, Asgisa, ... [Applause.] ... working with the Ministers and Premiers who constitute the task team, concretely addressing very specific issues that need to be dealt with to ensure higher rates of investment and labour absorption, as well as matters pertaining to skills development and the efficiency of the state system. We highly appreciate the contribution of all members of the executive and our Public Service managers, across the three spheres of government, in leading this process and in implementing the government programme as a whole. This is central to our efforts to erase that which is ugly and repulsive in our society so that we can speak of freedom and the happiness that comes with liberty.

In this regard, in order further to speed up the implementation of Asgisa, over and above

the multi-year programmes announced in the recent past, government will this year complete the process of reviewing the country's experience in the articulation among such macroeconomic indicators as the exchange rate, inflation and interest rates, so as to put in place measures that will facilitate the growth of industries which produce tradables for both the domestic and export markets, and have the potential to absorb large pools of semi-skilled workers.

In line with the National Industrial Policy Framework which has now been completed, we will intensify implementation of customised sector measures to facilitate investments in business process outsourcing, tourism, biofuels and chemicals, and finalise practical programmes for forestry and paper, clothing and textiles, metals and engineering.

We will develop an overarching strategy to prioritise key interventions in mining and mineral beneficiation, agriculture and agro-processing, the white goods sector, creative industries, community and social services and pharmaceuticals. This must include a determined drive to increase our national capacity to produce capital goods. With regard to mineral beneficiation, for instance, we will set up a State Diamond Trader that will purchase 10% of diamonds from local producers and sell them to local cutters and producers. [Applause.] We are happy that De Beers has agreed to assist free of charge with management, technical skills and asset provision for a period of three years. [Applause.]

We will develop programmes to facilitate investments in sectors along the supply chain for our infrastructure programmes, including capital goods in ICT, transport and energy. With regard to energy, we will also expedite our work to ensure greater reliance on nuclear power generation, natural gas and the various forms of renewable sources of energy. With regard to communications, I am pleased to announce that the Department

of Communications, together with the mobile telephone companies and Telkom, is finalising plans to address call termination rates this year for the benefit of all consumers. [Applause.] In addition, Telkom will apply a special low rate for international bandwidth to 10 development call centres each employing at least 1 000 people, as part of the effort to expand the business process outsourcing (BPO) sector. These centres will be established in areas identified by government. The special rate will be directly comparable to those for the same service and capacity per month offered in any of the comparable countries.

We will also take a variety of steps to improve competition in the economy, among others to lower the cost of doing business and promote investment, including the practical introduction of the Regulatory Impact Assessment (RIA) system, developing high-speed national and international broadband capacity, finalising the plan to improve the capacity of the rail and port operators, and strengthening the effectiveness of our competition authorities.

The progress we have made with regard to the recapitalisation of the Further Education and Training (FET) Colleges has created the possibility for us significantly to expand the number of available artisans. Starting this year, resources will be allocated to provide financial assistance to trainees in need who enter these institutions. At the same time, we shall urgently resolve the issue of responsibilities between the national and provincial spheres in the management of the FET system. We do hope that our efforts to promote this area of opportunity will help send the message, especially to our young people, that artisan skills are as critical for economic growth as other levels of qualification. [Applause.]

After intense interaction between government and leaders of our universities, agreement has been reached and decisions taken on the resources required to ensure that the skills in short supply are provided.

In this regard, we wish to commend the role played by the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition, Jipsa, which brings together government, business, labour, training institutes and others.

As hon members know, we have also significantly increased the number of non-fee-paying schools.

In carrying out this infrastructure and other programmes, we will be informed by our commitment to ensure that the 2010 Fifa World Cup is the best ever. [Applause.] In this regard we wish to congratulate our Local Organising Committee and other partners for the sterling work they are doing. [Applause.]

Quite clearly, in order to ensure that all South Africans enjoy the happiness that comes with a growing economy, these and other measures will need to be accompanied by an intensified programme to address the challenges in the Second Economy. Because of this, during the course of this year we will, among other things, take further practical action to improve access to micro-finance, including the reach of the Apex Fund and the agricultural micro-credit fund, Mafisa; ensure the proper functioning of the Small Enterprises Development Agency, Seda; and process the Companies Bill, adopted for public comment by Cabinet last Wednesday, as part of a battery of measures to reduce the regulatory burden on small, medium and micro-enterprises and to empower minority shareholders and employees.

Having surpassed the 10 000 target we set ourselves, we will increase the number of young people engaged in the National Youth Service by at least 20 000 . . . [Applause.] . . . through 18 of our departments which have already developed plans in this regard, enrol 30 000 young volunteers in community development initiatives, and employ 5 000 young people as part of the Expanded Public Works Programme in the maintenance of government buildings. [Applause.]

We will intensify efforts to integrate youth development into the mainstream of government work, including a youth co-operatives programme, and the ongoing efforts to link unemployed graduates with employment opportunities — and in this regard we wish to thank the many companies, public and private, big and small, which have responded in a splendid and practical manner to this initiative. [Applause.]

And we will start implementing the Communal Land Rights Act in order to improve economic utilisation of communal land, while at the same time expanding assistance such as irrigation, seeds and implements to small and co-operative farmers. [Applause.]

Hon members, the economic programmes to which we have referred form part of the concerted drive in which all of South Africa should engage in order to reduce the levels of poverty and inequality in our society. For us it is not a mere cliché to assert that the success of our democracy should and will be measured by the concrete steps we take to improve the quality of life of the most vulnerable in our society.

In order to improve on the social programmes that we have implemented over the years, we aim this year to complete the work already started to reform our system of social security so that phased implementation can start as early as possible. A critical part of this reform will be the task of repairing a defect identified in the 2002 Report of the Committee of Inquiry into a Comprehensive System of Social Security in South Africa. This is that the contributory earnings-related pillar of our social security system is missing or unreliable for large numbers of working people. The principle guiding this approach is that, over and above social assistance provided through the government budget, we need to explore the introduction of an earnings-related contributory social security system that is informed by the principle of social solidarity.

This will mean that all South Africans will enjoy membership of a common, adminis-

tratively efficient social insurance system, while those earning higher incomes will be able to continue contributing to private retirement and insurance schemes. In the discussions thus far conducted within government, consensus is emerging that elements of this system would need to include a continuation of the minimum benefits contained in our social grants system, with the benefits paid through a modern administrative system; a wage subsidy for low-wage employees, possibly directed at first entrants into the job market, especially young people . . . [Applause.] . . . and a social security tax to finance basic retirement savings, death, disability and unemployment benefits. The Minister of Finance will further elaborate on these issues in the Budget Speech.

What we should underline, though, is that in finishing the new social security dispensation, government will undertake a comprehensive process of consultation with all social partners, both individually and through Nedlac.

In addition, we have started examining measures to reach vulnerable children over the age of 14 years.

Our programme in the social sector for this year will also include a speeding up of the construction of low-cost housing, which will require the urgent establishment of a special purpose vehicle to handle finances, piloting of the Land Use Management Bill and ensuring that the remaining elements of the much-delayed agreement with the private sector on low-cost housing are finalised.

We will speed up the implementation of the taxi recapitalisation project, implementing detailed plans for passenger rail and road transport, including the Bus Rapid Transit System in the metros and recapitalisation of Metrorail. In this regard, let me take this opportunity to emphasise that government and our partners in Santaco will not be bullied into abandoning the taxi recapitalisation project . . . [Applause.] . . . and any attempts to undermine public order in pur-

suit of selfish interests will be dealt with accordingly. [Applause.]

We will expand access to Early Childhood Development, both as part of the programme to improve the general education system and as part of the Expanded Public Works Programme.

We will also expand training and employment of nurses and social workers, as well as auxiliaries, increase the number of training institutions, improve the quality of training, and institute a bursary system. [Applause.]

We will continue with the implementation of the remuneration dispensation for medical professionals, and provide additional resources further to improve the remuneration levels of our teachers. [Applause.]

We will also ensure the implementation, without further delay, of measures to reduce the cost of medicines; and continuously work to address especially the unnatural causes of death in our society, as well as lifestyle diseases, malaria, the various strains of TB, road accidents and violent crime.

In this regard, government commits itself to intensify the campaign against HIV and Aids and to improve its implementation of all elements of the comprehensive approach such as prevention, home-based care and treatment. [Applause.] We shall ensure that the partnerships built over the years are strengthened, and that our improved national comprehensive strategy against Aids and sexually transmitted infections is finalised as soon as possible.

This year we shall complete concrete plans on the implementation of the final stages of our programmes to meet the targets for universal access to water in 2008, sanitation in 2010 and electricity in 2012. We shall also finalise the strategy and programmes to address matters of social cohesion, including the comprehensive and integrated anti-poverty strategy we have mentioned, as well as

address issues pertaining to national unity, value systems and identity.

All these efforts, Madam Speaker and Chairperson, must go hand in hand with a sustained drive to improve community safety and security. In this regard, government will ensure that the decisions already taken about strengthening our fight against crime are effectively implemented. The challenge that we face in addressing this issue has little to do with policies.

Rather, what is required is effective organisation, mobilisation and leadership of the mass of law-enforcement, intelligence and corrections officers . . . [Applause.] . . . and functionaries of the justice system. The overwhelming majority of these public servants have proven over and over again in actual practice that they are prepared to put their lives on the line and to sacrifice even the little quality time they could have with their families, in defence of our freedom and security. [Applause.]

In addition to the many ongoing programmes that we have been implementing, government will this year continue to improve the remuneration and working conditions of the police, and start the process of further expanding the personnel of the SA Police Service to bring their total number to over 180 000 within three years, and ensure optimal utilisation of the electronic monitoring and evaluation system that has just been introduced. [Applause.]

We will bring to full capacity the forensic laboratories which have been equipped with the latest technology, and ensure the optimum utilisation of the fingerprint database. Indeed, many of the recent successes in solving serious crime incidents have been facilitated by these systems.

We will bring the operations of the Department of Home Affairs to full capacity, by filling vacant posts, improving systems and implementing other recommendations of the task team that has been working with the

Minister and Deputy Minister to improve the work of this vital institution.

We will implement the recommendations of the Khampepe Commission on the mandate and operations of the Directorate of Special Operations, the Scorpions.

We will start the process of further modernising the systems of the SA Revenue Service, especially in respect of border control, and improve the work of the interdepartmental co-ordinating structures in this regard.

We will also intensify intelligence work with regard to organised crime, building on the successes that have been achieved in the past few months in dealing with cash-in-transit heists, drug trafficking and poaching of game and abalone.

We will utilise to maximum effect the new technologies that have been provided to the justice system and generally improve the management of the courts and the prosecution service, in order massively to reduce case backlogs.

We will finalise remaining elements of measures to transform the judiciary and improve its functioning, in consultation with this eminent institution of our democracy.

We will also implement the programmes decided upon to build more corrections facilities and realise the objectives contained in the White Paper on Corrections.

We will continue with the processes further to capacitate our intelligence agencies, and ensure that at all times they operate within the framework of our Constitution and our laws. [Applause.]

We will also improve our analysis of crime trends to improve our performance with regard both to crime prevention and crime combating. In this regard, we must respond to the cold reality that, as in other countries, the overwhelming majority of violent crimes against the person occur in the most socio-economically deprived areas of our country

and require strong and sustained community interventions focused on crime prevention.

As we have already said, these and other measures will succeed only if we build an enduring partnership in actual practice within our communities and between the communities and the police, to make life more and more difficult for the criminals.

In this regard, we are heartened by the resolve shown by leaders of the business and religious communities further to strengthen such partnerships on the ground, and to give of their time and resources to strengthen the fight against crime. [Applause.] Government will play its part to ensure that these partnerships actually work, and that we all act together to discharge the responsibility to protect our citizens.

I should mention in this regard that the Ministry of Safety and Security and the Police Service are working on proposals further to improve the functioning and effectiveness of the vitally important community police forums.

Madam Speaker and Chairperson, further to improve its service to the people, government should optimise its capacity and organisational efficiency. To achieve these objectives, we will, during the course of this year, strengthen our monitoring and evaluation capacity across all the spheres, including the training of managers responsible for the implementation of this system.

We will, within the next 18 months, complete legislation on a single Public Service with the relevant norms and standards, remuneration policy and matters pertaining to medical aid and pensions.

We will intensify the outreach and awareness on issues of national spatial development, while increasing the number of municipalities involved in the harmonisation of planning instruments across the three spheres.

We will conduct capacity assessments and implement interventions in provincial departments responsible for local government, as well as the Offices of the Premiers, while continuing to improve the capacity of our national departments.

While intensifying the public sector and national anti-corruption campaign, we will complete by the end of the year the process further to improve the effectiveness of our anti-corruption strategies for all spheres of government.

We will roll out the Batho Pele campaign at local government level, intensify outreach activities, including izimbizo, and set up more multipurpose community centres beyond the 90 currently operational.

And we will further capacitate and provide more support to the institution of traditional leadership.

Improving governance also means having a sound statistical database about social dynamics within our nation. In this regard, two major surveys will be undertaken during 2007. As of two days ago, 6 000 field workers from Statistics South Africa have gone out across our country to collect information on 280 000 households chosen to participate in a community survey, which will give government as accurate as possible a snapshot of the circumstances of citizens in every part of the country.

In October another 30 000 individuals in 8 000 households will be selected to participate in South Africa's first national panel study, the National Income Dynamics Study. These 30 000 individuals will be tracked over time, to further our understanding of such issues such as migration, labour market transitions, intergenerational mobility and household formation and dissolution. I wish to take this opportunity to call on all those selected to co-operate fully in these important undertakings.

Madam Speaker and Chairperson, among the greatest achievements of the peoples of



Africa in the past two and a half years has been the restoration of peace in the Great Lakes region. We are proud, as South Africans, of the role that our people have played in helping to bring this about ... [Applause.] ... from the young men and women in our National Defence Force to employees of public and private institutions, who gave of their time to ensure that the African dream finds practical realisation in the homeland of Patrice Lumumba. [Applause.] In this regard I am very glad to see in the House the Chair of our Independent Electoral Commission, Dr Brigalia Bam, whose IEC did absolutely outstanding work in the DRC. [Applause.]

We will continue to work with the sister people of the DRC, as well as Burundi, the Comoros and Sudan in particular, to ensure that the condition of peace and stability thus far attained translates without pause into concerted action for economic reconstruction and social development.

However, while we are fully justified in celebrating the achievements that Africa has made in her endeavour to achieve peace and development, we cannot underplay the challenges that we face in dealing with the remaining areas of conflict, particularly the general peace process in Sudan, including the situation in Darfur, Côte d'Ivoire and Somalia.

Our government will respond appropriately, and as our capacity permits, to the call of the African Union for assistance to the people and government of Somalia. Critical in this regard are the initiatives under way to ensure that the protagonists within Somalia interact with one another to find a solution that is inclusive and practicable, based on the need to achieve national reconciliation.

This year the African Peer Review Forum will complete its review of our country. I wish to take this opportunity to thank our legislators, government Ministers and departments, our civil society organisations and society at large for the contribution they

made to an exercise that was as challenging as it was unique for our young democracy. We will also take the necessary steps to implement the required programme of action that will emerge as a result of the peer review process.

Similarly, we will continue to work with the rest of our continent and our development partners to speed up the implementation of the Nepad programmes.

Just over a month ago, South Africa started its tour of duty as a nonpermanent member of the United Nations Security Council. We hereby wish to pledge, on behalf of the people of South Africa, that we will, in this most esteemed of multilateral bodies, do everything necessary further to contribute to international peace and security. [Applause.]

In this regard we will also continue to engage the leaders of the peoples of Palestine, Israel, Iraq, Iran and other countries in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

We shall also continue to strengthen our relations with other countries on the continent, our partners in India, Brazil and the People's Republic of China, other countries of the South, as well as Japan, Europe and North America.

One of the critical questions that we shall pursue in this regard is the speedy resumption of the Doha Development Round of the WTO negotiations. We are convinced that solutions to the logjams currently being experienced can be found, and that it is in the long-term interests of developed and developing countries alike that these talks should reach fruition.

Madam Speaker, Chairperson and hon members, since the popular mandate of 2004, we have made welcome progress in further changing South Africa for the better. We should not, and do not underplay the many difficulties that we continue to confront.

But the message that our collective experience communicates to all of us is that,

working together, we can and shall succeed in meeting the common objective we have set ourselves as a nation—to build a better life for all, in a country that no longer contains within it and represents much that is ugly and repulsive in human society.

We should today, even more confidently, speak together of freedom. We should dare to act in concert to pursue the "happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free".

We are not there yet. But no one, except ourselves, shall ensure that this dream is realised. And so, let us roll up our sleeves and get down to work, fully understanding

that the task to build the South Africa for which we yearn is a common responsibility that we all share. Thank you very much. [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order! Thank you, hon members. I thank the hon the President. The full text of the address by the President will be published in the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Joint Sitting. After I have adjourned the Joint Sitting, members and guests should please remain standing at their places until the procession has left the Chamber.

The Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces adjourned the Joint Sitting at 12:13.

very brilliant intervention. Having been the chairperson of minerals and energy for three years, we always had Mr Pheko on the register. Kodwa akakaze asivakashela kanti ibingasisiza kakhulu lento yakhe uma ebengayibeka laphaya ekomitini lethu. [However, he never attended our meeting and this could have helped us if he had presented it in our committee.]

I think the message is clear. I don't have to waste your time. It is clear. Let us, as

members and public representatives, go all out and spread the message to the people out there that there are things we still have to do as government and as Parliament, and that there are things our communities need to do, and in that way we'd be able, as South Africans, to face the kind of difficulties we are going through. Thank you.

The Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly adjourned the Joint Sitting at 16:17.

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APPENDIX CC APPENDIX DD

MBEKI, THABO. "ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, 8 FEBRUARY 11 DEBATES OF THE JOINT SITTING, CAPE TOWN: HANSARD, 2008: 65-90."

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## PROCEEDINGS AT JOINT SITTING

Members of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces assembled in the Chamber of the National Assembly at 11:00.

The Speaker of the National Assembly and the Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces took the Chair.

The Speaker of the National Assembly requested members to observe a moment of silence for prayers or meditation.

## CALLING OF JOINT SITTING

(Announcement)

The SPEAKER: The President has called for this Joint Sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces in terms of section 84(2)(d) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, read with Joint Rule 7(1)(a), to enable him to deliver his annual address to Parliament. I now call upon the hon the President to address the Joint Sitting. [Applause.]

## ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

The PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC: Thank you very much. Madam Speaker of the National Assembly; Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces; Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP; Deputy President of the Republic; hon leaders of our political parties and hon Members of Parliament; Ministers and Deputy Ministers; Mr Jacob Zuma, former Deputy President of the Republic and president of the ANC ... [Applause.] ... our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the judiciary; heads of our security services; Governor of the Reserve Bank; distinguished Premiers and Speakers of our provinces; the Chairperson of Salga, the mayors and leaders in our system of local government; the Chairperson of the National

House of Traditional Leaders and our honoured traditional leaders; heads of the state organs supporting our constitutional democracy; directors-general and other leaders of the Public Service; Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners; distinguished guests, friends, comrades; and people of South Africa:

Allow me on this occasion of the penultimate Joint Sitting of the third Parliament for the annual debate on the state of our nation to wish all the hon Members of Parliament a happy and productive New Year. [Applause.]

I am confident that 2008 will be one of the most remarkable years of our democracy, as we all work together to realise the core aspiration of our people to attain a better life for all. I say this because, in our own estimation, it is not often that a nation is called upon to strain every sinew of its collective body to attain a dream. And such is the injunction that history has imposed on us today.

I speak here today in the presence of my mother, Epainette Mbeki ... [Applause.] ... MaMofokeng, who came to communicate an unequivocal message from the rural masses of the Transkei, among whom she has lived for many decades. She says these masses demand of all of us who claim to be their leaders, that we tell them and others like them elsewhere in our country, whether we remain committed to the undertaking we have made that tomorrow will be better than today. In eight days' time, on February 16, she will be 92 years old. [Applause.] What she expects as her birthday present is the truth. I thank her for taking the trouble to be with us today, and trust that we will not disappoint her.

I would also like to take this opportunity to salute President Nelson Mandela ... [Applause.] ... one of the pre-eminent founding

fathers of our democracy, who will mark his 90th birthday on 18 July this year. [Applause.]

We welcome to this occasion Mr Arthur Margeman, representing the veterans of the Alexandra bus boycott of 50 years ago, who include Nelson Mandela. [Applause.] We are also privileged to have among us Ms Jann Turner, the daughter of Rick Turner, who was murdered by apartheid agents 30 years ago. [Applause.]

We are also pleased that we have among us Mr Dinilezwe Sobukwe, son of the outstanding patriot and leader, Robert Sobukwe, who also passed away 30 years back after enduring many years of imprisonment, banishment and other forms of repression. [Applause.] We acknowledge, both among the hon members and our guests, the many founders of the United Democratic Front, 25 years ago. [Applause.]

All these honoured guests, representing both memory and hope, remind us by their presence that ours is a task in a relay race of continuous rebirth so that the dream of a better life becomes a reality for all South Africans. Indeed, they represent a celebration of the indomitable spirit of our people and pose a challenge to all of us to act in ways that do not betray or disappoint the expectations of the people.

We are about to begin the last full financial year of the current and third democratic government and parliament, soon after which we will hold our fourth general elections. The government has therefore reviewed the distance we have travelled in terms of implementing the mandate given by the people in 2004.

I am pleased to say that we have indeed done much to implement the commitments we made to the people in 2004. However, and not unexpectedly, it is obvious that we still have outstanding work to do in this regard.

Given that we are approaching the end of our mandate term, the government decided that

it should identify a suite of Apex Priorities on which it must focus in a special way, using these as catalysts further to accelerate progress towards the achievement of the objectives the people mandated us to pursue.

Happily, this state of the nation address has given me the possibility to report to Parliament and the nation on our 24 Apex Priorities, which hon members can find on the government website during the course of next week.

The identification of the Apex Priorities means that all three spheres of government — the national, the provincial and the local — at both executive and administrative levels, are hereby making the firm undertaking that we will use the short period ahead of us further to energise our advance towards the realisation of the all-important goal of a better life for all our people.

The entirety of our system of governance is therefore making the commitment that in the period ahead of us it will do its best to live up to the imperative: Business Unusual! We speak of Business Unusual not referring to any changes in our established policies, but with regard to the speedy, efficient and effective implementation of these policies and programmes, so that the lives of our people should change for the better, sooner rather than later.

To make certain that this happens, we have taken the necessary steps to ensure that the annual Budget the Minister of Finance will present later this month makes the necessary allocations to give us the means to implement the Apex Priorities. The main categories of these priorities are: the further acceleration of our economic growth and development; speeding up the process of building the infrastructure we need to achieve our economic and social goals; improving the effectiveness of our interventions directed at the Second Economy, and poverty eradication; enhancing the impact of our programmes targeting the critically important area of education and training; accel-

erating our advance towards the achievement of the goal of health for all; revamping the criminal justice system to intensify our offensive against crime; further strengthening the machinery of government to ensure that it has the capacity to respond to our development imperatives; and enhancing our focus on key areas in terms of our system of international relations, with particular focus on some African issues and South-South relations.

More than at any other time, the situation that confronts our nation and country, and the tasks we have set ourselves, demand that we inspire and organise all our people to act together as one, to do all the things that have to be done, understanding that in a very real sense, all of us, together, hold our own future in our hands! As we act together everywhere in our country, this we must also understand, that what we have to be about is Business Unusual!

As I was preparing this address, one among us suggested to me that our country was being buffeted by strong cross winds that made it especially difficult to foresee where our country would be tomorrow. He suggested that to capture what he considered the essence of the reality confronting us this morning, I should recall the well-known words with which Charles Dickens opened his novel, *A Tale of Two Cities*. And so I quote these words:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way — in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only.

You will ask whether I agree with this assessment, whether I too believe that we have entered an era of confusion, in which all of us cannot but lose our way, unsure of our steps, unsteady on our feet, fearful of the future!

My answer to this question is a definite "No!". Like the rest of our government, I am convinced that the fundamentals that have informed our country's forward march in the past 14 years remain in place. They continue to provide us with the strong base from which we must proceed as we keep our eyes firmly focused on the continued pursuit of the goal of a better life for all our people. Thus should we all reaffirm that we remain on course as we continue to strive to make ours a winning nation.

However, like all the hon members, I am aware of the fact that many in our society are troubled by a deep sense of unease about where our country will be tomorrow. They are concerned about the national emergency into which the country has been thrown by the unexpected disruptions in the supply of electricity.

They are concerned about some developments in our economy, especially the steady increase in interest rates, in food and in fuel prices, which further impoverish especially the poor. Some among these worry about the possible impact on our own economy of the threat of economic recession in the United States.

They are worried about whether we have the capacity to defend the democratic rights and the democratic Constitution which were born of enormous sacrifices. This is driven by such developments as the prosecution of the National Commissioner of Police, the suspension of the National Director of Public Prosecutions, fears about a threat to the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law, and the attendant allegations about the abuse of state power for political purposes.

They are worried about whether our country is threatened by the anarchy represented by



the criminal torching of six passenger trains in Tshwane last month.

While they recognise and respect the right of the ruling party to regulate its own affairs, they are concerned that it must continue to play its role as one of the principal architects of a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist and prosperous South Africa.

Most obviously, it would be irresponsible to ignore these and other concerns or dismiss them as mere jeremiads typical of the prophets of doom. The real challenge is to respond to them in a manner that conveys the definite message to everybody in our country and the millions in Africa and elsewhere in the world who watch our country with keen interest, that we remain firm in our resolve to continue building the kind of South Africa that has given hope not only to our people, but also to many others outside our borders. [Applause.]

Let me therefore make bold to say that this historical moment demands that our nation should unite as never before and strain every sinew of its collective body to address our common challenges and keep alive the dream that has sustained all of us as we travelled along the uncharted road towards the creation of the South Africa visualised in our Constitution.

The national emergency represented by the current power outages poses the challenge and presents the opportunity to the entirety of our nation to give concrete expression to the call we have just made for all of us to unite in action and act in unity to keep our country on course. This must say to all of us that we are indeed in a period of challenges, but surmountable challenges. And precisely because it is a period of challenges, it is also an era of opportunity!

In this regard, I would like to express our appreciation and full agreement with the comments made by the Chief Executive of Anglo American, Cynthia Carroll, when she addressed the Mining Indaba here in Cape

Town earlier this week, on Tuesday, February 5. As the hon members know, she said:

I don't regard the problems of energy supply here as a disaster. And South Africa is not alone: there are pressures on supply regarding our expansion projects in Chile and Brazil.

Sure, the problems here are serious; overcoming them will require ingenuity, especially in energy efficiency and energy saving, as well as the development of alternative power supplies. But if all of us can forge strong partnerships to tackle the situation, we will all come through — I hope relatively unscathed... This is not a time for finger pointing, but for working together in finding solutions.

[Applause.]

This having been said, it is however also necessary that we take this opportunity to convey to the country the apologies of both the government and Eskom for the national emergency which has resulted in all of us having to contend with the consequences of load-shedding. [Applause.] I would also like to thank all citizens for their resilience and forbearance in the face of the current difficulties.

In the past two weeks, the Ministers of Minerals and Energy and Public Enterprises have outlined the nature of the emergency we confront and what each one of us can do to normalise the situation. Last week the hon members had an opportunity to reflect on these matters.

In essence the significant rise in electricity demand over the past two years has outstripped the new capacity we have brought on stream. The resultant tight supply situation makes the overall system vulnerable to any incident affecting the availability of energy. In this situation, we have to curtail the unplanned outages, and the only way we can do this immediately is to reduce demand and thus ensure a better reserve margin.

As government our task is to now lead and unite the country behind a campaign for energy efficiency that will address this challenge. Among other things, we must use the current adversity to ensure that our homes and economy become more energy efficient.

There are concrete actions that each individual, household and business can take. These are being disseminated by the Department of Minerals and Energy, and we remain open to any suggestions that you, our compatriots, may give to us and share with one another.

Government will start implementing a campaign to ensure efficient lighting, solar water heating and geyser load management in households, including housing standards for all new houses and developments. We urge households that can afford to, to act immediately to consider implementing these energy-saving measures.

An instruction has been issued for all government buildings to reduce their consumption of electricity, and please feel free to name and shame those who do not.

The details of other voluntary and mandatory actions in the Power Conservation Programme have been set out by the Ministers and these will be refined through consultation with the various stakeholders and then published.

On the supply side, Eskom is working furiously to ensure the introduction of co-generation projects as a matter of urgency. We are taking steps to enhance Eskom's maintenance capacity. We have emergency teams dealing with the challenge of coal quality and supply with the coal mining industry and we are working to fast-track the approval and construction of gas turbine projects. All these actions, taken together with the electricity-saving measures, will improve certainty and raise the reserve margin.

The massive Eskom build programme in new generation, transmission and distribu-

tion capacity will continue; and, where possible, some projects will be accelerated. In this regard, I would like to thank the private sector for being prepared to assist in whatever way they can. In a meeting with the Chairman of General Electric, GE, during the course of last week, GE offered to assist by procuring scarce turbine equipment on our behalf. In South Africa our own large companies such as Sasol, Anglo American and BHP Billiton are all in concrete discussions with the Departments of Minerals and Energy and of Public Enterprises to find cost-effective and sustainable solutions to the supply constraint. The approach is one of common action rather than recrimination.

I particularly want to pay tribute to the mining industry for the way in which they have assisted us and the economy to resolve a real crisis that hit us on 24 January. We will all work to minimise the adverse impact these events had on the industry.

Collective effort and consultation are at the centre of our response to the emergency. Task teams are currently working in many areas. Next week the provincial premiers will convene their fora with mayors to plan and implement the energy-saving measures in all the municipalities across the country. They will be supported by technical teams from EDI Holdings, Eskom and the National Energy Efficiency Agency. The Department of Provincial and Local Government will co-ordinate this activity, supported by the line Departments of Minerals and Energy and of Public Enterprises.

I will convene a meeting of the Joint Presidential Working Groups to co-ordinate our overall actions. I will also shortly announce a team of "Energy Champions", consisting of prominent and knowledgeable South Africans who will assist government with the energy-efficiency campaign and inform investors and communities on the actual situation and how they can help to address our current challenges.

The Minister of Finance will provide more information in the Budget Speech on the

support that the government will provide for the energy-efficiency campaign and to Eskom in its build programme.

We face an emergency but we can overcome the problems in a relatively short time. This situation has precipitated the inevitable realisation that the era of very cheap and abundant electricity has come to an end. However, given our large base of installed generation capacity, for a long time to come ours will remain among the few economies with affordable electricity.

We are a minerals resource economy. We must therefore continue to support the mining industry. It is inevitable that if we are to continue on our growth path as a manufacturing country, we will also have to continue supporting the processing industry. However, it is imperative that all enterprises become more energy efficient. Indeed, energy efficiency itself provides economic opportunity.

Let us therefore use this emergency to put in place the first building blocks of the essential energy-efficient future we dare not avoid. Let us ensure that all hands are on deck to address the turbulence that has hit us, inspired by the approach that our circumstances call for Business Unusual!

This is exactly the same approach we must adopt as we continue to prepare to host the Fifa Confederations Cup in 2009 and the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup which will kick off in our country 854 days from today. I mention this important matter here because the current challenges we are facing have led some elsewhere in the world once more to question whether we will be able to host these tournaments successfully.

Of course, I have absolutely no doubt that we will honour our undertakings to Fifa and the world community of soccer players and lovers to create all the necessary conditions for the holding of the best-ever Fifa Soccer World Cup tournament. [Applause.]

The sense that we get, across all sectors of South African society and further afield, represented by the actual daily progress we are making in terms of our all-round preparations, is one of Business Unusual: all hands on deck for 2010! We must ensure that we sustain this approach.

We are fully aware that a critical element of our preparations should be the building of a strong South African team which will do us and the whole of the football fraternity proud. I am certain that the SA Football Association, our coaches led by Carlos Alberto Parreira, and the players themselves are aware of the heavy responsibility they carry to prepare a national team of which both we and Africa should be proud. [Applause.]

Once more we thank the Springboks for showing the way when they won the Rugby World Cup last year. [Applause.] This must inspire Bafana Bafana... [Laughter.]... as it must inspire our athletes who will compete in the Beijing Olympic Games later this year.

Let me now turn to the Apex Priorities I mentioned. Further to accelerate our economic growth and development, we will implement the Industrial Policy Action Plan. Government will continue our industrialisation programme and continue to create opportunities for growth and employment creation. In this regard, R2,3 billion has been budgeted for industrial policy initiatives, and a further R5 billion in tax incentives over three years will support industrial policy.

Working together with business and labour, we shall also develop, as urgently as possible, key action plans in sectors where such plans do not exist, such as mining and minerals beneficiation, consumer durables, retail with a focus on improving support to small enterprises, construction, the creative industries, agriculture and agro-processing.

Once more I would like to emphasise that we remain determined to support the automo-

tive sector and will therefore ensure that the support given to this sector through the Motor Industry Development Programme is maintained.

At the macroeconomic level, we will continue to maintain a fiscal posture that supports continued economic growth and development, reducing our external vulnerability.

To speed up the process of building infrastructure, we will finalise the development of an integrated infrastructure plan, with specific emphasis on energy efficiency. This entails co-ordinating the programmes of the state-owned enterprises and overlaying all the infrastructure plans, including freight and other logistics, energy pipelines, information and communications technology, road infrastructure, water and electricity, both in terms of their timing and their geographic location.

Cutting across these plans, and therefore a critical priority, is information and communications technology both as a facilitator and a sector in its own right. Accordingly, we will this year complete the licensing and operational... operation — operationalisation of Infraco. [Laughter.] It's a difficult word; even Tony Leon can't read this word. [Laughter.] Already, money has been allocated for Sentech to become a wireless Internet wholesaler as well as to finance its digitisation. Working with other governments on the continent and the private sector, we will complete the process to launch the undersea cables.

At the same time, we aim to provide digital broadcasting to 50% of the population by the end of the year. Attached to this will be a manufacturing strategy for the development in South Africa of Set-top Boxes, which should be finalised by the middle of the year.

Having noted that the tardiness with which government processes applications for investment in relation to issues such as land acquisition, infrastructure and environmental impact assessments — that all these can

at times make or break investor decisions — we have decided, in the spirit of Business Unusual, to work urgently to set up a call centre through which prospective investors and government can track these processes. That work has already started.

An element of government's Apex of Priorities will be deliberate focus on matters of skills development. Work to review the National Human Resource Development Strategy will be completed this year, and the projects that the joint team of government, labour, business and academic institutions organised under the Joint Initiative for Priority Skills Acquisition — Jipsa — will be intensified.

Indeed, we are greatly encouraged by the good response from the private sector as demonstrated through the commitment by the CEOs of 70 of the Johannesburg Securities Exchange-listed companies to work with government in addressing the challenge of scarce skills.

In addition to this work, we will in the coming period prioritise further interventions in the FET colleges, the Setas, the resourcing of schools in the lowest three quintiles, freeing them from the responsibility to charge fees, and speeding up on-the-job training for professional graduates. [Applause.]

Further, after correcting weaknesses in our Adult Basic Education programme, which we identified last year, we shall this month launch the *Kha Ri Gude* mass literacy campaign — the "Let us learn" mass literacy campaign. [Applause.] This will include the training of master trainers who will provide basic literacy classes to 300 000 adults and youth in 2008.

At the centre of our economic programmes is, and should always be, the consideration whether their success is helping to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, acting as an important weapon in our War on Poverty and accelerating our advance to-

wards the attainment of such objectives as the reduction of unemployment and advancing the goal of health for all.

In the programme to provide sustainable human settlements, we are now able to provide 260 000 housing units per annum, and an agreement has been reached with Salga to place a moratorium on the sale of land that can be availed for the housing programme. [Applause.]

Along with the progress we are making in the variety of interventions focused on poverty reduction, we continue to address many weaknesses, including the processing of the Land Use Management Bill, the finalisation of the land restitution cases, the support programme for those who acquire land, and the development and implementation of a determined rural development programme.

These are some of the issues to which we will pay attention during this year, and ensure that we meet the targets we have set ourselves.

Yet another critical Apex Priority is the elaboration of an integrated and comprehensive antipoverty strategy that addresses especially sections of the population most affected by this scourge. These include children, women, the youth, people living in rural areas and urban informal settlements, people with disabilities or chronic illnesses and the elderly.

Among the key proposed interventions are: expanding the Public Works Programme, employment subsidies for direct job-creation for targeted groups, enhancing employment search capability, improving education and training, improving services and assets among poor communities, specific interventions in poor households, and ensuring effectiveness of institutions supporting women and other sectors. Among other things, we will make an evaluation of the gender machinery so as to improve all aspects related to women empowerment.

Parallel to this initiative is a special project to examine interventions required to deal with vulnerable children over the age of 14.

But we will all agree that our society, and the poor specifically, cannot wait for strategies and dialogues and workshops — important as these may be. In any case, most of the interventions possible are things that government is already doing, though not sufficiently integrated. As such, in the spirit of Business Unusual, government intends this year to intensify the campaign to identify specific individual households and individuals in dire need and to put in place interventions that will help, in the intervening period, to alleviate their plight in those individual households. [Applause.]

For this, we will require a national war room for a war against poverty, bringing together departments such as Social Development, Provincial and Local Government, Trade and Industry, Agriculture and Land Affairs, Public Works and Health as well as provincial and local administrations, which will work with NGOs and business to identify the interventions required in specific households and implement them as a matter of urgency.

We shall this year attend to other specific priorities which are critical to the country's war against poverty, in pursuit of socioeconomic inclusion. These are: speeding up land and agrarian reform with detailed plans for land acquisition, better implementation of agricultural support services and household food support, and improving the capital base and reach of Mafisa — the Micro-Agricultural Financial Institutions of SA — to provide micro-credit in this sector. The focus will be placed on areas of large concentrations of farm dwellers and those with high eviction rates, and we aim to increase black entrepreneurship in agricultural production by 5% per year, and the audit on land ownership will be speeded up.

The Budget will provide for an increase in the social grant system by equalising the age of eligibility for old age pensions at 60, thus

benefiting about half a million men. [Applause.] These interventions will also include intensifying efforts already started to scale up assistance to co-operatives and small enterprises, especially those involving women, with the emphasis on providing training and markets, including linking them up with established outlets.

This will also include scaling up of the National Youth Service programme, including a graduated increase of the intake in the Military Skills Development programme of the SA National Defence Force from the current 4 000 to 10 000. [Applause.] An amount of R700 million has already been given to the National Defence Force to start scaling up this programme.

This will also include intensifying the Expanded Public Works Programme which, by surpassing the set targets, has shown potential to absorb more entrants. This will include increased intake of young people in the programme to maintain public infrastructure, doubling the number of children enrolled in Early Childhood Development to over 600 000 through 1 000 new sites with more than 3 500 practitioners trained and employed, and increasing the number of caregivers. About R1 billion over the baseline will be allocated to these programmes that fall within the Expanded Public Works Programme. [Applause.]

And, these interventions will also include introducing the system of products for preferential procurement by government from small, medium and micro enterprises and, through the Small Enterprises Development Agency, setting up a rigorous system to ensure that the 30-day payment period is observed. [Applause.]

We will also integrate the programme to speed up the development of sustainable human settlements, with intensified efforts, as a matter of urgent priority, to accelerate universal access to water, sanitation and electricity, so that by 2014 we should have

decent human settlements and access by all households to these services.

Accelerating our advance towards the achievement of the goal of health for all includes intensified implementation of the National Strategic Plan against HIV and Aids. We also aim during the course of this year to reduce TB defaulter rates from 10% to 7%, train over 3 000 health personnel in the management of this disease and ensure that all multidrug-resistant and extreme-drug-resistant TB patients receive treatment.

We aim to complete the work on the comprehensive social security system, benefiting from the consultations that have already started with our social partners.

As we put all our hands on deck and gear ourselves for Business Unusual, we should also intensify national dialogue on the issues that define us as a nation. Two such issues deserve brief mention.

The first of these is a proposal that we should develop a pledge that will be recited by learners in their morning school assemblies, as well as a Youth Pledge extolling the virtues of humane conduct and human solidarity among all South Africans. [Applause.] The Minister of Education will elaborate in the national debate on these matters next week.

The second issue is about geographic and place names, which requires a synchronised process across all provinces so that we can create a base slate for the changes that we propose. We will launch this synchronised process soon, guided by the SA Geographical Names Council and its provincial committees.

When we reflected on the issue of crime at last year's Joint Sitting of Parliament, we all expressed grave concern not only at the high rates of crime, but also at the indication that things seemed to be turning for the worse especially in respect to murder — bucking the trend of improvement since the attainment of democracy.

Accordingly, last year we engaged in systematic interaction with business and other sectors of the population to develop a holistic approach towards revamping the criminal justice system in its totality.

In this regard, in the spirit of Business Unusual, Cabinet has agreed on a set of changes that are required to establish a new, modernised, efficient and transformed criminal justice system. Among other things, this will entail setting up a new co-ordinating and management structure for the system at every level, from national to local, bringing together the judiciary and magistracy, the police, the prosecutors, Correctional Services and the Legal Aid Board, as well as other interventions, including the empowerment of the community policing forums.

As the hon members are aware, some of these initiatives are already under way, but we are certain that, if they are all carried out in an integrated and complementary manner, the impact will be that much more effective in our fight against crime. The Ministers of the justice, crime prevention and security cluster will elaborate on the details of this and other initiatives during the course of next week.

We shall also, during the course of this year, process the Bills on the transformation of the judiciary in consultation with judges and magistrates, complete the strategy aimed at strengthening border control and security, further give life to the Victims' Charter, pay particular attention to the issue of repeat offenders, and continue the implementation of additional measures deriving from recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Informed by the imperative to intensify the offensive against organised crime, as well as the recommendations of the Khampepe Judicial Commission on the functioning and the location of the Directorate of Special Operations and continuing reflections on this matter — including the reform of the criminal justice system — we shall by the end of

March this year interact with Parliament on legislation and other decisive measures required further to enhance our capacity to fight organised crime.

What will continue to inform us as we take this step will be the absolute commitment of government to fighting organised crime and improving the management, efficiency and co-ordination of all our law-enforcement agencies.

Of great importance, our success in the fight against crime depends on co-operation among all of us as law-abiding citizens, inspired by the principles of the rule of law, respect for our judiciary and the pursuit of equal human rights, which our Constitution enjoins us to observe in our daily lives and pronouncements.

We will continue this year with efforts to improve the machinery of government so that it meets its obligations to the citizens. If anything, the spirit of Business Unusual should apply to all individuals who carry the privilege of being public servants. There are simple but urgent and critical priorities we will attend to, as part of the overall effort to improve the organisation and capacity of the state.

Firstly, it has been agreed across all spheres of government that especially the critical vacancies should be filled within six months of such openings emerging. [Applause.] The Department of the Public Service and Administration will set up a monitoring system to track the implementation of this decision.

Secondly, by May of every year — and within two months of the beginning of the financial year at local government level — all senior managers should have filed their key performance agreements with the relevant authorities. [Applause.] The Public Service Commission will set up monitoring systems in this regard.

Thirdly, recognising that the Department of Home Affairs touches the core of every citizen's life, we will this year intensify the

implementation of the turnaround strategy approved by Cabinet. This includes improving the IT systems, training of staff on the new systems, rooting out the corrupt elements and piloting the new ID card.

Improvement of performance in the Public Service also depends on the quality of leadership provided by the executive and senior management. Further, it is critical to enhance the commitment of public employees to their duties — a task that belongs to the leadership, to the public servants themselves and to the trade union movement.

In this regard, this year, in consultation with the public-sector unions, we will convene a Public Sector Summit to thrash out these issues so that the spirit of Batho Pele can find concrete expression wherever a government service is provided. [Applause.]

Working with other social partners, we shall ensure that, by the end of this year, the second National Anti-corruption Programme is adopted, and that the action plan agreed with organised business is implemented. At local government level, we shall assist the first 150 of our municipalities to develop their anticorruption strategies.

We shall continue this year to intensify efforts to strengthen local government capacity in line with the five-year Local Government Strategic Agenda. To ensure systematic monitoring in this regard, Salga has agreed to provide quarterly reports on the work being done.

In order further to improve the service being provided to vulnerable sectors such as veterans, women and youth, we shall review the structures delegated to carry out these functions and examine the most appropriate arrangements, including the evaluation of the government structures specifically established to focus on youth development and empowerment.

Many of the challenges in our work which we have identified derive from serious weaknesses in terms of our planning. Thus,

as part of our Apex Priorities, in the coming period we will complete the processes that will enable us to enhance government's capacity to put in place realistic and integrated plans, covering all spheres of government.

Hon members, the programme that we have outlined incorporates the commitments that our country has agreed with the leadership of the continent through the African Peer Review Mechanism.

Our focus, in promoting the African Agenda this year, will be on the strengthening of the African institutions, including the African Union and its development programme, Nepad.

This we shall do, inspired by the common aspiration of the peoples of the continent, for greater integration in pursuit of continental unity at all levels. A critical step in this regard is the consolidation of regional institutions and activities aimed at achieving regional integration.

We continue to be committed to a free trade area in the Southern African Development Community, and hope to use our Chairpersonship of SADC in 2008/2009 further to give impetus to the regional endeavours in this regard.

It is in this context as well that we shall continue our bilateral and multilateral interactions with our neighbours and the European Union, within the context of the process led by the African Union, to ensure that the negotiations on the Economic Partnership Agreements are completed as soon as possible, premised on accelerating the development of our region.

Over the past year we carried out the mandate of SADC to assist the political leadership of Zimbabwe to find a lasting solution to the political challenges they face. We had an opportunity, on the fringes of the AU Summit in Addis Ababa last week, formally to present a comprehensive report to the leadership of SADC on this matter.

In short, the parties involved in the dialogue have reached full agreement on all matters relating to the substantive issues the parties had to address. These include issues relating to the constitution, security, media and electoral laws, and other matters that have been in contention for many years. The relevant laws in this regard have already been approved by the Zimbabwe parliament, including the necessary constitutional amendments. What is outstanding, however, is a procedural matter relating to the timing and the manner of enactment of the new agreed draft constitution.

Accordingly, we join the SADC Heads of State and Government in congratulating the parties to the Zimbabwe Dialogue on their truly commendable achievements and encourage them to work together to resolve the remaining procedural matter. As requested by the SADC Heads of State and Government, we remain ready to continue to facilitate the Zimbabwe negotiations. At the same time, we wish the people of Zimbabwe success in the elections scheduled for 29 March. [Applause.]

Our multifaceted relations with the Democratic Republic of Congo will continue, as we seek to contribute to the efforts of the sister people of that country to attain a lasting peace, and implement their reconstruction and development programme.

Our government will remain seized of the processes under way in Kenya, Chad, Burundi, Darfur in the Sudan, Western Sahara, Côte d'Ivoire, Somalia, the Comoros and the Central African Republic to find lasting peace and stability.

We are particularly concerned by the senseless violence and killings in both Kenya and Chad, developments that clearly set back the progress we have been making in the past few years with regard to the regeneration of the African continent. We call on all African compatriots to do whatever we can, together to help bring a stop to all these negative developments.

We will, of course, continue to carry out our tasks in the United Nations Security Council. Critical in this regard is the strengthening of co-operation between the United Nations Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.

Impelled by the desire to promote the improvement in the quality of life of all peoples, particularly in the developing countries, we shall focus on further strengthening our participation in the India-Brazil-South Africa forums, the New Africa-Asia Strategic Partnership, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and negotiations to complete the SACU-Mercusor trade agreement.

In the same measure, we shall continue to contribute to the realisation of the objectives of the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change and ongoing improvements in this regard, and in giving further impetus to the negotiations on the WTO Doha Development Round.

This year we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the People's Republic of China. The mushrooming of relations in a variety of areas between our governments and peoples confirms that the China-South Africa Partnership for Growth and Development is a strategic relationship of mutual benefit, which can only grow from strength to strength.

Next year South Africa will play host to the Review Conference to evaluate the implementation of the decisions of the World Conference Against Racism, which was held in our country in 2004. We are confident that, informed by their abhorrence of the scourge of racism and the devastating consequences it continues to exact on humanity, the governments and peoples of the world will work together with us to ensure that the Review Conference achieves its objectives.

These global responsibilities, including the hosting of the 2010 Fifa Soccer World Cup,

bring out in even bolder relief the confidence that humanity has in our country as a strategic player in the noble endeavours of all humanity. But we should not take this for granted.

I am confident that, under the leadership of the International Marketing Council, Trade and Investment SA — Tisa — Tourism SA and other agencies, we shall all put our hands on deck to communicate to the rest of the world the spirit of Business Unusual, and our continuing advance towards the creation of a society that cares and the conditions for the world to gather in our country to celebrate Africa's humanity in 2010.

Madam Speaker, Chairperson and hon members, having said all that I have said, I come back to the question: What is the state of our nation as we enter 2008? What I do know and hereby make bold to say is: Whatever the challenges of the moment, we are still on course! [Applause.]

I say this with unshakeable conviction, because I am certain that South Africans are

capable and geared to meet the challenge of history — to strain every sinew of our being — to respond to the national challenges of the day, including those relating to our economy, the political and economic situation in Africa and elsewhere in the world, and seize the opportunities that our country's progress over the past 14 years has provided.

With all hands on deck, and committed to conducting our business in an unusual and more effective fashion, we shall sustain the process of our reconstruction and development and take it to even higher levels. I thank you very much. [Applause.]

The CHAIRPERSON OF THE NCOP: Order! I now thank the hon the President. The full text of the address by the President will be published in the minutes of the proceedings of this Joint Sitting. After I have adjourned the Joint Sitting, members and guests should remain in their places until the procession has left the Chamber.

The Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces adjourned the Joint Sitting at 11:57.